

**PERSPECTIVES ON INDO-EUROPEAN  
LANGUAGE, CULTURE  
AND RELIGION**

**STUDIES IN HONOR OF EDGAR C. POLOMÉ**

**Volume 1**



# PERSPECTIVES ON INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND RELIGION

STUDIES IN HONOR OF EDGAR C. POLOMÉ

Volume 1

Journal of Indo-European Studies

*Monograph Number Seven*

ISBN 0-941694-37-2

6861 Elm Street, Suite 4H

McLean, Virginia 22101

ISBN: 0-941694-37-2

Copyright, Institute for the Study of Man 1991

**Institute for the Study of Man**

6861 Elm Street, Suite 4H

McLean, Virginia 22101

*Tel: 703-442-8010    Fax: 703-847-9524*



It is with particular pleasure that the Institute for the Study of Man has the honor of publishing this two volume *estschrift* in honor of our dear friend and colleague, Professor Edgar C. Polomé, who celebrated his seventieth birthday on July 31, 1990. It is particularly appropriate that these appear as volumes in *The Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph Series*, since it was eighteen years ago, in the year 1973, that Edgar, Professor Marija Gimbutas and the undersigned launched *The Journal of Indo-European Studies*, an enterprise to which he has given so generously of his time, experience and talent. We wish him many more long years of happiness and productive scholarship.

*Roger Pearson*



## CONTENTS

<b>EDGAR C. POLOMÉ: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH</b> By Mohammad Ali Jazayery .....	7
<b>INDO-EUROPEAN: FROM THE PALEOLITHIC TO THE NEOLITHIC</b> By Homer Thomas .....	12
<b>MARKEDNESS AND ENCOMPASSMENT IN RELATION TO INDO-EUROPEAN COSMOGONY</b> By Emily Lyle .....	38
<b>INDO-EUROPEAN *EG'H-OM (*HE-G'H-OM): *MEN-. 1 SG. PRON. PERS. IN THE LIGHT OF GLOSSOGENETICS</b> By V. N. Toporov .....	64
<b>ON THE ORIGIN AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE SACRED SANSKRIT SYLLABLE OM*</b> By Hans Henrich Hock .....	89
<b>THE KARTVELIAN ANALOGUE OF PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN *SUOMB(H)O- 'SPONGY, POROUS'</b> By G.A. Klimov .....	111
<b>ON CARIAN LANGUAGE AND WRITING</b> By Vitaly Shevoroshkin .....	117
<b>THE NUMERAL 'TWO' AND ITS NUMBER MARKING</b> By F. Villar .....	136
<b>SEARCHING FOR WOMAN IN ANATOLIAN AND INDO-EUROPEAN</b> By Onofrio Carruba .....	155
<b>DEATH AND THE HITTITE KING</b> By H. Craig Melchert .....	182
<b>THE MEANING OF THE EXPRESSION "TO BECOME A WOLF" IN HITTITE</b> By Jos Weitenberg .....	189

<b>THE INDO-EUROPEAN ORIGIN OF THE GREEK METERS:</b> <b>ANTOINE MEILLET'S VIEWS AND THEIR RECEPTION</b> <b>BY EMILE BENVENISTE AND NIKOLAI TRUBETZKOY</b> By Pierre Swiggers .....	199
<b>"AS RARE AS FIG-FLOWERS"</b> By K.R. Norman .....	216
<b>REGLES D'ECHANGE, VOEUX MONASTIQUES ET</b> <b>TRIPARTITION FONCTIONNELLE</b> By Guy Jucquois .....	221
<b>ETHNOS UND SPRACHE</b> By Wolfgang Meid .....	244

## EDGAR C. POLOMÉ: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mohammad Ali Jazayery  
*The University of Texas at Austin*

Edgard Charles Ghislain Polomé was born on July 31, 1920, in Molenbeek-St.-Jean, a suburb of Brussels. He says that he "grew up with a father who spoke French with my mother, who was from Ghent (and who also spoke Flemish), a maid, who spoke the local Brabantine dialect, and a grandmother, who spoke the Walloon dialect of the Ardennes in the Province of Liège." His primary education was in Dutch, which happened to be the medium of instruction in the nearest school. His secondary school education was conducted in French, and he graduated at the top of his class, having in the process learned two other modern languages, German and English, and having added two classical languages, Latin and Greek. From the German teacher, he and his fellow students received instruction in phonology and training in the International Phonetic Alphabet. Here Edgar had his first taste of fieldwork, which he and his friends conducted among the speakers of the Brabantine dialect in the nearby villages. He found field work "extremely attractive" and "enjoyed doing this very much". Apparently he was successful at it, since he graduated from the Athénée Royal de Koekelberg with the highest distinction.

When the time came to think of entering the University, the problem for this polyglot teenager was not which language, or languages, to specialize in: Edgar wanted to study chemistry or electronics! The world of science will never know how much it lost, since "the general advice," he says, "was against my wishes -- it was decided that I should go into Classics." His interest in languages -- he now knew half a dozen -- went beyond speaking, reading and writing them, to their structure, their history, and their interrelationship (or lack thereof, as the case may be). In addition, the field work had trained his ear for perceiving the most minute phonetic differences, especially important then because there were no tape recorders. Consequently, he gave up chemistry, his own preference, and Classics, which his elders had advised, and decided to study Germanic philology.

Edgar won a Belgian National Scholarship and entered the university in 1938, but as one might expect, his university education met with complications because of the Second World War. By the time he received his *Doctorat en philologie germanique* from the *Université Libre de Bruxelles* in 1949, he had served in the Belgian Army, obtained his *Candidature en philologie germanique* at the *Université Libre de Bruxelles* before the Germans closed the University in the academic year 1941-42, had taken a job doing "some fairly boring office work" to avoid mandatory conscription by the Germans in occupation, had obtained his *Licence en philologie germanique* from the *Université Catholique de Louvain* in 1943, had taught Dutch, German and English in secondary school, had spent one year "completely immersed in Sanskrit and Indic Studies" in Louvain under Professor Lamotte, who kindled his lifelong interest in comparative religion, and after the "exhilarating days of the liberation of Belgium", served for several months as an interpreter in the U.S. Air Force in Eschwege, Germany. While in Germany, Edgar spent what would have

---

\* Dr. M. A. Jazayery, Professor Emeritus at The University of Texas at Austin, has been a colleague and friend of Edgar C. Polomé's since 1962. Their shared research interests include sociolinguistics, especially language contacts, and intellectual history. Dr. Jazayery served as chairman of the Department of Oriental and African Languages and Literatures from 1976-1984, and as director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies from 1981-1987.

been his "idle hours" pursuing his studies and, seeking a new language to conquer, "I plunged into the study of Celtic."

While working on his Licence, Edgar ploughed through the grammar of Prokosch on his own, and took what he thinks "was the best examination...in my life" on the subject. And in preparation for his Ph.D., he continued to add to his languages: Old Church Slavonic, on which he worked with Professor Unbegaun; and Armenian, in which he received help from Professor Maurice Leroy. He also corresponded with Professor J. Pokorny on Celtic matters.

Although his degrees are in Germanic philology, his studies were by no means limited to this field. His interest in Germanic continued to grow broader with time, culminating in work in the area of comparative linguistics: thus, while his Master's degree dealt with the work of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, his doctoral thesis bore the title *Linguistische Studien in verband met de Germaanse Anloutgroep \*hw-*.

At the 1948 International Congress of Linguists in Paris, he was fortunate to meet two great scholars, Emile Benveniste and Jerzy Kurylowicz, with whom he remained in contact for the rest of their lives. In fact, his circle of friends in the world of scholarship continued to expand. These friendships, almost without exception, played a part in the broadening of his horizons. With Marcel Cohen he discussed sociolinguistic problems "which triggered my strong interest in working in this field later on, when I went to Africa." With Erica Reiner, then a student of Oswald Szemerényi, he discussed, while sitting on a bench in the Jardin des Tuileries, "the production of Hungarian consonants with the problems of the Indo-European palatals in mind." He also established contact, developing into a lasting friendship, with Werner Winter. And his meetings with Mircea Eliade and Georges Dumézil resulted in a number of papers concerning Germanic religion.

He continued to work with various degrees of intensity on additional languages, including ancient Italic dialects and Hittite. Nor did he ignore Armenian, and ancient Iranian languages, though he does not claim expertise in them.

Then came "a great change" in his life, with the beginning of his "Congo Period". In 1956, Edgar accepted the new challenge of establishing a linguistics department at the *Université Officielle du Congo Belge*, where he "developed a curriculum which was on par with equivalent European programs." In addition, he built up a well-equipped, highly sophisticated phonetics laboratory, which was particularly useful in the study of problems of tone and stress in African languages.

Although Edgar had studied Swahili from textbooks before leaving Brussels, he arrived in Elizabethville to discover that the Shaba dialect spoken there was quite different from the Standard East Coast Swahili he had studied. "This shocking experience of sociolinguistic reality," he now recalls, "was even more painful when I realized that my ten-year-old son became fluent in the language within a few weeks. This prompted me to catch up with him...." There followed a number of papers and a grammar on Swahili, though I am not certain whether he acknowledged his son's inspiration in any of those papers! His work in the Congo was brought to an abrupt end by the Revolution in 1960.

Then Fate, or the foresight of two good and reasonable scholars, W. P. Lehmann and Edgar C. Polomé, brought Edgar to Austin, Texas. They had been in close contact since the late 1940's, and "what had started as a modest exchange of letters"

has gradually "grown into a close relationship and a lifelong friendship." In 1960, when Werner Winter, then on the faculty of The University of Texas at Austin, decided to go on leave for the academic year, Lehmann invited Polomé to Texas as a Visiting Associate Professor in the Department of Germanic Languages, then chaired by Lehmann. Winter left to return to Germany not long after his leave, but Polomé remained, appointed Professor in 1962.

The last thirty years have been full and active ones at the University. Much has happened there in the field of linguistics, and in international studies. The first crucial steps were taken by W. P. Lehmann, who was largely responsible for the introduction and expansion of the programs in linguistics, and who convinced the University administration in 1960 to approve the establishment that year of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies and the Center for Asian Studies. Although Lehmann initially directed both Centers, he delegated to Edgar the responsibility of administration of the Center for Asian Studies in 1961. After Edgar's appointment to the permanent faculty, the directorship of the Center for Asian Studies passed on to him. Under his dynamic leadership, the Center expanded greatly and had acquired an international reputation by the time he stepped down in 1972.

In 1965, when the Department of Linguistics was established, Edgar Polomé was part of its faculty, while keeping his appointment in the Department of Germanic Languages. In 1966, he became an American citizen and "Americanized" his name, changing 'Edgard' to 'Edgar' and losing that extra middle name. In 1967 he was awarded an Office of Education grant for a lecture tour of India, Taiwan and Japan. In 1968 he was a Fulbright Professor in Kiel, Germany.

By spring of 1969, the University's offerings in what are sometimes called "the less commonly taught languages" had expanded to the point that the University approved the establishment of a Department of Oriental and African Languages and Literatures. It was only fitting that Edgar Polomé be appointed its chairman. He was, however, in Tanzania, working on a survey of language use under a grant from the Ford Foundation, and could not take over his new position *in situ* until he returned to the States in September 1970. The newly-created department, with which Edgar is still affiliated, offered instruction in Middle Eastern languages, including Arabic, Hebrew, Persian and Turkish; South Asian languages, including Hindi, Urdu, Sanskrit, Telugu and other Dravidian languages; East Asian languages, including Chinese and Japanese; and the African language Swahili (though this is no longer offered on a regular basis). Related courses in linguistics, literature and culture were also offered. Edgar stepped down from the chairmanship in 1976.

I have listed only a few of Edgar's activities in a career filled with teaching, administrative duties, participation in many international congresses, travels as a consultant to Kenya, Tanzania, India and elsewhere, and contributions to many professional organizations, not to mention the papers and other publications that comprise his astonishing bibliography. When The University of Texas celebrated its Centennial in 1984 by establishing several Professorships to commemorate the event, it seemed entirely appropriate that one of these, the Christie and Stanley E. Adams, Jr. Centennial Professorship in Liberal Arts, be awarded to Edgar Polomé, a distinguished scholar who continues to bring to the University recognition and honor, as attested by his many invitations to speak at national and international meetings, and by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to conduct, with distinguished guest lecturers from around the world, a five-week summer institute for university faculty, entitled 'Perspectives on the Ancient Indo-

European World', which was held at The University of Texas during the summer of 1990.

Polomé's fields of research include Germanic and Indo-European languages and cultures; Indo-Iranian; Latin and Italic dialects; Greek; African linguistics, especially Bantu; Sociolinguistics, especially multilingualism in Africa and South Asia; and comparative religion. He is on the faculties of the Departments of Oriental and African Languages and Literatures, Germanic Languages, and Linguistics; of the Centers for Middle Eastern and Asian Studies; and of the Foreign Language Education Center.

Edgar is a devoted family man -- a quality which his time-consuming research and teaching has never affected negatively. He married Julia Joséphine Schwindt in 1944. Julia died on May 27, 1975, leaving an unforgettable sorrow in the hearts not only of her family, but of many friends as well. The marriage produced two children: Monique Laure Polomé Ellsworth and Dr. André Robert Polomé. Edgar now has two grandchildren, Christopher Polomé and Danielle Ellsworth. On July 11, 1980, he married Barbara Harris.

Polomé's colleagues have already honored him by a Festschrift to which many scholars throughout the world contributed. What was said there need not be repeated. However, a few quotations from tributes to him published in the Spring 1990 issue of The University of Texas Center for Asian Studies Newsletter may not be inappropriate. There we are told by W. P. Lehmann that because of the expansion of linguistics by 1961 and the need for offering non-Western languages, "the time seemed clearly at hand for appointing a senior staff member of many talents in Germanic and Indo-European languages and linguistics." By coincidence, Edgar Polomé was available. Not by coincidence, Lehmann called him up and managed, despite the difficulties of trans-oceanic telephone calls in those days, to recruit him. Robert King, former Dean of our College of Liberal Arts and himself a linguist, says, "They don't come much better in our scholarly profession than Edgar Polomé. A great teacher and scholar, a wonderful colleague, a mainstay of more departments than the law allows...."

Ludo and Rosane Rocher, of the University of Pennsylvania, tell us, "He was no longer at the University of Brussels when we joined it, but his reputation on campus remained vivid. As fellow practitioners of Indo-European studies, we also could not fail to read him extensively." They tell of their first meeting and the friendship that followed, and conclude their tribute by saying, "Edgar's vigor, commitment to scholarship, and invariable good cheer defy the passing years."

Werner Winter, now at Kiel, addressing his remarks to Edgar, talks of his respect for him and of their friendship, "which has passed the test of time and of physical separation." He also refers to Edgar's generosity with his time, and says, "At times one would wish, as your friend, that you were a bit less generous in assessing what you could undertake to do, while as a colleague one tended to be more than happy to find the task in competent hands."

Edgar's students also wax eloquent about him. One says, "Seldom have I seen a teacher get so deeply involved in his material and yet remain detached enough to keep personalities out of it; he allows others to voice objections, disagree with him totally, but you had better know what you're talking about!" Another student refers to his prodigious memory: "When one of his students comes up with a source that



he hasn't heard of yet, we are so proud of ourselves that we actually boast about it to each other." She also appreciates his concern for his students' "best interests....even going so far as to call at 10:00 on a Saturday night to give them a reference that is important for their current research." In short, he is "a mentor in the true sense of the word."

Professor Polomé's success as a teacher is perhaps best summed up by yet another of his students. When asked what she likes most about him as a teacher, she said without hesitation, "He always gives 150% of himself to his students." When asked what she likes least about Polomé as a teacher, she thought for a moment, then said, with a little laugh, "He always expects his students to give 150% of themselves!" The mathematics can't stand up to close scrutiny -- even a linguist knows that! -- but behind these questionable percentages lies an unquestionable sentiment shared by those who by choice, chance, or chance turned into choice, find themselves in Polomé's classes.

To sum up, Edgar is "a universal man", as I said in the Spring 1990 tribute to which I have referred. Having taught and done research on four continents, Europe, Africa, North America and Asia, "he is at home in places far and near, in times ancient and modern, with peoples dead and living....As a scholar, Edgar is a man of a wide range of interests and knowledge. As a teacher, he gives much and expects much. As an academic administrator, he is serious and exact. As a person he is honest, hardworking, jealous of his rights, and aware of his own worth, with no sense of false modesty. And he has wit and humor." Lest I be accused of poetic hyperbole, I said there, and I say here: "He has his faults, of course, but I leave it to someone else to list them!"

I conclude by saying to him again: "*Merci et bonne chance!*" And we can all say to Edgar Polomé what Werner Winter says in conclusion of his tribute: "There is still much that we expect of you. *Ad multos annos!*"

## INDO-EUROPEAN: FROM THE PALEOLITHIC TO THE NEOLITHIC

Homer Thomas  
*Professor Emeritus*

The search for the homeland and culture of the Indo-Europeans has been underway for more than a century. This search has involved the neolithic cultures of Europe and the Chalcolithic cultures of Southwestern Asia. Unfortunately, this task has been made difficult by major changes of concepts of their development and environment setting. Until the Second World War, and for some archaeologists as late as a quarter of a century ago, investigations were made within the framework of late nineteenth and early twentieth century concepts of culture development. Interpretation was complicated by two quite different views of archeological chronology. Childe and many others supported a "low" chronology, whose roots go back to Sophus Muller (1905). This "low" chronology led to the placement of Neolithic cultures often associated with the Indo-Europeans as late as the latter part of the third and the beginning of the second millennium (Childe, 1957). On the other hand, many continental archaeologists followed the "high" chronology advanced for Scandinavia by Montelius (1906). In 1949, just before the impact of radiocarbon dating, Richard Pittioni using the high chronology placed the beginning of the *Bandkeramik* culture as early as 5000 B.C. and dated the Corded Ware Cultures to the middle of and the third millennium. These divergent views of culture development help explain differences in the interpretation of archeological evidence for the early Indo-Europeans.

The first radiocarbon revolution of the fifties made it clear that neolithic cultures often associated with the Indo-Europeans could no longer be placed as late as the late third and early second millennium B.C. Despite these chronological revisions much of the older chronological structure survived and, in many quarters, still conditions the way in which many

interpret archeological evidence. This is so notwithstanding the impact if the second chronological revolution brought about by the discrepancies between calendrical and radiocarbon dates. This problem was resolved first by the calibration of radiocarbon by means of dendrochronologically dated Bristlecone pine (Ralph et al, 1973).

It was clear to archaeologists such as Colin Renfrew (1973), that all traditional chronologies, and with them many concepts for the interpretation of the development of prehistoric Europe were no longer valid. It became evident that the broad outlines of earlier relative chronologies were correct. Yet as work continued on the calibration of radiocarbon dates, few archaeologists ventured further than projecting anything beyond local or at best regional chronologies. This complicated the task of correlating the archeological development of widely separated areas and created further problems for the resolution of the Indo-European problem. It is still too early to hope for a solution of chronological problems notwithstanding the publication of calibration tables (Klein et al 1982) and more recently of curves for high precision calibration (Stuiver and Kra, 1986). Of course there are numerous regional chronologies, some based upon calibrated radiocarbon dates (Ehrich, 1990), but many new relative chronologies indicate that the development of Europe during the Neolithic was far more complicated than was formerly thought.

What is of importance here is that the high precision calibration of radiocarbon dates provides chronologies indicating that Corded Ware must be dated as early as the late fourth millennium and that the still earlier Funnel Beaker culture began as early as the beginning of the fourth millennium. As a result, this means that cultures associated with the Indo-Europeans before the time of their dispersal must go back to still earlier times. This shift in chronology affects not only the archeological ambience of the early Indo-Europeans, but also the dating of environmental conditions important for the Indo-European problem.

These changes in archaeological and palaeo-environmental chronologies together with the increasingly complex secessions

of cultures not only in Europe, but also in the Mediterranean and Southwest Asia indicate that it is important to place cultures associated with the early Indo-Europeans within the framework of the early prehistoric development of this vast region. This seems particularly urgent in view of recent proposals for the origin and dispersal of the Indo-Europeans made by Colin Renfrew (1987), Marek and Kamil Zvekebilk (1988), Andrew and Susan Sherratt (1988), János Makkay (1988), J.P. Mallory (1989), and Thomas V. Gamkrelidze and V.V. Ivanov (1990). While their solutions are made in terms of generalized culture associations and successions, recent investigations made in France (Guilaine, 1976) and Yugoslavia (Basler et al, 1979) indicate how difficult it is to define which cultures should be associated with Indo-Europeans. Furthermore, in many regions of Europe the early Neolithic cultures are now thought of as products of neolithization of Mesolithic peoples by cultures introduced by colonists. There is also the further factor of the change in our perspective of the development of the Neolithic. Today, the *Bandkeramik* culture of central Europe is separated from the end of the Palaeolithic by only 2500 years, while in Southeast Europe, there is a gap of only 1500 years between the end of the Palaeolithic and the beginning of the Starčevo-Körös complex. Neglect of the Mesolithic period, which separated the end of the palaeolithic from the beginning of the Neolithic has been widespread for many reasons. This was due in part to assumptions that the Mesolithic was really the concern of archaeologists who studied the Palaeolithic and that the Palaeolithic was too remote to have any significance for the development of the Neolithic. Today it is evident that archaeologists and linguists have not been able to find a generally accepted homeland for the Indo-Europeans through the use of archaeological evidence largely relevant to their dispersal. In view of this it would seem to be useful to search for clues as to its possible location in the archaeological record of the transition from the Upper Palaeolithic through the Mesolithic to the Neolithic. Twenty-five years ago this would have been impossible, but the massive wave of excavation evidence following World War II has

brought a rising flood of new archaeological evidence for the cultures of these early times (Kozłowski, 1973).

During the last two decades archeological work in Israel (Bar-Yosef, 1975), the Iberian Peninsula (Forkea-Perez, 1975), and southern France (Guilaine and Roudil, 1976) has shown that cultures of the late Upper Palaeolithic continued through the Mesolithic into the Neolithic (Thomas, 1973). Proof for the continuity of culture traditions has been provided not only by improved methods of stratigraphic excavation, but also by the development of quantitative analysis of flint industries. In the fifties, A. Bohmer (1956) introduced a method of analysis in terms of tool usage that was often indicative of response to environmental changes.

These changes in methodology came at a time when geological and palynological investigations were providing evidence for the palaeo-environmental successions of the late Upper Pleistocene and early Holocene. In Europe, major changes began with the retreat of the Scandinavian ice-sheet and mountain glaciers during the Lascaux Inter-Stadial (15,000-13,000 B.C.). It was followed by a renewal of cold during the Oldest Dryas, the mild Bølling oscillation and the cold Older Dryas, which was the time of cultures such as the Magdalenian. With the warm Allerød period (10,000-9,000 B.C.), the Upper Palaeolithic cultures gave way to the Epi-Palaeolithic cultures that persisted through the cold Younger Dryas (9000-8000 B.C.), which marks the end of the Pleistocene. The increasing warmth of the Pre-Boreal and Boreal brought the final retreat of the Scandinavian ice-sheet from central Sweden and Southern Finland. The oceanic waters looked up in the Scandinavian ice sheet melted and led to a dramatic rise in sea-levels. The area of the English Channel and southern North Sea above water throughout the Upper Pleistocene, sank below the sea.

The increasing warmth culminated in the Atlantic Optimum. There were major changes in both floral and faunal distributions creating environmental conditions often associated with the Proto-Indo-Europeans (Clark, 1975). The impact of the warm Atlantic climate is marked in the archaeological

record by technological changes made by Mesolithic peoples. They range from the domestication of plants and animals in southwestern Asia to the development of composite microlithic tools to cope with new hunting and collecting conditions in lands bordering the Mediterranean and in northwestern Europe. In northern Europe, new types of bone and antler tools were invented to cope with increasingly forested and swampy conditions.

Today, there is sufficient archaeological evidence to trace the persistence of culture traditions from the Palaeolithic through the Mesolithic into the Neolithic in southwestern Asia. In the east, a widespread Epi-Palaeolithic culture extended from Mesopotamia across Iran into Central Asia. This culture, which is known from Zarzi and Shanidar B2 in Iraqi Kurdistan, the Belt and Hotu caves in northern Iran, and Amu Darya sites in Turkmenistan, provided the basis for the subsequent development of Mesolithic, Aceramic Neolithic which were closely related to the and Neolithic cultures. In turn, these cultures differentiated along regional lines during the Chalcolithic. In Mesopotamia, the development of the Chalcolithic was marked by the succession of the Hassunan, Halafian, Ubaidian and Uruk cultures, which have been associated with the Sumerians. A related, but somewhat different series of regional successions led to Chalcolithic sites such as Godin, Tepe Sialk, Susa and Tape Yahya, which have yielded Proto-Elamite seals and tablets (Lamberg-Karlovsky, 1978). The related development of the Namazga culture of Central Asia continued down until the late third millennium when it underwent widespread destabilization often attributed to nomadic pressures from the north (Kohl, 1984). It was only after this that the archaeological record of the Iranian Plateau gives of widespread culture change usually associated with the coming of the Indo-Iranians.

The culture development of the Levant – Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria – was marked by the succession of the Upper Palaeolithic Kebaran, the Mesolithic Natufian and Pre-Pottery Neolithic A, Neolithic Pre-Pottery Neolithic B and finally the Chalcolithic (Bar-Yosef, 1975). Limited archaeologi-

cal evidence from Anatolia indicates the presence of a succession of Upper Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, and Aceramic Neolithic cultures of the Levant. The plastered floors, skull burials and multiple floor burials of Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük have their counterparts in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B sites of the Levant, such as Jericho, Wadi Fallah, Tell Ramad and Ras Shamra (Mellaart, 1975). In the Levant, the Chalcolithic cultures provided the basis for Bronze Age cultures, which can be associated with peoples who spoke a Semitic language. On the other hand, the linguistic associations of the peoples of Anatolia are difficult to define, despite a persistence of cultural traditions from the Neolithic through the Chalcolithic into the Early Bronze Age (Mellaart, 1970). At the end of the second millennium, there is evidence for a movement of peoples of the Kura-Araxes culture into northwest Iran and eastern and southeast Anatolia. The occurrence of the first pit graves covered by a kurgan at Uch Tepe in Azerbaijan in the late fourth millennium may well have been due to an intrusion of Indo-European speaking peoples into the Trans-Caucasus. Subsequently, they created the Trialeti Kurgan culture of the middle of the third millennium and second millennium (Dyson, 1968; Thomas, 1982). Major changes on the Anatolian plateau do not occur until the end of the third or the beginning of the second millennium. Following these changes, which can be dated no earlier than the fall of Troy II, there is evidence dating from the early second millennium for the Indo-European Hittite, Luwain and Palaic peoples at Boğhazköy. The tablets of Boğhazköy also included ones written in Hattic and Hurrian, which were more likely the languages of the pre-Indo-European peoples of the highlands of southwestern Asia. (Crossland, 1971). Although Hurrian is known from tablets found at such widely scattered places as Boğhazköy, Ras Shamra, Mari and even Amarna in Egypt, it was spoken by a people who were associated with the highlands as early as the Dynasty of Agade of the late middle third millennium. Furthermore it was ancestral to the Urartian language indicating that its usage persisted well into the first millennium B.C. (Albright and Lambdin, 1970).

In Greece, there is only limited evidence for the Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic. Here, culture traditions, which extended through the Early, Middle and Late Neolithic into early Helladic times, began with an Aceramic Neolithic now well known from sites such as Franchthi cave in the Peloponnese and Seskolo in Thessaly. The generalized relationships of the Greek and Anatolian Aceramic Neolithic culture suggest that the Aceramic Neolithic culture of Greece was due to the neolithisation of Mesolithic peoples rather than colonization (Weinburg, 1970). Given low sea-levels of the times and the beginnings of long distance diffusion of obsidian, such as from eastern Anatolia to Palestine in the time of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (Cann and Renfrew, 1964), it is likely that the elements of the Neolithic reached Greece through group to group contacts (Crawford, 1978). The Neolithic marks the beginning of a culture tradition that extended through the early, Middle and Late Neolithic into the early Helladic period, despite signs of destabilization during the latter Late Neolithic. The first break in this tradition came in Early Helladic III, which was a time marked by the destruction or abandonment of settlements and the introduction of a new type, of Minyan pottery. (Caskey, 1971). The culture of Early Helladic III continued through the Middle Helladic when development culminated in the formation of the Mycenaean culture that was assuredly Greek.

The earliest Neolithic of southwestern Europe is now defined by finds made at Anzebegovo in Macedonia, Donja Branjevina in Serbia, Gura Bacalui in Rumania and Karanovo I in Bulgaria (Ehrich and Bankoff, 1990). The pottery these sites has generalized connections with the pottery of the Proto-Sesklo culture of Early Neolithic II of Thessaly and to a limited extent with that of Neolithic Anatolia. One would assume that the Neolithic was introduced by colonists, since high precision calibrated radiocarbon dates indicate that the earlier Neolithic of southeast dates to after the beginning of the Ceramic Neolithic of Greece and Anatolia. Again there is the strong possibility that the neolithic arose out of the acculturation of Neolithic elements available to the south. The



earliest Neolithic developed relatively rapidly into the widespread Starčevo-Körös-Croș culture of Serbia, southeast Hungary and Rumania and the Karanovo II culture of Bulgaria. The pottery not only has striking similarities to the pottery of the Pre-Sesklo culture of early Middle Neolithic III Thessaly, but also dates to the same time. The continuity continued, but it must be traced regionally in the Vinča culture of Serbia, Bosnia and Macedonia, the Boian and Gumelnița cultures of southern Rumania, the Cucuteni culture of northern Rumania and the Tripolye culture of the Western Ukraine (Todorova, 1978).

In the last half of the fifth millennium, the Gumelnița culture was transformed by the spread of copper metallurgy which extended into eastern Hungary, where it is well known from the Tiszapolgár culture. Notwithstanding this important change, continuity continued into the early fourth millennium when pressure from the steppe brought widespread disturbances to southeastern Europe. The larger Cucuteni-Tripolye settlements survived, but now they were fortified against attack. In Rumania, the smaller Gumelnița settlements came to an end, but their populations managed to regroup and form the Cernavoda I culture. The formation of the Bubanj IA culture in southern Serbia developed out of displaced elements of the Salcuța culture, the gap in occupation at Sitagroi, and the appearance of Crusted Ware deriving from the Gumelnița culture in Latter Late Neolithic Greece indicates how widespread the disturbances were in the southern Balkans and Greece (Roman, 1976).

In lands bordering the western Mediterranean, there is abundant evidence for the persistence of culture traditions from the late Upper Palaeolithic through the Mesolithic into the Neolithic. This continuity was first demonstrated at Arene Candide in Liguria, where Bernabò Brea found Cardial Ware in association with a Final Late Gravettian flint industry. The Cardial and Impressed Ware culture of southern Italy and Sicily may well derive from Greece and western Yugoslavia (Whitehouse, 1969). Excavations at the Grotte Corruggi in Sicily and Torre Sabea in south Italy uncovered Cardial and

Impressed Ware in association with a Mesolithic flint industry indicating that there was a neolithization of the indigenous peoples (Bagolini and Cremonesi, 1987). Elements of the Neolithic spread by group to group contact leading to the neolithization of Mesolithic peoples not only along the coast of Italy to Liguria, but also to the islands of Sardinia and Corsica (Trump, 1980). There was a similar neolithization in southern France, where it transformed the Magdalenian, Azilian, Montclousian, Montadian and Castelnovian tradition of Provence and the Magdalian, Azilian and Sauveterrian tradition of Languedoc (Escalon de Fonton, 1976; Guilaine, (1980). In the Iberian Peninsula, the Neolithic developed along the coasts through the acculturation of Neolithic elements by Mesolithic groups with flint industries that derived from the upper Palaeolithic (Forteza-Perez, 1975).

The subsequent development of the Neolithic in Italy, Southern France and Iberian Peninsula took place within the framework of long established traditions. There was culture change, but it resulted from acculturation of elements diffused at first by intermittent contacts and then trade that began with the exchange of obsidian (Camps, 1976). While influences from the Aegean and Dalmatian coast marked the development of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic in southern Italy and Sicily (Whitehouse, 1969; Trump, 1980), a combination of south Italian and Carpathian Basin stimuli must account for the transformation of the Fiorano culture into the Square Mouth Culture (Barfield, 1971). In southern France, the Chassey culture developed out of the Cardial Ware culture and spread to areas of the south previously occupied by the Mesolithic Sauveterrian culture (Bailloud, 1973). Once established it spread into Catalonia and the Meseta when the Iberian Cardial Ware culture was giving way to the Grotto culture characterized by Incised ware (Savory) 1968. Some maintain that the Chassey culture played a role in the formation of the Lagozza, but commonly held traits may be due to similar responses to common stimuli.

In Italy, the Copper Age is known from the Gaudio, Rinaldone and Remedello culture, but the persistence of traditions

of the Lagozza culture in the Apennine culture of the second millennium indicates a persistence of culture continuity. There were a succession of influences and then invasions from the north marked by the Polada, Terremara, and Urnfield (Proto-Villanovan) cultures. In southern France, the Chassey culture disintegrated into a series of regional cultures during the fourth millennium, such as the Ferrières of southern France, the Vézère of southwest France, and the Matignons and Peulhac of western France. The third millennium brought a further transformation of old traditions which must be associated with the spread of Megalithic and Bell Beaker elements. This was the time of the Couronnian and Fontbouisse cultures of the south and the Artenacien of the west which maintained older traditions. Real change came only with the intrusion of peoples from Switzerland who created the Rhône Bronze Age. In the Iberian Peninsula, external influences account for the El Argar Bronze Age and the gradual transformation of older traditions into a widespread Iberian culture. Major changes came in the first millennium with the arrival of the Phoenicians, Greeks and Celto-Iberians.

Northern France developed quite differently from the south. Here the earliest neolithic was introduced by *Linear Bandkeramik* peoples from east of the Rhine. This culture arose on the plains of Hungary five or six hundred years after the Starčevo culture had established itself in lands bordering these plains on the south and the Körös culture had developed in southeastern Hungary. This time gap suggests that the *Linear Bandkeramik* culture arose through the acculturation of Neolithic elements by Mesolithic peoples. Once established, it spread rapidly in the second half of the sixth millennium expanding to the west through Bavaria to the Rhine, to the north through Czechoslovakia and Central Germany to the Lower Rhine and Low countries, and to the east through Poland as far as Moldavia. It was only after it had expanded beyond Hungary that it developed its distinctive long house and pottery (Makkay, 1982).

Not long after the extension of *Bandkeramik* culture, it began to develop along regional lines. In southeastern Central

Europe – Bavaria, Central Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland – the *Linear Bandkeramik* developed into the Stroke Ware culture, which in turn was transformed into Lengyel culture by influences from the Carpathian Basin in the time of the Tisza and subsequent Tiszapolgar culture (Lichardus, 1976). With the fourth millennium, the Funnel Beaker culture became dominant in these lands. Some archaeologists, such as Evžen and Jiri Neustupný (1961) have proposed that the Funnel Beaker culture derived from the Lengyel and gave rise to the Baden culture (J. Neustupný, 1966).

Development proceeded along quite different lines in southwest Central Europe – southwest Germany, the Rhineland and Low Countries – as well as in northern France. In the Rhineland, the *Linear Bandkeramik* culture gave rise to quite local cultures such as the Hinkelstewin (Mier-Arendt, 1974), while in the Low Countries it developed into the Blicquy and Omalian cultures (De Laet, 1982). The *Linear Bandkeramik* culture spread into northern France during the late sixth-early fifth millennium long after it was well established in the Rhineland (Bailloud, 1979). Here it gave way in the middle of the fifth millennium to the Cerny culture at the time of the expansion of the Rössen culture, which brought a shift of settlement away from loess lands in southwest Central Europe, the Low Countries and Eastern France. It brought not only new types of house and pottery, but also perforated stone axes with which to deal with forest conditions. The origins of the Rössen culture are debated, but until there is further evidence it is only possible to speculate that it arose out of the neolithization of surviving Mesolithic peoples (De Laet, 1982). At the beginning of the fourth millennium when the Funnel Beaker culture developed or spread on the north European Plain and in southeastern Eastern Europe, the Michelsberg culture arose along the Rhineland, while the Chassey culture arose in northern France. The Michelsberg culture has derived from the Funnel Beaker culture (Vogt, 1953; Becker, 1961), from the Chassey of eastern France (Scollar, 1959) and most recently from the Bischheim group of the late Rössen (Lüning, 1968). However, De Laet (1982) may be right in pointing out

that Michelsberg may have developed among the late Mesolithic groups of the Rhineland, who took over elements of a Neolithic culture from groups such as the Bischheim and perhaps Chassey. At much the same time, the fusion of Eastern Chassey, Cerny and Rössen elements led to the formation of the widespread Northern Chassey culture (Bailloud, 1979). In the third millennium it shattered into a series of distinctly regional cultures, which are best known in terms of the Seine-Oise-Marne culture of Northern France. These lasted into the early second millennium before gradually giving way to the Bronze Age Tumulus culture, which brought the beginning of changes culminating in the intrusion of the urnfield culture of the late second millennium.

The Funnel Beaker cultures of southeastern Central Europe and the Michelsberg culture of western Central Europe, which had lasted down until the expansion of the Corded Ware culture, mark the end of culture traditions that extend back to the time of the *Linear Bandkeramik*. After the initial expansion of the *Linear Bandkeramik* culture, the cultures of Central Europe began to develop along quite different lines in the south east and southwest. While the *Linear Bandkeramik* culture developed into the Stroked Ware, Lengyel and perhaps the Funnel Beaker culture in the southeast, it was succeeded by the Rössen and Michelsberg cultures in southwest western Central Europe. With increasing evidence indicating that Mesolithic peoples played a role in the formation of the *Linear Banderamik* culture, it is possible that this cleavage was due to the differing Mesolithic past of these two regions. In southeast Central Europe, the late Upper Palaeolithic Pavlovian, which was related to the Eastern Gravettian of southern Russia, moved off to the north with herds of tundra game during the warm Allerød climatic period. Following the Younger Dryas the warmer climate of the Pre-Boreal brought a northward expansion of forests into southern Central Europe. The forests were followed by peoples of the Final Late Gravettan of Mediterranean type. This group whose roots extended back into the Upper Paleolithic gave rise to the Ostroměř group of southeastern Central Europe, which persisted into the Atlantic

Optimum, the time of the emergence of the *Linear Bandkeramik* (Kozowski, 1973). Today, it is increasingly clear that Mesolithic peoples had a role in the formation of the Neolithic. In the southern Netherlands, it is possible to demonstrate that the De Leien-Wartena was the source of or played a part in the formation of the flint industry of the early *Linear Bandkeramik*. Recent studies of the flint industries of this culture in southern Belgium indicates that microliths were made with a flat retouch best derived from the late Tardenoisian (Quincy-Beuron), which extends westward from Belgium across northern France (Nowell, 1970, Caspar, 1989).

In northern Europe, the late Upper Palaeolithic was the time of the Hamburgian culture. During the Allerod, it proliferated along regional lines traceable in the British Isles, the Tjongerian of the Low Countries, the Federmesser culture of northwest Germany and the Tarnovian culture of Poland. During the late Allerod and Younger Dryas it was displaced by Tang Point cultures, which are known from Ahrensburg sites in the Low Countries, northwestern Germany and north Germany, Lyngby sites in Denmark, and Swiderian sites in Poland, the southern Baltic States, and Byelorussia (Dolukhanov, 1978). The likely source for the Tang Point culture was the Eastern Gravettian culture of the Upper Palaeolithic.

The moderating climate of the Pre-Boreal and Boreal brought increasing afforestation and rising sea levels leading to the spread of swamps. This dramatic shift in environmental conditions goes far to explain the transformation of older regional traditions into the Maglemosian culture of Scandinavian and the related Duvensee culture of Schleswig-Holstein (Clark, 1975). On the North European plain, this was the time of the transformation of older traditions into the Tardenoisian of the Paris basin, the Beuron group of the Tardenoisian of Belgium, The Netherlands and the Rhine (*Hulsteiner gruppe* of Schwabedissen or *Rhein basin Kreis* of Newell) and the North-west Group of western northwest Germany (De Laet, 1982; Newell, 1973). Beyond the Elbe, there were related microlithic industries, such as the Komornica. The warm climate of the Atlantic Optimum brought the development of the Post-

Maglemosian culture, whose development culminated in the formation of the Ertebølle culture. The microlithic cultures continued on the North European Plain, but they are now joined by the De Leien-Wartena culture, which was created by refugees from the flooding of the North Sea Plain (De Laet, 1982). It was a relative of the Oldesloe culture, which had developed from the Duvensee culture in northern Germany. These cultures together with the north Polish Chojnice-Pienki culture mark the end of traditions extending back to the end of the Palaeolithic, unless one assumes that the Tang Point cultures that could derive from the south and east played a role in the development of the Mesolithic of northern Europe.

At the beginning of the fourth millennium, the Mesolithic cultures gave way to the Funnel Beaker culture. Long ago, Jążdżewski (1936) and Troels-Smith (1953) proposed that the Funnel Beaker culture arose of the acculturation of Neolithic elements from Central Europe. Then Schwabedissen (1958) proposed that it derived from the Michelsberg, while the Neustupnýs and others argued for derivation from Lengyel. In the sixties, Becker (1961) proposed that the Funnel Beaker culture arose in southeastern Poland and the northwestern Ukraine and then spread across the north European Plain. Today, there is a return to older concepts of acculturation (Jensen, 1982), which support Malmer's (1962) proposal that Corded Ware pottery was a straight-forward transformation of Funnel Beaker pottery. The Corded Ware cultures with amphorae in southern central Europe, without amphorae on the north European Plain, and the Single Grave culture of Scandinavia mark the beginning of culture continuities that extend through the Bronze and Iron Ages into historic times when they can be associated with the Celtic, Italic and Germanic peoples.

The late Upper Palaeolithic of eastern Central Europe and eastern Europe is known from the East Gravettian culture. It occurs in Czechoslovakia and northern Hungary, where it is known as the Pavlovian culture, and beyond in southern Russia, where it is known from the famous sites of Molodovo V in Moldavia, Mezin in the northern Ukraine, and Borshevo

II in the eastern Ukraine (Valoch, 1968). Everywhere its flint industries included the tang or shoulder point (Klein, 1972). It was bordered on the south by the Sjuren culture of the Crimea, which has Aurignacoid elements suggestive of connections in southwest Asia. During the warm Allerød, the East Gravettian, perhaps now to be called Epi-Gravettian moved to the north along with herds of game seeking cooler climate conditions. This northward movement was important because when forests spread in the Pre-Boreal and Boreal there was a transformation of culture comparable to that which had taken place on the North European Plain and in southern Scandinavia. In the woodlands of the Baltic states and Russia, Gravettian elements combined with indigenous elements to create the Swiderian culture found in Poland, the southern Baltic States and Byelorussia. In the woodlands, there arose a Forest Neolithic which constituted an eastern counter-part to the Funnel Beaker culture, because both are products of the "same fundamental processes" (Dolukhanov, 1979). As in the west, there development culminated in the formation of Corded Ware cultures. While their development was complicated in Poland and the Baltic states by the ill-understood Globular Amphorae culture (Machnik, 1981), the development in the Russian Woodlands was straight forward. It led to the Sub-Carpathian, East Polish-Volynian, Middle Dnieper, Dnieper-Desna and Fatyanovo Corded Ware cultures (Klein, 1969; Hausler, 1963). This took place in lands now occupied by Baltic and Slavic peoples, but there is no archaeological evidence to connect these peoples to these early cultures.

During these times, the cultures of steppe developed along quite different lines. On the western steppe of the Ukraine and southern Russia the basis for the Neolithic was probably provided by a Mesolithic culture in the east Gravettian tradition (Valoch, 1968). In the early sixth millennium, the eastward diffusion of Starčevo-Criș elements led to the formation of the Bug-Dniester culture, which subsequently gave way to the Tripolye culture that was destined to last into the early third millennium, when the Usatova culture (Tripolye CII,2) marks its final phase. Not long after the formation



of the Bug-Dniester culture, the Dnieper-Donetz culture arose in the northern Ukraine within traditions coming down from the eastern Gravettian. In the Crimea and northern Caucasus area, culture developed in a quite different manner. It can be traced in the Sjuren, Shan Koba and Murzak Koba cultures of the Crimea (Gimbutas, 1956). This tradition, provided the basis for the Mariupol culture of the Azov steppe and the Nal'chik of the Caucasus.

Beyond southern Russia, the steppe extends from the Lower Volga through Kazakhstan and southern Siberia to the Altai and the valley of the Yenisei. Unfortunately, there is only limited evidence for the late Upper palaeolithic, except at sites such as Kokorevo in the Yenisei and Malta situated to the west from Lake Baikal. Their industries, in which bone had replaced flint points, give no clues as to their origins. Their industries, in which bone had replaced flint points, give no clues as to their origins. There are, however, figurines at Malta which have their counterparts at Eastern Gravettian sites as Kostienki and Gargarino in the Ukraine, Molodovo in Moldavia as well as at related Pavlovian sites at Dolni Vestonice in Moravia and Willendorf in Lower Austria. Thus it becomes possible to postulate a widespread Gravettian culture in terms of a "Kostienki, Pavlov, Willendorf Unity" (Praslov et al, 1989). It may well have provided the basis for a widespread steppe culture, which is known from the Sredny Stog culture of the southern Ukraine (Telegin, 1986), the Khvalynsk culture of the Volga Valley (Merpert, 1977) and the early Kelteminar culture of the Kazakhstan and Russian Central Asia (Kohl, 1984). In terms of Merpert's polycentric theory of the origins of the Pit Grave (*Yamnaya*) cultures of the southern Ukraine, along the Volga Valley and in the Orenburg area, and in the Altai-Yenisei region (Klobystina, 1975). At Afanasievo in the Yenisei Valley there are graves under low mounds encircled by stone walls. These have pottery, bone and stone artifacts and copper scraps. The pottery is similar to that of the Pit Graves of the Lower Volga and the settlements of the Kelteminar culture in southwest Kazakhstan, which can be dated to the early fifth millennium at Djebel (Chard, 1974; Kohl, 1984).

This would be the time of the Dnieper-Donetz II culture which Merpert (1977) has equated with the early Pit Graves of the Lower Volga. The kurgans of the Altai region as well as in the Orenburg area provide no clues as to the development of this eastern "Kurgan" culture. Hints as to its development are provided by the relationships between the Kelteminar and Namazga cultures. The construction of fortifications at Namazga II sites such as Yalangach and Mallai depe indicate a troubled period, dated to Kelteminar II times on the basis of Grat wares found in Namazga II sites (Kohl, 1984), of the fourth millennium.

It is important to note that the fourth millennium brought a deterioration of climatic conditions associated by some palynologists with the late Atlantic Optimum and by others with beginning of the Sub-Boreal. These colder climatic conditions may explain the southward movement of the Okunevo culture into the Yenisei Valley, where it displaced the Afanasevo culture (Chernetsov, 1974). During the middle of the third millennium, the Afanasievo culture developed into the Andronovo culture, usually associated with Indo-Iranians (Chard, 1974). At the end of the third millennium, pressure from the Andronovo culture brought about the de-stabilization of the Namazga V culture. It is following this in the early second millennium, that there is suggestive archaeological and indirect historical evidence for the presence of the Indo-Iranians on the Iranian Plateau.

The same deterioration of climatic conditions may well explain the gradual movement of steppe peoples with pit graves (*yamno*) covered by Kurgans from the Lower Volga into southern Russia. Calibrated radiocarbon dates for Usatovo as well as pit grave sites of southern Russia suggest that the important expansion came toward the end of the fourth millennium. At much the same time similar climatic conditions account for the expansion of the Pitted Ware from western Siberia across Russia as far west as Scandinavia (Thomas and E. Rowlett, forthcoming, 1991). Interpretation of the role of the Pit-Grave (*Yamno*) culture invasions beyond the steppe into the Balkans and through the Caucasus into Anatolia falls

outside the scope of this paper.

However, it is difficult to find archaeological evidence for an invasion of the Balkans, that might be associated with the Proto-Greeks. The kurgans at Uch Tepe in Azerbaijan indicate that invaders, whom some would associate with the Hittites, did push through the Caucasus. Archaeological evidence suggests that this movement resulted in the displacement of the Kura-Araxes culture of the Trans-Caucasus into north-western Iran and southeastern Anatolia.

If the forebears of the Indo-Europeans can be associated with the widespread Eastern Gravettian culture of the late Upper Paleolithic it becomes possible to understand the widespread distribution of the Indo-European peoples. The formation of the culture, which might be associated with the Proto-Europeans, probably took place during the period of the Atlantic Optimum, when there was a shift of floral zones to the north. It was also a time when elements of a Neolithic culture could penetrate northwards from southeastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia. The regional differentiation of Mesolithic and then Neolithic cultures, which had developed through the elaboration of traditions extending back into the Upper Palaeolithic, might well mark the emergence of the distinct Indo-European groups found on the North European Plain and Scandinavia, the Baltic area, the woodlands of Russia, and the steppes of Eurasia. By the time of the Sub-Boreal, the distinct Indo-European groups were forced to move southwards by increasingly colder and drier conditions. It is these positions that we have long known from evidence associated with their dispersal.

Many of the diachronic and synchronic archaeological problems associated with the search for the homeland of the Indo-Europeans can be solved by postulating that they were ultimately associated with the widespread Eastern Gravettian culture. In the late Upper Palaeolithic, this culture occupied eastern Central Europe, the steppes of southern Russia, Kazakhstan and the Yenisei Valley. The mild Allerød (10000-9000 B.C.), which allowed the Boreal forests to move northwards to the Baltic Ice-lake and Central Russia, brought a

limited northward movement of cultures. The return of cold during the Younger Dryas (9000-8000 B.C.) partially restored conditions of the Pleistocene. It was only during the Pre-Boreal and Boreal (8000-6000/5500 B.C.) that the amelioration of climatic conditions again brought a movement of the Boreal forests northwards to northern Russia and the spread of mixed forests from the North European plain to the Baltic States and central Russia. The Mesolithic cultures, which derived from the eastern Gravettian, made an adaptation to the changed environment conditions of the woodlands of northern Europe and the steppes of southern Russia and Kazakhstan. The Atlantic Optimum (ca. 6000/5500-4000/3000 B.C.) brought the maturing of the forest lands of northern Europe. Here Mesolithic forest cultures were transformed through the acculturation of Neolithic elements Central Europe and South Russia during the late fifth and early fourth Millennium. In the third millennium, these cultures developed into the Corded Ware cultures of southern Central Europe, the North European Plain, southern Scandinavia, the Baltic States and Russia. On the steppes, the acculturation of Neolithic elements from the Caucasus and Central Asia led to the rise of the Pit Grave and Afanasievo cultures. It is possible that these cultures were created by Proto-Indo-Europeans?

During the fourth millennium, there was a progressive deterioration of climatic conditions, which are associated by some with the late Atlantic and by others with the beginning of the Sub-Boreal. It was a time of culture change in the woodlands and on the steppe. In the third millennium, these changes led to the rise of the Corded Ware cultures of southern Central Europe, the north European Plain, southern Scandinavia, the Baltic area and central Russia. On the steppe, colder climatic conditions which were more severe east of the Urals, led to the southward retreat of the steppe. It was responsible for the westward and southward movement of the Pitted Ware culture which spread westward as far as Scandinavia and southward into the Yenisei Valley, where it displaced the Afanasievo culture. This was the time of the expansion of the Pit Grave culture in southern Russia and into the Trans-

Caucasus. On the eastern steppe, the displaced Afanasievo culture developed into the Andronovo culture whose southward movement led to the destabilization of the Namazga culture.

## REFERENCES

- Albright, W.F. and T.O. Lambdin  
 1970 The Evidence of language, in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Volume I, Part I, edited by I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond, 122-155. Cambridge: At the University Press.
- Bagolini, B. and G. Cremonesi  
 1987 Il processo di Neolitizzazione in Italia. *Atti della XVI riunione scientifica: del Neolitico in Italia*, Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protohistoria, 31-20.
- Bailloud, Gerard  
 1973 The First Agriculturists: 4000-1800 B.C. in *France before the Romans*, edited by Stuart Piggott, Glyn Daniel, and Charles McBurney, 102-130. London: Thomas and Hudson.
- Bailloud, Gerard  
 1979 *Le néolithique dans le Bassin Parisien* 2nd. ed Paris: Editions du Centre National della Recherche Scientifique. (IIe supplement à *Gallia Préhistoire*).
- Barfield, Lawrence  
 1971 *Northern Italy before Rome*. London: Thames and Hudson (Ancient Peoples and Places 76).
- Bar-Yosef, Ofer  
 1975 The Epi-Palaeolithic in Palestine and Sinai, *Problems in Prehistory: North Africa and the Levant*, Edited by Fred Wendorf and Anthony E. Marks, 363-375. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press. (Southern Methodist University Contributions in Anthropology, No. 13).
- Basler, Duro, Aljoz Benac, Stane Gabrovec, Milutin Garašanin, Nikola Tasić Vinski-Gasparini  
 1979 *Neolitsko Doba II, Praistorija Jugoslavenskih Zemalja*. Sarajevo: Akademija Nauka Umjetnosti Bosnè i Hercegovine.
- Becker, Carl J.  
 1961 Über der Ursprung von Michelsberg und der Trichterbecherkultuk, in *L'Europa à la fin de l'âge de la pierre. Actes du Symposium consacré aux problèmes du néolithique européen*. Prague, Liblice, Brno, 5-12 octobre 1959, edited by Jaroslav Böhm and Sigfried J. De Laet, 595-601.
- Bohmer, A.  
 1956 Statistics and Graphs in the study of flint assemblages, *Palaeo-*

*historia* 5:1-38.

Camps, Gabriel

- 1976 *La navigation en France au Néolithique et à l'Age du Bronze, Les civilisations Néolithiques et Protohistoriques de la France II, La Préhistoire Française*, edited by Jean Guilaine, 195-201. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Cann, J.R. and Colin Renfrew

- 1964 The characterization of Obsidian and its application to the Mediterranean Region. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, N.S. 30: 111-133.

Caskey, John L.

- 1971 Greece, Crete and the Aegean Islands in the Early Bronze Age. in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume I, Part II, edited by I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd, and N.G.L. Hammond, 771-807. Cambridge: At the University Press.

Caspar, Jean-Paul, Malgorzata Kaczanowska and James K. Kozłowski

- 1989 Chipped Stone Industries of the Linear Band Pottery Culture (LBP): Techniques, Morphology and Function of Implements in Belgian and Polish Assemblages. *Helinium* 29,2: 157-205.

Chard, Chester S.

- 1974 *Northeast Asia in Prehistory*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Chernetsov, V.N.

- 1974 The early history of the Lower Ob Region, in *Prehistory of Western Siberia*, edited by Henry N. Michael, 7-74. Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press. (Arctic Institute of America).

Childe, V.G.

- 1957 *The Dawn of European Civilization*. 6th ed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Clark, Grahame

- 1975 *The Earlier Stone Age Settlement of Scandinavia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crawford, Harriet

- 1978 The mechanics of the obsidian trade, a suggestion. *Antiquity* 52, 205:129-132.

Crossland, R.A.

- 1971 Immigrants from the North, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume I, Part II, edited by I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond, 824-876. Cambridge: At the University Press.

De Laet, Sigfried J.

- 1982 *La Belgique d'avant les Romains*. Wetteren; Editions Universa.

Dolukhanov, Paul M.

- 1979 *Ecology and Economy in Neolithic Eastern Europe*. London: Duckworth (New Approaches in Archaeology).

Dyson, Robert H. Jr.

- 1968 Annotations and Corrections in the Relative Chronology of Iran, 1968. Archaeological Seminar at Columbia University, 1966-67. *American Journal of Archaeology* 72:308-313.

Ehrich, Robert W. (Ed.)

- 1991 *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*. 2nd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ehrich, Robert W. and H. Bankoff

- 1991 The archeological Chronology of Southeast Europe, in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, 2nd. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Escalon de Fonton, Max

- 1976 Les civilisations de l'Épipaléolithique et du Mésolithique en Languedoc oriental, in *Les civilisations paléolithique et mésolithiques de la France, I, 2, La Préhistoire Française* edited by Henry de Lumley, 1382-1389. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Fortea Perez, Javier

- 1975 L'Épipaléolithique du Littoral méditerranéen espagnol, in *L'Épipaléolithique méditerranéen, Actes du Colloque d'Aix-en-Provence, Juin 1972*, Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Gamkrelidze, Thomas V. and V.V. Ivanov

- 1990 The Early history of Indo-European Languages, *Scientific American*, March: 110-116.

Gimbutas, Marija

- 1956 The Prehistory of Eastern Europe, Part I, Mesolithic, Neolithic and Copper Age Cultures in Russia and the Baltic area. Cambridge: Peabody Museum Harvard University (Bulletin no. 20, American School of Pre-historic Research, Peabody Museum).

Guilaine, Jean, ed.

- 1976 *Les civilisations néolithiques et proto-historiques de la France, Tome II, La Préhistoire Française*. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

- 1980 Problems actuels de la néolithisation et du Néolithique ancien en Méditerranée occidentale, in *Interaction and Acculturation in the Mediterranean, Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Mediterranean Pre- and Protohistory*, Amsterdam, 19-23 November, 1980. Edited by Jan G. P. Best and Nancy N.W. De Vries, 3-22. Amsterdam: B.R. Grüner Publishing Co. (Publications of the Henri Frankfort, Vol. 6).

Guilaine, Jean and Jean-Louis Roudil

- 1976 Les civilisations néolithiques en Languedoc, in *Les civilisations néolithiques et protohistoriques de la France, II, La Préhistoire Française*, edited by Jean Guilaine, 267-278. Paris: Editions du Centre

National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Häusler, Alexander

- 1973 Ockergrabkultur und Schnurkeramik, *Jahresschrift für mittel-deutsche Vorgeschichte* 47:157-179.

Jażdżewski, K.

- 1936 *Kultura Puharów Lejkowatych w Polsce Zachodniej i Poznani*. Nakładem Polskiego Towarzystwa Prehistorycznego. (Biblioteka Prehistoryczna 2).

Jensen, Jorgen

- 1982 *The Prehistory of Denmark*. London and New York: Methuen.

Khlobystina, M.D.

- 1975 Les plus anciennes nécropoles de monts Altai, *Sovietskaya Archeologiya*, 1:17-34.

Klein, Jeffrey, J.C. Lerman, P.E. Damon and E.K. Ralph

- 1982 Calibration of radiocarbon dates: tables based on the consensus data of the Workshop on Calibrating the Radiocarbon Time scale. *Radiocarbon* 24, 2:103-150.

Klein, Richard G.

- 1969 *Man and Culture in the Late Pleistocene, A Case Study*. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company.

Klejn, L.

- 1969 Zum Problem der Aussunderung und Gliederung Streitaxtkulturkreises. In *Die neolithischen Becherkulturen i Gebiet der DDR und ihre europäischen Beziehungen*, edited by H. Behrens and F. Schlette, 209-214. Halle: Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte. (Veröffentlichungen des Landes museum für Vorgeschichte in Halle 24).

Kozłowski, Stefan K. editor,

- 1973a *The Mesolithic in Europe*. Warsaw: University Press.  
1973b The Problem of the so-called Danubian Mesolithic. In *The Mesolithic in Europe*. Edited by Stefan K. Kozłowski 315-329. Warsaw: University Press.

Kohl, Philip L.

- 1984 *Central Asia Palaeolithic Beginnings to the Iron Age*. Paris: Editons Recherche sur les Civilisations.

Lamberg-Karlovsky, C.C.

- 1978 The Proto-Elamites on the Iranian Plateau, *Antiquity* 52,205: 114-120.

Luning, J.

- 1968 Die Michelsberger Kultur, Ihre Funde, in Zeitlicher und Räumlicher Gliederung, 48 *Berichte der romisch-germanische Kommission*.

Makkay, János

- 1982 Some comments on the settlement patterns of the Alföld Linear Pottery, in *Internationales Kolloquium Nové Vozokany* 17-20. November 1981. 157-166. Nitra: Archäologisches Institut der



- Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaft.
- 1988 Cultural Groups of SE-Europe in the Neolithic: The PIE Homeland Problem and the Origins of the Proto-Greeks. *Annali del Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico: Sezione linguistica* 10:117-137.
- Machnik, J.
- 1981 Der Stand der Erforschung der schnurkeramischen der VR Polen, in Schnurkeremik-Symposium Halle, 1979, edited by H. Behrens 189-210. *Jahresschrift für Mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte*. 64.
- Mallory, J.P.
- 1989 *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Malmer, M.P.
- 1962 *Jungeolithische Studien* (Acta Archaeologica Lundensia) Series in 8°, no. 2) Lund.
- Meirer-Arendt, W.
- 1976 Zur Erforschung der neolithischen Kulturen im südlichen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. *Apulum* 15: 27-129.
- Melaart, James
- 1976 Anatolia before 4000 B.C. in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume I, Part I, edited by I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd, and N.G.L. Hammond, 304-326. Cambridge: At the University Press.
- 1975 *The Neolithic of the Near East*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Merpert, N.Ja.
- 1977 Comments on "The Chronology of the Early Kurgan Tradition." *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 5, 4:373-378.
- Montelius, Oscar
- 1906 *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*. Leipzig: E.A.
- Müller, Sophus
- 1905 *Urgeschichte Europas*. Strassburg: Trübner.
- Neustupný, Evzen and Jiří
- 1961 *Czechoslovakia before the Slavs*. London: Thames and Hudson (Ancient Peoples and Places 22).
- Newell, R.R.
- 1970 The Flint Industries in the Dutch Linearbandkeramik in P.J.R. Modderman. *Linearbandkeramik aus Elsloo und Stein* 144-132. (Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia 3).
- Newell, Raymond R.
- 1973 The Post-Glacial Adaptions of the indigenous population of Northwest European Plain, in *The Mesolithic in Europe* edited by Stefan K. Kozłowski, 399-440. Warsaw: University Press.
- Pittoni, Richard
- 1949 *Die urgeschichtlichen Grundlagen der europäischen Kultur*. Vienna: Franz Deuticke.

Praslov, N.D. V.N. Stanko, Z.A. Abramova, I.V. Sapozhnikov and I.A. Borzijek

1989 The steppes in the late Palaeolithic, *Antiquity* 63, 241: 784-792.

Ralph, E.K. H.N. Michael and M. C. Han

1973 Radiocarbon Dates and Reality. *MASCA Newsletter* 9, 1:1-20.

Renfrew, Colin

1973 *Before Civilization: The Radiocarbon Revolution and Prehistoric Europe*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

1987 *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*. London: Jonathan Cape.

Roman, Petre I.

1976 *Cultura Coșofeni* (Biblioteca de Arheologie, 26.) Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romania.

Savory, H.N.

1968 Spain and Portugal, *The Prehistory of the Iberian Peninsula*. London: Thames and Hudson. (Ancient peoples and Places 61).

Schwabissen, H.

1958 Untersuchung mesolithisch-neolithischer Moorsiedlungen in Schleswig-Holstein, in *Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland*, 26-42. Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann.

Scollar, Irwin

1959 Regional Groups in the Michelsberg Culture, *Proceedings of the Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, N.S. 25:52-134.

Sherratt, Andrew and Susan

1988 The archaeology of Indo-European, an alternative view. *Antiquity* 62:236:584-595.

Stuiver, Minze and Renee Kra

1986 12th International Radiocarbon Conference, June 24-28, 1985, Trondheim, Norway. Calibration Issue. *Radiocarbon* 28, 2B.

Telegin, Dmitriy Yakolevich

1986 *Dereivka, A Settlement and Cemetery of Copper Age Horse Keepers on the Middle Dnieper*. Oxford: B.A.R. International Series 287.

Thomas, H.L.

1982 Archaeological Evidence for the Migrations of the Indo-Europeans, in *The Indo-Europeans in the Fourth and Third Millennia*, edited by Edgar C. Polomé, 61-85. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers Inc.

1973 Culture Continuity during the Mesolithic and Neolithic in the Western Mediterranean Basin, in *Actes du VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des sciences Préhistoriques et Protistoriques II*, edited by Grga Novak, 354-359. Beograd: Comité National d'Organisation.

Thomas, Homer L. and Elzebet S.J. Rowlett,

1991 Northern Europe, in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, 3rd. ed edited by Robert W. Ehrich, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. (Forthcoming)

Todorova, Henrietta

- 1978 *The Eneolithic in Bulgaria*. Oxford: B.A.R. International Series (Supplementary) 49.

Troels-Smith, J.

- 1953 Ertebøllekultur. *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkundighed og Historie*, 6-62.

Trump, D.H.

- 1980 *The Prehistory of the Mediterranean*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Valoch, Karel

- 1968 Evolution of the Paleolithic in Central and Eastern Europe. *Current Anthropology*: 351-390.

Vogt, E.

- 1953 Der Herkunft der Michelsberger Kultur, *Acta Archaeologica* 24:174-185.

Weinberg, S.S.

- 1970 The Stone Age in the Aegean, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume I, Part I, edited by I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond, 557-618. Cambridge: At the University Press.

Whitehouse, Ruth

- 1969 The Neolithic Pottery Sequence in Southern Italy. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, N.S. 35: 267-310.

Zvelebil, Marek and Kamil V. Zvelebil

- 1988 Agricultural transition and Indo-European dispersals. *Antiquity* 62:236: 574-583.

## MARKEDNESS AND ENCOMPASSMENT IN RELATION TO INDO-EUROPEAN COSMOGONY

Emily Lyle  
*University of Edinburgh*

In my view, many of the difficulties in the way of studying Indo-European cosmogony have arisen from an unwarranted sharp division between that which is Indo-European and that which is not, and when I say "Indo-European cosmogony" in my title I mean that, in the context of this festschrift honoring Edgar C. Polomé, I am concerned primarily with the western end of a continuum that seems to me to run right across the old world. The area of the proposed continuum includes both India and China which are taken by Louis Dumont as the locations of traditional societies that have or had holistic ideologies which he contrasts with the individualistic ideology of the modern West (1977: 8-9). Such societies, he argues, exemplify a hierarchical structure in which a single concept of supreme value can be seen as the encompassing one, and, since I have similarly found an encompassing component in old world cosmology, it will be possible to explore connections between Dumont's approach and mine through the study of encompassment, and also of markedness which is a limited case of encompassment involving only two terms that will be found to be especially useful in the study of Indo-European cosmogony.

If the existence of an old world cosmological continuum is accepted, the problem that C. Scott Littleton addressed on a number of occasions (1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1982: 85-6) concerning the "kingship in heaven" theme dissolves away. The theme can be seen

to be present in Mesopotamian tradition as part of the old world cosmological ordering, and to be present in Indo-European contexts partly through inheritance from a Proto-Indo-European source and partly through the borrowing of motifs developed by other carriers of the old world tradition. The cosmogony with which I am concerned includes narratives with this "kingship in heaven" theme but is not confined to them.

The entire cosmogonic structure I envisage requires detailed exposition (see Lyle 1990), but among its essentials are three generations of gods counting from the first couple. In the Greek instance, for example, Ge and Uranus are the couple, Cronus is in the second generation, and Zeus is in the third. There is also an additional generation before the first couple where there is a single primordial female, who in the Greek instance is Ge, mother of Uranus and both mother and grandmother (i.e. father's mother) of Cronus. The myth of Ge and Uranus is told in terms of space, with the earth giving birth to the sky, but the cosmogony may be treated simply in terms of human reproduction so that in the Celtic case, for example, the primal female can be traced in the figures of Boand, mother of Goltraiges, Gentraiges and Súantraiges, of Clothru, mother of Lugaid of the Red Stripes, and of Dôn, mother of Gwydion and Aranrhod and grandmother of Lleu Llaw Gyffes (see Lyle 1989a).

It is the female totality expressed in these goddess figures that I see as the ultimate encompassing element in the cosmology, and I attempted some years ago (1982: 42, 1990: ch. 2) to grapple with the apparent anomaly by which the female was both the

whole (the cosmic tree, the entire year) and also a part (the earth's surface, harvest). In the light of the operation of markedness, however, this double presence is not at all anomalous, for an item may occur both as a whole at a superordinate level and as a part at a subordinate level. As an example, we may take the Brahman and Kshatriya, the prime instance of encompassment for Dumont in the case of India where he did his fieldwork. The Brahman appears together with the Kshatriya at the subordinate level where the power of the Kshatriya is dominant, but the purity of the Brahman is present on a higher level and encompasses the power of the Kshatriya (1980: 77-8, 88). Quoting the Pañcaviṃśā Brāhmaṇa (XII, ii, 9), Dumont says of the two principles or "forces" associated respectively with the Brahmins and Kshatriyas that "the brahman being the source, or rather the womb, from which the kṣatra springs, is superior; the brahman could exist without the kṣatra, not conversely" (1970: 63, cf. 1971: 72), and notes that the Brahman is superior "as a representative of the encompassing (trans-human at the same time as human) consideration of order and duty (dharma) as against the encompassed (purely human) consideration of egoistic advantage (artha)" (1971: 71).

The Brahmins correspond to the first function priests and the Kshatriyas to the second function warriors in Dumézil's three function series, and N.J. Allen draws together the findings of Dumézil and Dumont, pointing out that Dumézil has the aim of demonstrating prehistoric ideology while Dumont is envisaging classical Hindu culture and that historical shift could account for differences between the structures they observe (1985: 29-30). He

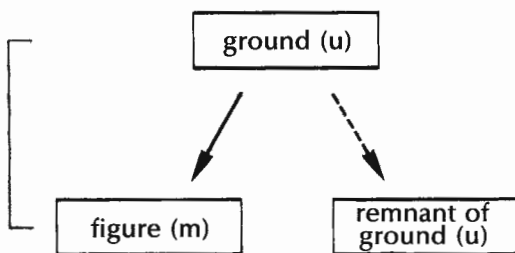
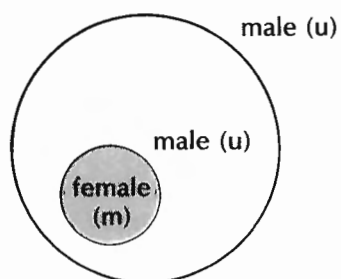


Figure 1

argues that the trifunctional king had been the "concrete embodiment of the totality" and that, when the king disappeared from the level of synthesis of the three functions, the priesthood took over the "abstract notion of transcendence or ultimate social value" on the superordinate level. Purity is the value associated with the priesthood as representative of one of the three functions while the value of order belongs to the trifunctional kingship.

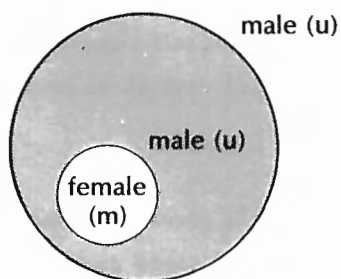
Dumont treats order as the ultimate value in a key passage where he discusses the contrast between individualism and holism (1986: 61): "We may say that the individual, insofar as he is the main bearer of value in modern society, is equivalent to order in traditional society or to dharma in classical Hindu terms." He takes Plato's Republic as an illustration of a traditional society where "each particular man in his place must contribute to the global order, and justice consists in ensuring that the proportions between social functions are adapted to the whole" (1980: 9). Plato's "justice" corresponds to dharma and it is this quality which overarches or encompasses the other virtues listed in the Republic which are those of wisdom, courage and temperance considered appropriate to the three groups of philosophers, guardians, and farmers and craftsmen, which, as Dumont mentions (1986: 61), are reminiscent of the Indian varṇas, the first two of which, the Brahmins and Kshatriyas, correspond to the philosophers and guardians. Here it is quite clear that the philosophers have their special virtue - wisdom - but that justice or order in the Republic does not belong to any one of the three groups alone. My study of Indo-European



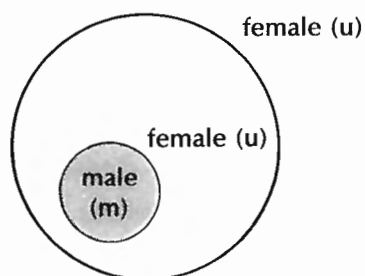


Adam and Eve

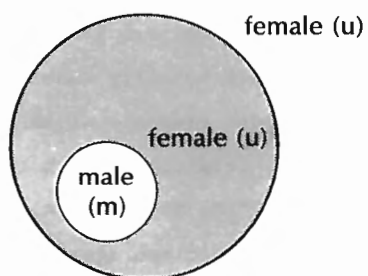
a



b



c



Ge and Uranus

d

Figure 2

cosmology has led me to identify order or harmony in society with the female (1982: 35-7, 1990: ch. 2), but there is no necessary contradiction with the idea already mentioned here of the connection of order with kingship for the female element in the cosmology relates to queenship and so it can be posited that we are concerned with an encompassing virtue appropriate to sovereignty.

Dumont's general proposition so far as it concerns the two-term structure which can be called markedness is aptly summarised by Allen as follows (1985: 22): "The proposal is that whenever the ethnographic materials appear to offer a structuralist opposition of the form X/Y the analyst should ask himself whether there is some sense or context in which element X is or represents the superordinate totality (whole, set) to which in other senses or contexts both elements alike belong." Dumont stresses "the elementary relation between two successive levels" (1986: 250) and notes that "the hierarchical distinction unifies the data by welding together two dimensions of distinction - between levels and within a single level" (1986: 231). I shall refer to Dumont's successive levels as "level 1" and "level 2". An asymmetrical opposition where the poles are unequally valued (for example, kṣatra and brahman or right and left) occurs on level 2 and both poles relate to a whole (in these cases, brahman or the body) on the "upper level" or level 1 (cf. Dumont 1986: 228-9, 248-9). When we acquire an awareness of this asymmetry, Dumont claims, we are provided with a means of "drawing closer to the thought we are studying" (1986: 228). Similarly, Linda R. Waugh comments that "any semiotic system is a hierarchical system of relations, and

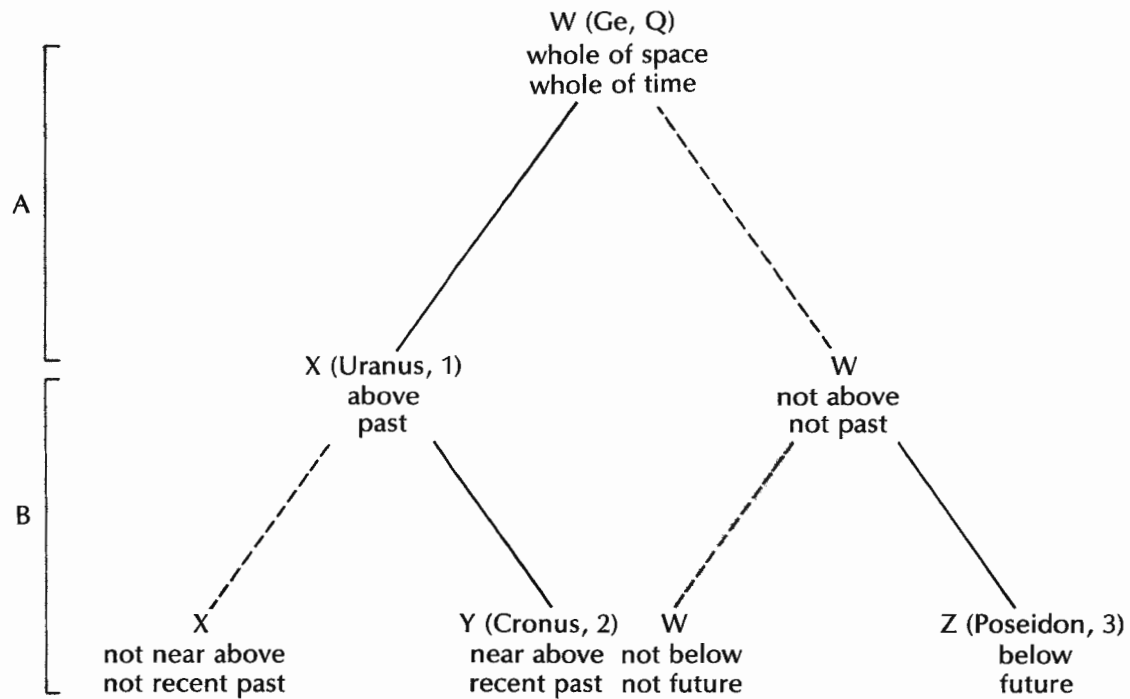


Figure 3

markedness is one of the relations that help to hierarchize that system" and that "any investigation of any semiotic system must take [the dynamic dialectic the markedness relations create] into account if it is to correctly characterize one of the ways in which human beings create symbolic and conceptual frameworks" (1982: 315-6).

Waugh, in discussing markedness, speaks of set and subset, but she also uses terminology with a perceptual metaphor which I shall adopt here, by which the unmarked category is called the ground and the marked category the figure (Waugh 1982: 302; cf. Greenberg 1966: 60). Treating the matter diachronically in a way that will accord with the discussion of cosmogony, we may say that the ground (level 1) pre-exists the figure and that when the figure emerges there is a polarity consisting of the figure and the remnant of the ground (level 2). The marked element (m) is the one which is distinguished from the background, i.e. the figure, while the ground, which is represented on both levels, is the unmarked element (u). These relationships are shown in Figure 1. In this and later Figures, the unbroken line connects with the figure and the broken line with the remnant of the ground, and the top and bottom of the bracket indicate respectively level 1 and level 2.

Dumont found the story of the creation of Eve from Adam's rib the best example he could give of this triangular relationship on two levels. On the first level is Adam as "primordial man" (1971: 69) and from him emerges Eve so that on the second level there is differentiation between the woman, who is marked, and the man, who

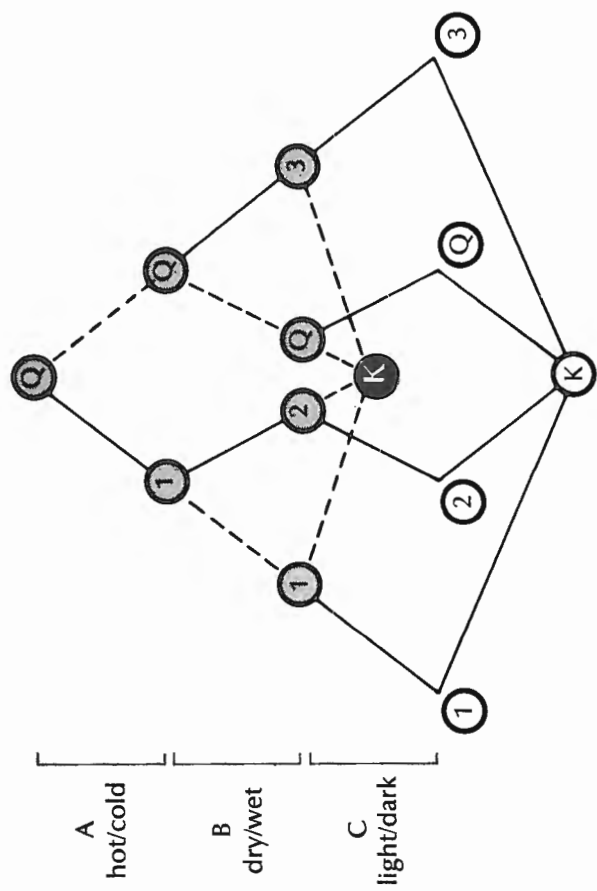


Figure 4

is unmarked. Dumont finds support for this set of relationships on the linguistic level since the word "woman" is marked and the word "man" unmarked both morphologically and semantically and there is equivalent usage in many other languages besides English. Dumont is so sure of his position here that he does not discuss an alternative which actually seems to offer a more satisfying interpretation of the brahman/kṣatra hierarchy he located in his Indian material as well as apparently being the selection made in relation to gender in Indo-European cosmogony.

We have to go back and consider what is meant by marking. The thing marked is salient, distinguished in some way from the background, but it may be held in high or low esteem. To take a metaphor from a hierarchical society, given a background of people considered average and dressed according to a norm, an honoured, splendidly costumed leader and a despised and ragged beggar would stand out equally. The leader is marked relative to the unmarked rest of the people in a positive way and the beggar is marked relative to the unmarked rest of the people in a negative way. Either the leader or the beggar can be figure, but in the first case the figure is positive and the remnant of the ground negative, while in the second case the figure is negative and the remnant of the ground positive. In Dumont's instance, Eve is like the beggar, negatively marked.

This, of course, is in keeping with an ideology where the man is regarded as socially superior to the woman, but, even when this ideology is present, another treatment of the markedness triangle is possible, and it is this other treatment that seems relevant

PRODUCTION			
production	distribution	exchange	consumption
a			

BOAND YEAR			
1 Súantraiges spring	2 Gentraiges summer	Boand harvest	3 Goltraiges winter
b			

W BOAND			
X 1 Súantraiges		W Boand	
X 1 Súantraiges	Y 2 Gentraiges	W Boand	Z 3 Goltraiges
c			

Table 1

for the gender division in Indo-European cosmogony since Uranus, who emerges from the primal goddess, Ge, belongs to the "superior" above (Lyle 1986a, 1990: ch. 9), and so is positively marked like the leader. The possibilities for marking by gender are shown in Figure 2, where the area enclosed by each outer circle relates to level 1 while the two areas within each outer circle (consisting of what is inside the inner circle and of what is excluded from it) relate to level 2. The white component is the superior. The Figure shows the cases of Adam, unmarked and superior on level 2 (a), and of Uranus, marked and superior on level 2 (d), and also the other two structural possibilities that have not been culturally realised, so far as I am aware, which would respectively make the female marked and superior on level 2 (b) and unmarked and superior on level 2 (c). The conclusion to be drawn is, of course, that there is nothing inherently superior or inferior about being marked or unmarked on level 2. In the cases before us, what is male is superior on this level whether it is the unmarked ground as in the case of Adam or the marked figure as in the case of Uranus. As regards Dumont's Indian instance, on level 2 the ksatra is apparently marked and superior relative to the brahman.

To turn attention now to level 1, it can be seen that, although both a and d show the male as superior on level 2, they are opposites on level 1 with a showing the entire ground as male (Adam) and d showing it as female (Ge). The male bias in a is extreme but in d the male dominance on level 2 is balanced by the original presence of the female on level 1. It seems that the female has a value on level 1 associated with being



source, and it is by being source also that the brahman, from whose womb the kṣatra comes, is superior. It is worth remembering here "the fact that ultimate values may lie in the background as 'taken-for-granted', rather than constituting the focus of attention" (Allen 1985: 27).

However, questions of relative values within the cosmology cannot be fully settled until its basic structure is agreed, and I am mainly concerned here with exploring encompassment in relation to a postulated cosmogonic sequence. I shall be drawing in the following discussion on the cosmological structure tentatively established in my earlier studies (e.g. Lyle 1985, 1986b) which has a pantheon of ten deities consisting of an old and a young god in each of the three-function slots (indicated in the Figures by 1, 2 and 3) plus two kings and two queens (indicated in the Figures by K and Q). The present study of markedness shows how such a system could have been conceptually integrated; for discussion of how the structure could have been rooted in an eight-class kinship system, see Lyle 1989b.

The emergence of the male from the primordial female associated with undifferentiated space and time is the first stage in the postulated Indo-European cosmogony. This is familiar as the birth of the sky (Uranus, the above) but can also be stated in terms of time. A distinction between past and non-past is basic in the vast majority of tense-systems and the non-past tense is often semantically unmarked (Lyons 1977: 2.678, 681) so that the past can be seen as the marked male aspect separated out from the ground of cosmic time. After the birth of the male (above and

past) the female becomes the not above and the not past on level 2. In the next generation two sons are born, one emerging out of the above and the past and one out of the not above and the not past. The sky god, Cronus, who deposes his father, can be said to take over the region between earth and heaven (the near above) leaving his father the distant region of heaven (the not near above or, in temporal terms, the not recent past). Out of the not above and the not past emerges the below and the future (associated here with Poseidon) and this development defines the female on this level as both not past and not future, i.e. as not then or present. This sequence is shown in Figure 3. There are two stages (A and B) corresponding to the birth of the two generations, each stage having two levels. The repeating subsystem of the markedness triangle occurs once in the apical position in stage A, and each of the polar components on level 2 becomes the whole on a new level 1 in stage B where there are two markedness triangles. In each case the new identity that emerges (X in stage A and Y and Z in stage B) is marked. Fitting the concrete instance of the Brahman and the Kshatriya into this pattern, the Brahman is in position X and the Kshatriya in position Y.

An interesting aspect of the scheme is that there are, as it were, ghost presences when a goddess or god (W or X) appears at more than one point as a result of the creation through this process of marking of a remnant or remnants of an original ground. The god or goddess is fundamentally the same one but the different presences give scope for a stress in narrative on one aspect at the expense of another, and the study of structure and

narrative together may give us the opportunity of filling out our understanding of the pantheon. If we take, for example, the case of Frigg, the wife of Odin, in Germanic mythology, some interesting suggestions arise. Odin, as one of the Aesir, belongs, it would be agreed, with the above rather than the below. The story that his two brothers, Vili and Vé, lay with Frigg in his absence (Polomé 1989: 105-7; Sturluson, trans. Laing 1961: 8), suggests that he may be the husband or preventer figure in a narrative which (as it appears in full in other traditions) culminates in a marvellous birth (cf. Lyle 1982: 37-9, 1985, 1990: chs. 2, 11), and this would place him in the position of Cronus (Y). Whether or not the rather shadowy story in the Ynglinga Saga can bear this interpretation, Frigg as the wife of the principal senior god is identifiable as mother goddess, and examination of the structure allows us to say that she is the primal goddess in the Germanic scheme although she is confined in narrative to her humanised aspect as wife of Odin (Polomé 1987: 535). It is a necessary part of the structure that the mother goddess corresponds to earth and so at the structural level, although not that of actual narrative as it has come down to us, Frigg appears as the mother of Thor, who is said to be the son of Odin and Earth (Polomé 1987: 535). The possibility that the plural "mothers" (matres or matronae; cf. Polomé 1987: 532) represent the three separate presences of the mother goddess should also be considered.

In an Irish story, the mother goddess appears as Boand, the River Boyne, who gives birth to triplets, called Goltraiges (crying music), Gentraiges (laughing music) and Suantraiges

(sleeping music). As I have shown elsewhere (Lyle 1983, 1990: ch. 3), these three types of music can be related to the seasons winter, summer and spring, and so Boand, who encompasses them all, is the year as a whole and is also represented, I have argued, at a "now" point within the year between summer and winter that I have called harvest (1980, 1986a, 1990: chs. 1, 9). The three types of music and the three seasons correspond to Dumézil's three functions in the way shown in Table 1 while Boand corresponds to the encompassing female related to sovereignty, and the structure, as Allen puts it in connection with the transfunctional king, "consists of a transcendent entity on one level and three differentiated ones on the subordinate level" (1985: 29).

Allen raises the question of whether we are justified in interpreting encompassment in terms of markedness in a case like this and suggests that we could perhaps rightly be accused of wearing "dualist spectacles" if we do so (1985: 30). Interestingly, Marx's treatment of the "economic whole" in the Grundrisse as discussed by Dumont in the following quotation (1977: 160), has the same structure as the story of Boand and we can look at it also in the light of Allen's remark.

This whole receives the name of the one of the four elements which is thought to be predominant: production; and "production," in the encompassing sense, becomes so much the essential thing that the other, proper sense of the term is called "production in its one-sided form." Or, to take the structure in reverse: here is PRODUCTION writ large. It contains within itself four

elements, namely, production (writ small) and three others, just as in the Book of Genesis Adam as first created is succeeded by two beings: the male Adam and his counterpart Eve, fashioned in the meantime from one of his ribs, that is, symbolically encompassed in him (cf. Dumont 1971, p. 72).

Table 1a shows the Marxist scheme as discussed by Dumont, and Table 1b shows the case of the mother BOAND (writ large) before the birth of her sons and then her presence (writ small) along with her sons after their birth. The Marxist scheme does not appear to fall into a dualistic pattern, but, although the goddess can be treated as encompassing three elements, the cosmogonic relationships can be spelt out as in Figure 2 and Table 1c and it appears that there is in fact a latent markedness in this case and that the scheme showing encompassment alone (as in Table 1b) is to be understood as a telescoped version. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that there may be cases of non-dualistic encompassment to be found elsewhere in Indo-European cosmology (cf. Lyle 1987: 16-8, 1990: ch. 10) but it does demonstrate how Dumézil's three functions can be apprehended in terms of pairs. C.R. Hallpike comments (1979: 224; cf. Needham 1987: 198) that "it seems that psychologically the most basic binary classification is simple differentiation, which at the perceptual level takes the form of figure-ground discrimination and the awareness of discontinuity," and so it appears that the operation of a very basic discriminatory process has been capable in this context of giving rise to a quite complex mesh of relationships involving both twos and threes.

Dumont argued vigorously in an article first published in 1978 which is now available in Essays on Individualism (1986: 202-33) that dual systems had been studied too exclusively in terms of "distinctive opposition" and that the relationship between the members of a polarity should be understood with reference to an encompassing whole as "hierarchical opposition" (1981: 224). I identified in old world cosmology both encompassment and also clusters of distinctive oppositions or polarities lying along three different axes which I called A, B and C (Lyle 1984, 1989b, 1990: ch. 7), and, as is shown in this article, these two facets - encompassment and polarity - can be brought together through the application of the concept of markedness, which does indeed clarify the relationships involved just as Dumont's stress on the hierarchical structuring of dualities suggested it would. I see no objection, however, as Dumont does (1986: 225-6), to treating oppositions as sets of polarities that can be presented where relevant in parallel columns (cf. Needham 1987: 102-45). The clusters on the three axes appear to be polarised in terms of a general distinction that I have characterised as "bright/dull" (1989b: 67) and this is a separate matter from markedness, and so it seems useful to work in terms both of sets of polarities and of markedness.

I had previously related the three axes of polarity to three stages in the cosmogony (1985, 1988: 32) but laying the emphasis on the polar pair in each case made it awkward to express a sequence where there were three divisions corresponding to three generations but also an initial extra generation where the goddess

appeared alone. An approach through markedness incorporates the primal goddess without difficulty in a three-stage sequence since in each case there is a reference back from the polar pair to its source. Each stage is a dynamic process in which two emerge from one so that each stage involves two levels as shown in Figure 4. One representative polarity for each of the three axes is named in the Figure. The white circles relate to light, the black circle to darkness, and the grey circles to the undifferentiated twilight before light and darkness came into existence.

At each stage, a cluster of features is withdrawn from the superordinate totality leaving only the opposites of these features in the remnant. In the apical triangle, the cluster in the marked figure on level 2 (1) includes the male, the above, the hot, and the past. In the second stage the selection is between dry and wet and also between near and far, and it appears that one figure (2) selects dry and near, and the other figure (3) selects wet and far. The B axis has always appeared less polarised than the others in terms of value (cf. Lyle 1984: 25) and study of markedness begins to let us see in detail why that should be; at stage B alone each of the two poles is selected as figure. In stage C, the figures relate to light and life and the remnants of ground to darkness and death.

Obviously, the process of fission could be extended indefinitely, but the final birth in stage C is of a different nature from the others and brings the sequence to an end. All the deities combine together to create, in addition to four deities that relate to the four parents, a single outstanding figure

representative of light (the young king of the gods, Zeus). I previously discussed the parentage of this king of the living but hesitated to comment at the same time on the parentage of his twin, the king of the dead, since it did not have a clear place in the structure as then outlined (1985: 8, 1990: ch. 11). The concept of markedness opens the way to an interpretation of the dark twin as remnant of ground contrasted with his brother as figure and, by this interpretation, the remnants of ground (now four in number) also combine just as the figures do and become a single god who epitomises darkness (Hades). With this double birth of the representatives of the multiple figures and grounds, which can probably be thought of also as the formed and the formless, the developmental process through which the major gods came into being is brought to completion.

The biblical image that comes to mind instead of Dumont's one of Adam and Eve is that of the widow's cruse (1 Kings 17.8-16). Oil can be poured out of it repeatedly without emptying the container. From the primal female, by a series of births, aspects of the original totality are poured off into the various deities of the pantheon without exhausting the source which still remains, until finally the dregs do become the god of death.

Dumont has spoken of a regrettable modern tendency to extract single strands from the multidimensionality in which the coherence of myth resides (1986: 221), and a scholarly view of early Indo-Europeans as offering pseudo-explanations of the origin simply of the physical universe has meant that narratives dealing



overtly with such things as sky and earth were given the status of cosmogonies while other developmental stories were not. When we see the cosmogony as providing a statement about a hierarchical whole - a cosmos - which operates not only in macrocosmic space but also in relation to such things as time, the year, kinds of music, the human body and society, there is no reason to privilege the register of the spatial universe. The birth image, which is a particularly appropriate one to express the emergence of new figures from an original ground, is a good carrier of markedness and attention to a number of narratives of extraordinary conceptions and births allows us to pull together the model shown in Figure 4.

In conclusion, I would not only say along with Dumont that old world traditional society was holistic, but would also claim that, by carefully applying the concept of markedness in relation to what is known about myth, we can produce a quite detailed model of the whole in the register of the pantheon. My impression is that this model will stand up well to critical examination by other scholars, but, even if it should be largely incorrect, I would claim that it has a relevance to our enquiry into the nature of Indo-European religion for it does begin to supply a sense of what it would have been like to live within a total system. If a major difference between the modern West and traditional societies is that the modern West has laid the stress on the individual rather than on society as a whole, it may require some effort for Westerners to make a re-entry into a holistic world view, and the use of a holistic model based on a range of particulars that have been the subject of long-term study by scholars in the field of mythology may perhaps make it easier to effect this re-entry.

## REFERENCES

Allen, N.J. (1985). Hierarchical Opposition and Some Other Types of Relation. In Contexts and Levels: Anthropological Essays on Hierarchy, ed. R.H. Barnes, Daniel de Coppet and R.J. Parkin, pp. 21-32. Oxford: JASO.

Dumont, Louis (1970). Religion, Politics and History in India. Paris and The Hague: Mouton.

----- (1971). On Putative Hierarchy and Some Allergies to It. Contributions to Indian Sociology n.s. 5, 61-81.

----- (1977). From Mandeville to Marx: The Genesis and Triumph of Economic Ideology. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

----- (1980). Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications. Complete revised English edition. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

----- (1986). Essays on Individualism: Modern Ideology in Anthropological Perspective. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Greenberg, Joseph H. (1966). Language Universals with Special Reference to Feature Hierarchies. Paris and The Hague: Mouton.

Hallpike, C.R. (1979). The Foundations of Primitive Thought.

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Littleton, C. Scott (1969). Lévi-Strauss and the "Kingship in Heaven": A Structural Analysis of a Widespread Theogonic Theme. Journal of the Folklore Institute 6, 70-84.

----- (1970a). Is the "Kingship in Heaven" Theme Indo-European? In Indo-European and Indo-Europeans, ed. George Cardona, Henry M. Hoenigswald and Alfred Senn, pp. 383-404. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

----- (1970b). The "Kingship in Heaven" Theme. In Myth and Law Among the Indo-Europeans, ed. Jaan Puhvel, pp. 83-121. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

----- (1982). The New Comparative Mythology: An Anthropological Assessment of the Work of George Dumézil. 3rd ed. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.

Lyle, Emily (1980). Cosmos and Indo-European Folktales. Arv 36, 127-31.

----- (1982). Dumézil's Three Functions and Indo-European Cosmic Structure. History of Religions 22, 25-44.

----- (1983). "King Orpheus" and the Harmony of the Seasons. In The Ballad Image, ed. James Porter, pp. 20-9. Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore & Mythology.

----- (1984). Distinctive Features in Cosmic Structure.

Shadow 1, 22-8.

----- (1985). The Place of the Hostile Twins in a Proposed

Theogonic Structure. Cosmos 1, 1-14.

----- (1986a). Polarity, Deixis, and Cosmological Space and

Time. Shadow 3, 3-8.

----- (1986b). Whites and Reds: The Roman Circus and Alternate

Succession. Cosmos 2, 148-63.

----- (1987). Cyclical Time As Two Types of Journey and Some

Implications for Axes of Polarity, Contexts, and Levels. Shadow  
4, 10-19.

----- (1988). The Chinese Trigrams and Archaic Cosmology.

Shadow 5, 31-7.

----- (1989a). Old Myth and New Morality: A Theogonic

Interpretation of the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi. Cosmos  
5, 142-50.

----- (1989b). Two Triads and a Revolution. Shadow 6, 66-74.

----- (1990, forthcoming). Archaic Cosmos: Polarity, Space and

Time. Edinburgh: Polygon.

Lyons, John (1977). Semantics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Needham, Rodney (1987). Counterpoints. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

Polomé, Edgar C. (1987). Germanic Religion. In The Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. Mircea Eliade, 5.520-36. New York and London, Macmillan and Collier Macmillan.

----- (1989). Draupadi and Her Dumézilian Interpretation. Journal of Indo-European Studies 17, 99-111.

Sturluson, Snorri, trans. Samuel Laing (1961). Heimskringla. Part 2 Sagas of the Norse Kings. London and New York: Dent and Dutton.

Waugh, Linda R. (1982). Marked and Unmarked: A Choice between Unequals in Semiotic Structure. Semiotica 38, 299-318.

## **INDO-EUROPEAN \*eg'h-om>(\*He-g'h-om): \*men-. 1 SG. PRON. PERS. IN THE LIGHT OF GLOSSOGENETICS**

V. N. Toporov

After the romantic period in linguistics, the epoch of Bopp, Humboldt, Grimm, the interest to the "primary" elements of languages, as well as to the antiquity, in the hearth of which forms of the proto-language were "forged", has stepped back, and in more positive periods it started to be regarded as something dubious. Nevertheless, similar questions inevitably arise nowadays as well, and require to be answered. The hope to come nearer to the solution of these questions seems to have better grounds now. New possibilities in this field have revealed themselves, owing to the rapid increase of the quantity of facts and attempts of their interpretation; to the progress of typological investigations, which resulted in the establishment (though a relative one) of types of certain linguistic phenomena, and to the conclusion that there exist considerable limitations to the diversity of those linguistic phenomena that can be called "primary" and/or key phenomena; to the cardinal extension and deepening of the chronological (as well as of the space) perspective of linguistic comparison in the studies that are based on reconstruction of "macrofamilies", like the "Nostratic" and some other ones; to the more specialized information concerning the relation between language and its separate elements, belonging both to the "sublinguistic" sphere (the world of things, denotata), and to that of human conscience; at last,

to the first results and ideas of "glossogenetics", a new science, to the progress of which we are witnesses and which is basing on a wide range of sciences concerning man, both in the sphere of nature and culture.

Personal pronouns belong, no doubt, to the sphere of "primary" phenomena, where they form a substantial kernel. Strictly speaking, neither speech itself, nor the pivotal problem, which is to be solved by speech, i.e. the exchange of words, messages, linguistic signs, arising in a dialogue and forming it at the same time, are possible without that kernel. No matter, how much monological parts of such a dialogue can be, their monologism is principally nullified by the recognition of the equality of parts in a dialogue (irrespective of the fact, whether an equivalent exchange of "values" is going on in it). And this is revealed in a peculiarity that I and You (rather Thou here and further) acquire the status of relative, shifting quantities: I pertains always to the one, who is speaking there and now, while his partner in the dialogue in these circumstances is always You, but the situation changes into the opposite one, when the speech part passes to the "second" voice in the dialogue. It is clear that this relativity is of quite a different character, than that in other spheres of the language, and it is deeply rooted in the linguistic proto-situation, which should make the main subject of glossogenetic studies. Therefore, to understand the principle of semantic (or semantico-situative) motivation of personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons would mean an important step forward in the investigation of the situation itself and its participants. But, as it was said a quarter of a century ago by V. M. Illič-Svityč, one

"who is afraid of deep water" will not be able to make this step.

Nevertheless, it is but natural that any conclusion in this field can never be equaled according to the same criteria even in an approximate way in its responsibility, as well as in its demonstrative power to etymologies of words of a "usual" type, without any special "glossogenetic" dominant. These phenomena belong to quite different categories, and the aim of "glossogenetic" studies, to which in other cases and based on other data "etymology" could correspond, consists, probably, in the fact, that first one should find a typological "niche" for each of its details; should (secondly) comment on the real linguistic element of each of these "niches" on the historical and comparative level, and (thirdly) should build a whole context, which might be regarded as a possible original locus of the given phenomenon. One should not try to hit at some greater aims, though some happy findings cannot be excluded.

Before passing to the immediate analysis of the form (\*eg'h-om), one should make some preliminary notes. Though this word seems to be self-sufficing in certain situations, nevertheless, it is not isolated, and appears in a number of contexts, some of which are so institutionalized that can be taken (at least for a relatively late, though undoubtedly Indo-European, and even conditionally "Nostratic" period) for real grammatical paradigms. Three of these paradigms chiefly deserve attention: 1) the declensional paradigm of I in the singular (the suppletion of I - me... etc.); 2) the declensional paradigm of I in the singular and "pseudo-plural" (the suppletion of I - we, me - us, etc.); 3) the paradigm



of "person" (the suppletion of I - you). All the three above-mentioned paradigms are characterized together not only by suppletion, but also by a special character of I, which makes it not only a marked element, but also unique in a sense. In the first paradigm \*eg'h-om is opposed to all the other forms with \*men- etc. (or to the short ones with m-). In the second paradigm \*eg'h-om in the Indo-European languages (not to take into consideration very rare exceptions) is not supported by the other members of the paradigm in the singular, in contradistinction to "we", which is usually supported by the other members of the plural paradigm. In the third paradigm \*tū̃ in contradistinction \*eg'h-om in the I.-E. languages is as a rule more or less supported by the forms of oblique cases.

It appears from the above-said, as well as from the analysis of specific forms of the I.-E. personal pronouns, that the 1 sg. forms are independent as much as possible, and it is very rare, almost always as an exclusion, that they can be induced by other forms (in any case, they are very different in this respect both from the 1 pl. forms of the personal pronoun, and especially from those of the 2nd person). Another important peculiarity of the I.-E. \*eg'h-om consists in the fact that in contradistinction to the I.-E. 2 sg. pron. \*tū̃, which consists of one element, is monolithic, and therefore as if equivalent to itself (at least in a certain epoch of the development of the language), the I.-E. \*eg'h-om, no matter how one would try to analyse it (as \*/H/e-g'h-om or as \*/H/eg'h-om), consists of more than one element, of two at least. The first element (\*e-, \*H'e-, \*H'ei, \*H'i-, etc.) is

usually taken for a deictic one, coinciding with the demonstrative element; the second one ( $\text{*g'h-}$ ,  $\text{*gh-}$ ) for a particle, giving a stressed, emphatic character to the general meaning of the word. As to  $\text{*om}$ , it is usually also interpreted as a particle, that has early lost its semantics, its function probably consisting in general in making the meaning of a word complete in a sense, and having full weight (the "bisyllabic" structure, distinguishing this form from those of the 2nd and 3d persons). Functioning as a "void" particle, it could also pass to the 2nd person pronoun (Vedic *tuvam*, *tvam*, etc.).

The analysis of all the other forms of the 1 sg. pers. pron. (but the Nominative) reveals among them the sharply marked nature of a form which can be reconstructed as  $\text{*mene}$  on the grounds of many existing I.-E. languages, and is defined as the Genitive case. This form is unique among all the oblique cases and, even more; in the whole declension of the 1 sg. pers. pron., which seems to have been unjustly neglected. It exists (or is safely reconstructed) in a number of I.-E. languages, cp. Sl.  $\text{*mene}$  (OChSl. *mene* etc.), Lith. *manė́s* (:màno), Lett. *manis* (:mans), Avest. *mana*, O.-Ind. *mama* (< $\text{*mana}$ ), Welsh (Cymr.) *fy<sup>n</sup>*, etc. There are also such examples among these other languages that make the reconstruction  $\text{*mene}$  very probable (cp. Goth. *meina*, usually explained as a result of crossing of  $\text{*mene}$  and  $\text{*mei}$ ), but there are different examples as well, for which one cannot recognize such a reconstruction as adequate (cp. the attempt to explain the Hitt. *ammēl* as a result of dissimilation of  $\text{*amene}$ , cp., nevertheless, the enclitic *-man*, *-min*). The most characteristic

feature of this I.-E. \*mene, possessing a doubtless "genitivity" in the historically testified languages, consists in the fact that this form is, strictly speaking, as much isolated from all the known markers of Genitive that it is only the specific functioning of this form and of those originating from it that speaks for its "genitivity". It is only much later, and besides rather rarely that one can trace some attempts to "genitivize" this form with the help of a marker of the Genitive case borrowed from more "transparent" paradigms. This situation presents a striking contrast to other formal markers of the oblique cases, which are much closer connected with the corresponding niminal forms. At the same time, one should not overlook the cases, when the element connected this or that way with the same \*men-, which is characteristic of the Nom. in the above-mentioned languages, is met through the whole paradigm, as it is in Lithuanian and Lettish. The same situation is partly reconstructed also for Slavic, with the difference that the consonantal frame \*m-n- is meant here. The reconstruction of the I.-E. paradigm of declension of the 1 sg. pers. pron., unfortunately, takes little into consideration the Baltic (especially the East Baltic) or even the Balto-Slavic scheme, which can be defined in its ideal variant by the opposition of forms, originating from the I.-E. \*eg'h-om (Nom.) and \*men- (\*mon-) (oblique cases), while taking into account a group of facts, this \*men- / \*mon- had its original locus in the Genitive, whence it spread to the other members of the declensional paradigm, modified with the help of various inflexional elements. In any case, the axis of the mentioned opposition is defined by the poles: Nom. - Gen., correspond-

ingly \*eg'h-om - \*men- / \*mon-, which reminds typologically of a similar kernel in the Ket (Yenisseian) declension (Nom. - Gen. → oblique cases), and partly also, if one takes into consideration some additional data and results of plausible reconstructions, the structure of declension of both the Tokharian languages.

The marked character of Nom. and Gen. with the 1 sg. pers. pron., uniting these two cases in Indo-European, makes a very significant feature, referring one to the epoch, when the paradigmatic declension did not yet exist, and the stems of "proto-declension" have been formed just in the pronominal sphere, probably, first of all among the personal pronouns, and to begin with the 1 sg. in a more specific and narrow way. This most irregular and most "exceptional" part of declension ("proto-declension") is a great contrast not only to other classes of pronouns (especially to the demonstrative ones), but also to nouns, which have developed much more regular paradigms, more easily predictable. But the remote source of such paradigms should be most probably those "proto-paradigms", where the future relations or those only coming into existence were modeled by lexical elements, being simultaneously different in one respect, and identical (or "similar") in another, the fact, referring one, properly speaking, to the idea of suppletion, like in \*eg'h-om: \*men- / \*mon-, which has passed through millennia, and can be traced distinctly in the most part of modern I.-E. languages.

At this stage of reasoning there arises a question about the origin of this suppletion, the locus (in the broadest sense of the word), where this phenomenon did not yet exist, but the conditions for its formation at the next step of de-

velopment were ready. There are grounds to suppose that the suppletion in this case should be explained not by an attempt to make up deficiencies of an incomplete paradigm (the very idea of a paradigm at such an early period would probably, look anachronistic), but by juxtaposition of two elements, connected with designation of the 1st person, I, that is the one to whom speech belongs, the voice of this place and this time that are involved into the act of communication by means of I. In other words, in this case it would be rather the matter of an elementary binary syntagma of the \*eg'h-om & \*men- type (something like the Engl. that's me), in which the relation of the juxtaposed members could be interpreted in a different way - as pure synonymy, when one member is defining the speaker "deictically", and the other "ego-centrally"; as bringing together these two definitions (that is establishing their identity by means of unity of the denotatum); as an appositive means of expression of syntactic relations (e.g., Ego connected [belongs to, originates from, depends upon, etc.] with "now-here" etc). In this case \*eh'h-om and \*men-, which were originally members of a syntagmatic series, only afterwards took shape of members of a developing paradigm. In a more recent epoch \*eg'h-om and \*men-, or, to be exact, forms continuing them diachronically, are treated with good reason as correspondingly Nom. and Gen. (or - wider - Obl., i.e. a kind of "oblique" proto-case), but in an earlier epoch they are unique, identical to each other in the frame of a common syntagma. This situation reminds one in a sense of the original unity of forms of the Nom. and Gen., described in a convincing way in his time by N. van Wijk, who meant the I.-E.

o-stem declension, having -os for the Nom. inflexion and -os (with later variations) for the Gen. one. In any case, both the O.-Ind. *vrkas* (Nom.) - *vrkas-ya* (Gen.) and even more the Pruss. *deiws* (from  $\text{ṛdeiwas}$ ) (Nom.) - *deiwas* (Gen.) etc. safely retain traces of the former unity. The prehistory of the elementary "Nominative - Genitive" syntagma ( $\text{ṛdeju-os}$  &  $\text{ṛuir-os}$ , lit. "god & man"  $\longrightarrow$  "god's man", "divine man", etc.) testifies both to the unity of its members, and to the conditions that have given start to the process of differentiation, resulting in the formation of two different cases. This secondary "paradigmatization" of the members of the original "syntagmatic" series belongs in a sense to the same type, as the formation of  $\text{ṛeg'h-om}$  (Nom.) -  $\text{ṛmen-}$  (Gen.) based on the original syntagma.

The first and evidently the most serious question that arises in case one accepts this scheme concerns the possibility of functioning of  $\text{ṛmen-}$ , which in all the I.-E. languages is met only in the Gen. (or in oblique cases), in the direct case, i.e. in the Nom. The above considerations were mainly of a theoretical and purely reconstructive kind, though there exist typological analogies in a number of languages, functioning both as original (basic) formations, and as secondary (sometimes even occasional) ones. The fact that  $\text{ṛme(n)-}$  has been functioning also in the direct case (Nom.) can be corroborated by data of the macrofamily, to which Indo-European belonged.

In the dictionary by V. M. Illič-Svityč  $\text{ṛmi}$  (obl.  $\text{ṛmi-na}$ ); Kartv.  $\text{ṛme-}$  /  $\text{ṛmi-}$  "I" (the stem of the oblique case  $\text{ṛme-n-}$ ); I.-E.  $\text{ṛme}$  "I" (the stem of the oblique case: Gen.  $\text{ṛme-ne}$ );

Ural.  $\text{mi}$  "I" (the stem of the oblique case  $\text{mi-}$ ); Altaic  $\text{bi}$  "I" (the stem of the oblique case  $\text{min-}$ ). The analysis of data of specific groups of this macrofamily reveals the fact that forms with the element -n- often function as a direct case (Nom.), cp. Ural.  $\text{mi(n)}$ : Finn. *minä*, Lapp. *mon*, Mordv. *mon*, Selkup *man*, Kamasin *man*, etc., or Old-Turk. *bän / män* etc., though the appearance of -n- in the Nom. is usually explained by analogical spreading of this formant from oblique cases. Putting aside the question about where else in the "Nostratic" languages this -n- was used as an element of the paradigm (as an indicator of person with the verb, as an expression of possessivity with the noun etc.), and assuming the general supposition that forms of the 1 sg. pers. pron. without -n- in oblique cases are a result "of a peculiar renewal of an ancient structure", it is, probably, worth stressing a general tendency to annihilation and, so to say, "washing away" of elements, continuing the "Nostratic"  $\text{mi-} : \text{mi-n-}$  in many languages. There are cases, when one can, probably, speak of the loss of this element in the 1 sg. pers. pron. (as in Semito-Hamitic and Dravidian languages), there are other cases, when this element is positively driven back to the periphery, and a third group of cases, when a "remodelling" of a more ancient structure takes place. The last case is especially characteristic just of the I.-E. languages, which have practically ousted  $\text{m-(n-)}$  from the Nom., pressed this element hard in the oblique cases and in the Gen., where it somehow remained better in the majority of the I.-E. languages, and, at last, worked out a more simplified system of enclitic forms of the 1st person, parallel to a more complete one, which at the same time is also functioning as a result of simplificative transformations of the "Nostratic" system.

The direction of the dynamics of development of  $\text{H}_m\text{-n-}$  gives grounds to suppose that Indo-European at an early stage might fix a safer shape of this element, which might be treated at that period not as a pronominal indicator, but as an element, possessing fuller weight and independent meaning, and belonging (probably in terms of a later period) to another grammatical class of words, for instance, to the noun with the root  $\text{H}_{men-}$ . Taking into consideration the fact that in contradistinction to other "Nostratic" languages (not to speak of apparently, peripheral data, or rather of their traces) Indo-European safely testifies to the form  $\text{H}_{eg'h-om}$ , functioning as Nom. sg. of the personal pronoun of the 1st person, and that there are combinations of the deictic element  $e-$  ( $< \text{H}_{e-}/\text{H}'e-$ , i.e. the same as in  $\text{H}_{eg'h-om}$ ) with the (so called) "pronominal"  $\text{H}_{me(n)-}$  [cp. Old Greek  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  and the like] in the pronominal paradigm itself, one has to assume for the form of the Nom. of the 1. sg. pers. pron. the combination  $\text{H}_{eg'h-om}$  ( $\text{H}_{e-g'h-om}$ ) &  $\text{H}_{men-}$ . Any further progress in this direction is made possible only if one tries to define the nature and sense of the element  $\text{H}_{men-}$  in its, so to say, "prepronominal" status, because the "pronominal" one, despite all the ambiguous details, can be described as a whole in the range of the following approximate scheme: "my this-is-here-ness", "this-is-here-ness of me", "this-is-here-ness connected with me, ~pertaining to me", etc., all this being the description of the speaker made by himself, that is a selfcharacteristics of the author of speech at the moment, when it takes place.

Why is it that one should not limit himself with this "pronominal" interpretation of the  $\text{H}_{eg'h-om}$  &  $\text{H}_{men-}$  syntagma,



and why is it necessary to look for a "prepronominal" sense, hidden behind the pronominal one? Generally speaking, it is because the deictic \*eg'h-om indicates only place, while the "place-forming" function both for the mytho-poieic conscience and for the whole philosophic development from Plato to Heidegger presupposes that place should be really filled with a body, belonging to this place, and making it real, actualizing (if not forming) it. This original relation between place and body, which is filling it, became a locus, where the formation of the category of "possessiveness" began, and the system of relations connected with this body (the "proto-case" stage) came into being. Both the one, and other were indispensable for the origin of the paradigm of declension of the pronoun of the 1st person.

There is a question, what could be the "substratum" lexical meaning of the notion, which functions as I in the grammaticalized metaphorical version. Considering this problem, one has to face an obvious peculiarity that the denotation of you (2 sg. pers. pron.) rather often is based on the idea of social prestige (cp. the "etiquette" examples like the Sp. Usted < Vuestro Merced, Polish Waszmość, Wasza Miłość, Lith. Támsta, etc.), or on that of some completeness, abundance, power and its increase (which is corroborated by the propinquity of the I.-E. \*tū "you" and \*tū-, \*teu-, \*tou-, etc. "to swell"; "grow", "increase", "become stronger", etc., see Pok. I, 1080-1085, as well as the Indo-Iranian particle tū with emphatic and adversative meaning, which was described elsewhere), as well as on some "contrastive" trace left in syntagma of the type "I..., but (you)..." or "I..., as to

(you)...", quite natural in a dialogue, especially in the part of I, rather than in a paradigm. Judging by various reflections of this element in I.-E. languages, the power-increase, expressed by it, is of an outer kind; it is material, visible, countable (as it is represented in a number of denotata: from flesh and fat to people and tribe). The sphere of manifestation of this power is the "body" in a broad sense of the word (with a tinge of some mechanistic nature, extensiveness), but not of more subtle substances as soul and spirit.

Like the I.-E. \*eg'h-om predetermines some peculiarities of \*tū̃ (cp. also the elements that are plausibly correlated with \*tū̃), the same way some characteristics of \*tū̃ that were generally depicted here make it possible to suppose some things concerning \*eg'h-om "I" - especially as I (like you) has also in a number of languages its substitutes, evidently referring onę to non-grammatical, and therefore non-pronominal substratum denominations of I. The rôle of body, soul and spirit, a mysterious vital power of the "Mana" type, etc. has been already pointed out, as well as the whole problem of body and soul making a certain Urphänomen in the formation of linguistic elements, a "subjective" source of the future "objective" categories (Cassirer). Cp. many examples, when the denotation of body is substituted for the idea of I, like in Tuvin, bodum "(I) myself", bodumnuñ "(me) myself", bot, bodu meaning "body". A similar situation is found in Ved. tanū̃ "body" (:tan- "to stretch" etc.), which also functions as reflexive pronoun (cp. RV X, 128, 5; VIII, 100, 1, etc.).

The functioning of tanū̃ in similar cases, and first of all with the 1st person, which, judging by many data, has

been the very locus, where the meaning "I", "I myself", "of myself", etc. was correlated with this word, requires some explanations, especially if one keeps in mind all that was said about the possible semantics of \*tū̃ and cognate words. The idea of a body as of something grown, increased, stretched corresponds first of all to the sphere of you, as it has been depicted above. The explanation of this and similar cases, giving occasion to establish identity or at least to corroborate I with the body, can be found in the peculiarity that the idea of body in connection with the analysed situation possesses two senses. When the body functions as the image of filling a place (cp. to put on weight, to be fat, i.e. to grow/increase), it belongs to the sphere of you. But the body has also another image - it can be a metaphor of the place itself, of the "place-forming" function (or even its metonymy). In this last case, the body is not a material filling or a specific material reality, but a pure function, an abstract notion, in the sense of Plato's *χώρος*. It is not the concrete, but the abstract, not the objective, but the subjective, not the material, physical, but the spiritual, psychic that becomes the main element in the body, and this second, abstract meaning of the body was appraised at its true worth by the language, and used in many ways. The "body" was re-coded many times into more subtle, more essential, more individual, intensifying-personal notions, which made at last the "Ichgefühl" and "Ichbegriff" possible, without which the idea of pronoun can hardly exist at all. The formation of the above-mentioned "feeling" (sensation) and of the "idea" of I meant the introduction into the "proto-language"

of the category of person, of I as the author of speech that takes place here and now, and by means of it of the act of speech itself as of a universal form of symbolic exchange, occurring in the shape of sounds. Strictly speaking, it is only from this moment that one can speak about language, and break-in to language from the "proto-language". But in a glossogenetic perspective one should always keep in mind not only the beginning of the language, but also what was previous to it, and how this what became language, the beginning of it. And this returns one again to Humboldt's idea that the simple pronouns themselves go back to the denotation of local relations and those of perception and - in connection with the theme of this article - to the problem of the I.-E. \*eg'h-om & \*men-.

The process of "spiritualization" of the image of body, attempts to reveal its more "sublimated" correspondences and continuations could not but leave traces in the language. The connection of denotations of I with the ideas of soul, spirit, breath, some "subtle" mental (psychical, but not physical!) power was mentioned many a time, therefore it suffices here to remind only of the Vedic situation - the gradual supplanting of tanū́ "body" by the word ātmán "spirit" in the function of reflexivity-selfness, cp. priyám pitṛ́bhya ātmāne brahmábhyaḥ kṛṇutá priyám. AV XII, 2, 34 "Do favour for the ancestors, for yourself, do favour for the Brahmans!" etc.

In connection with the second member of the formula \*eg'h-om & \*men-, where \*men- is correlated to I (me etc.), there arises naturally the problem of relation of this personal pronoun of the 1st person in the oblique form with the I.-E. root \*men-, denoting mental activity, a specific kind

of "subtle" excitement, a state of certain vibration, which makes possible to reveal and realize specific creative powers - the gift of eloquence, memory of the past, foresight of the future, break-in to the essence, to the noumenal, etc. Despite all the varieties of usage and meanings of forms that continue the I.-E.  $\text{men-}$ , there is no doubt about its original unity, cp.: O.-Ind. *mānas* (:mānyate), Avest. *manah-* (:mainyeite), Gr.  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (:  $\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron$ ,  $\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}$ ),  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$ , Arm. *i-manam*, Lat. *meminī*, *mēns*, O.-Irish *do-moiniur*, Goth. *munan*, OE *mon*, *man*, OIsl. *munr*, Lith. *miñti* (*menù*), *minėti*, *mintis*, Slav.  $\text{mēnēti}$ ,  $\text{pa-mēti}$ , Tokh. A *mmu*, B *mañu*, Hitt. *memmāi*, etc. (Pokorny I, 726-728). In this case, however, the maximum of information about the prehistory of this *man*-notion can be got more easily of the data of the two most archaic in "philosophized" traditions - Old Indian and Old Greek, where this notion has been frequently used and analyzed from different view-points, rather than of the vast majority of pertaining facts. In the first of these traditions *mānas* (approximately "mind", "intellect") became one of the main metaphysical concepts. "Manas" was realized as mind in a most general way, including all the mental manifestations, such as intellect, capacity to understand (i.e. to give a meaning to the impressions acquired through the organs of senses, and to give answers to these impressions); as perception, feeling, conscience, will; as an inner organ of perception and cognition, an instrument, with the help of which thoughts arise, and objects of perception exert influence upon the soul, as thought, reflexion, imagination, intention, affect, wish, mood, etc. *Manas* is usually placed into the heart (beginning

from the Ṛgveda), which explains its vibrating and pulsating character. There are no doubts about the connection of mānas with ātman and puruṣa, or universal soul, vital principle, conscience, I, though the differences are evident: manas in contradistinction to Ātman and puruṣa belongs to the body and is, as a rule, destructible and perishable, as well as a human being in his "empirical" hypostasis. Despite all the differences in the interpretation of mānas in various schools of the Old Indian tradition, it is its relation to man, to his inner perception (opposed to outer one - bāhya) that turns to be essential. It arises from contact of mānas with psychic states (mānas together with the five organs of senses making the six organs of cognition; its rôle being an organizing and summarizing one; I realizing itself as such just by means of it - and my means of being opposed to what is not I, as well as by means of constituting a sensual and mental basis of this I), with immaterialness, and, at last, with a vital and individual element in that particular aspect, which is connected with creation of a certain type. The fact that mānas is oriented toward I, belongs mainly to it (possessivity), can hardly give rise to any doubts, at least, as far as historically testified concepts are concerned. The connection of mind, thought and opinion just with I is also supported by the "ontological" etymology, going back to Hegel and used many times by Heidegger, according to which the Germ. mein "my" (i.e. belonging to I) is connected in a deep structure with meinen "to have an opinion" (which can be expressed in an experimental "philosophic" language as "to my", that is to make mine, attributed to the sphere of "my", and thus to "I").

Be as it is, the connection of "I", "my" with thought oriented toward the subject is very instructive. It unites all the elements, making the point of an arrow directed by human conscience toward mastering and learning new layers of existence. If one tries to characterize the properties of *mánas*, one should see that its main features defined independently are such that they are opposed to the "deep" characteristic features of  $\text{ṛtū-}$  ( $:\text{ṛtū}$  "you"), which were depicted above. *Manas* is characterized as outer ( $\text{ṛtū-}$  - inner), invisible ( $\text{ṛtū-}$  - visible), spiritual and psychic ( $\text{ṛtū-}$  - material), absolutely individual ( $\text{ṛtū-}$  being mostly connected with indefinite individuality), intensive ( $\text{ṛtū-}$  - extensive). It needs no stressing that you has no mentally creative aspect connected with *mánas*, as well as with creator of speech, I, neither that "material" growth, the denotation of which coincides at least formally with the word for you, possesses this aspect.

All these considerations give one good grounds to put a question about the principal possibility (the aspect of argumentation being not touched upon in this case, the supposition of some new spiral of the movement of thought seeming to be more important at this stage) of connection between the "pronominal"  $\text{ṛmen-}$ , particularly in the I.-E.  $\text{ṛeg'h-om}$  &  $\text{ṛmen-}$ , and  $\text{ṛmen-}$  as a denotation of mental activity, its nerve. It is not excluded that this connection will not seem completely unacceptable, if one calls to mind the affective-emotional component of the language and its rôle (leading, as many authorities recognize) in the origin of the language; the ancient theory about the connection of language in its

initial stage with what was called  $\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  by the Greeks; the sources of "poetical" logic and art, living upon it; Plato's doctrine about  $\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , fury and obsession ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\chi\omega\chi\eta$ ) by it; the closeness of "art" to the sphere of the irrational.

When the Vedic word *mánas* is connected with the 1st person (me *mánas*, *máma mánas*) practically it functions by itself as a kind of denotation-substitution of the 1st person, revealing the nucleus within I, its kernel, main point, quintessence of the personal, which can be recognized by that specific vibration-trembling, mental excitement, testifying to the state of creative obsession. "My mind (*máno...* me) is trembling (*vepate*) with fear of absence (lack) of thoughts (*ámater*)" - a poet says in a hymn addressed to Indra (RV.  $\bar{V}$ , 36, 3), and nearby: "This singer of yours (*jaritá ta...*), O Indra, getting excited, strongly raises his voice (*iyarti vácam brhád āsuṣāṇāḥ*), like a pressingstone."  $\bar{V}$ , 36, 4. This substitution of the 3rd person for the "natural" 1st person, as well as that of a possessive form in combination with *mánas* for the 1st person of the personal pronoun makes it possible to suppose the initial situation and its canonically unified variant - I (*ahám* [or *máma*, me "of me"] → *máno ... me*) am trembling with fear... I, your singer, ... getting excited strongly raise my (me, *máma*) voice". Many other contexts also reveal the connexion of the word *mánas* with poetic creative work, and this circumstance together with connection of *mánas* with what is the essence of personality, and of I in particular, makes one pay attention to that specific kind of poetical creative work, which - to a certain extent and with enough probability - can be regarded as one of the possible



loci of formation of the "1st-personality", I itself. However from the very beginning one should stress that in a number of contexts the word *mánas* is dissolved in the denotation of the person (including I), with which this word is connected, or - looking at it from the opposite side - the very word *mánas* becomes semantically "void", as if it were merged into the denotation of its possessor, and in this sense *mánas* can function, despite of the fact that this form of expression was not institutionalized in Old Indian, like the Gr. *μένος* in combinations of the type *μένος Ἑκτορος* (Homer), lit. "Hector's soul", "Hector's essence", being actually absolutely identical with *Ἑκτωρ*; cp. *μένος Ἀνδρῶν* (Homer), i.e. *Ἀνδρες* etc.

There is no doubt the connection of the concept of *mánas*, *ṁdváḥ* (: *μένος*) with poetical creative work, that is with creative word, concerning the Vedic and Old Greek traditions. Generally speaking, the one, whose *mánas* is brought into the state of a special kind of oscillatory movement or who is obsessed by *ṁdváḥ*, is a poet. It is not by chance that one of the most wide-spread denotations of a poet-singer in the Vedic tradition is *vípra*, i.e. innerly trembling, excited, inspired, from *vip-* "to be in a trembling, shaken, excited, shocked state". The word *vípra-* is applied to a singer, as if he were described in a moment of inspiration, poetical creative work; but it can also be applied to a man, a sage, a priest, to a God, if they are possessed of a certain mental and psychical structure and correspondingly of a gift to penetrate into the past and the future, of provisional abilities. Certain genres of religions verbal creative work are characterized, as it was already depicted, by the same word -

a song, prayer, formula, and the spirit that inspires a poet to create them (cp. *mánas* as denotation of spirit, mental disposition to compose a song, etc.).

But how is that <sup>✧</sup>men-personage of the formula I.-E. <sup>✧</sup>eg'h-om & <sup>✧</sup>men-, who directly refers one to the 1 sg. pers. pron., to I, the author, creator of speech, in this (<sup>✧</sup>e-) place and in this (<sup>✧</sup>e-) moment creating it, connected with poetical creative work? To draw nearer to the answer of this question, one should put one more question - what might be the meaning of speaking, i.e. of using words, concerning the epoch of glossogenesis? Though it is impossible to touch upon it in a more detailed way, one should nevertheless, basing on most general grounds, express some suppositions. First, speech, speaking and a pronounced word were at this time marked both in respect of "non-speech", silence, and in respect of other systems of signs of a more archaic origin, than language (e.g., that of gestures), and in this sense, they might be more emotional, affective, as well as more capable of improvisation and more informative (in the theoretical-informational sense), than more fixed, institutionalized texts of other signs that were already cast in mould. Secondly, speech, word, speaking should have been functioning most probably as a kind of an improvised ritual, which becomes necessary only in an extreme situation, in a state of crisis. There do not exist any standard means, which one could foresee, to find a way to get out of this crisis, and one can only look for a chance, occasion, success, the probability of which cannot be calculated. As every ritual is an act, deed, the same way speaking-speech is also a deed (one

would like to say - "not a word, but a deed", although it is the word itself that is a deed par excellence). Thirdly, ritual, as well as speaking - speech in particular, concern the whole society ("collective body"), but in this case the whole collective body is as if amalgamated in the image of the one, who is performing the ritual, who takes responsibility for everybody, and takes the risk of speaking, that is to become I, and who, functioning as a priest, performer of the ritual, like any priest, feels himself at the same time being a victim. The act of speaking-speech is in this respect a sign that one is ready to die, a step towards death, devastation in the word of his vital power, vital matter (see below). Fourthly, speaking-speech in these circumstances was something intermediary and quite unpredictable; it has separated from the knowledge, which had existed before the beginning of speech, but was not yet endowed with knowledge, which might be attained in case of success by means of speech-word.

As a matter of fact, the peculiarities of speech, which have been depicted hitherto, of the word situated on the frontier line, separating the original "dumbness" from speech, making its first steps, characterize also the poet and his creative work - dying during his life, descent into the realm of the dead to find there vital water, the mead of poetry, the power of word that surpasses everything described by it. In a certain degree - this being just the contents of the "principal" myth about poet and poetry - everyone, who once descended during his life in the realm of the dead, came in contact with death, is a poet. In this sense, I of the glosogenetic epoch should be taken for a poet. It is true for

I that to say a word is to die, rather than "It is easier to pick up a stone, than to pronounce your name" (Mandelstam). And word is like a lot with the two meanings: eternal death and eternal life (eternal word). The proto-poet and proto-I can be looking under such circumstances only for a chance, and he finds it in that "subtle" <sup>3</sup>men-movement different from the cosmic rhythm, the aim of this movement being to "provoke" the outer situation, to test it, make it reveal itself, so as to understand his own position in it, and through it to understand himself, his own I. So it is chance through risk, life through death, agreement through discord. As to the poet, it is particular to him - creation through word; "said and/or thought in his heart" is a usual cliché known not only in archaic mythopoetical traditions (cp. the placing of *manas* and thought into the heart), this being often creation itself, at least a potential one.

Unfortunately, the problem of nature and character of the "proto-speech" was actually given little attention. However, things that are still known about it are confirmed in some essential respects by data belonging to extreme often pathological (functionally, at least) kinds of speaking met with prophets, priests, shamans, God's fools, mystics, ecstasies, and frequently even with poets, belonging to the modern "civilized" world. Information about "speaking" (ritual and ritualized, in particular) in archaic cultures is corroborated by other facts and in accordance with general ideas. The main psychophysical characteristic features of such speaking are the existence of a special excitement, agitation, "trembling" of speech (both in pronunciation of

the speaker and in grammar and lexics), uttering in a broken voice, an irregular chaotic character, incoherent, glossolalia, hysterical nature and, at last, the manner of pronunciation, itself with a marked intensity of voice, timbre, rate of speech, sometimes imitation of other voices, etc. Forms of such speech are often correlated to illnesses called „emitya-čenie“ and „meheryii“, often met among shamans, either in a period, when they acquire the shamanic gift or in the process of "kamlaniye" (shamanic performance); sometimes this special speech is ascribed to spirits, prophesying through the shaman. In this broad context important in many details in connection with the theme under investigation, two motives usually connected with each other are of special interest. A person, who is destined by the spirits for shaman in future, experiences among other painful feelings a specific feeling of "fainting", as if it preceded a real dying and was caused by the fact that evil spirits had stolen the future shaman's soul (cp. Yakut kut "soul of living beings"), his vital power. He becomes "void" of the vital matter, because, using the language of known traditions, he was deprived of what is called *mánas*, his "defective", degraded speech being a result of his fainting-dying.

Such a dependence seems also to shed light on the relation of *mánas*, μένος (: μένω), which are connected in particular with the poetic gift, to the denotation of such mental activities as to speak, think, reflect, remember, call to mind, give a meaning, understand, foretell, prophesy, etc., which are reflected in abundance in the most different I.-E. languages.

Taking into consideration all the above-said, there arises a possibility in this perspective to correlate  $\text{eg}'\text{h-om}$  &  $\text{men-}$  with speaking-thinking, word-thought, the first deed of this I. The possibility to interpret  $\text{eg}'\text{h-om}$  &  $\text{men-}$  in spite of all the limitations and conditions (and naturally only for one of the layers of the language) as "this-is-here-ness & speak (think)" would mean a lot for understanding of one of the main loci of glottogenesis and the original components of the developing language. In any case, from the theoretical view-point there should be no surprise because of the possibility of denotation of I, defined as the one, who is here and now speaking, one of main aspects of the mental  $\text{men-}$  complex. Another aspect of the same  $\text{men-}$  is thinking as a predicate of I. Such an I, void of everything "material" and making it possible to speak about the ideal identity with itself, has special advantages in comparison with all that is material and different. Therefore it is not by chance that it also became a principle of philosophy itself.

## ON THE ORIGIN AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE SACRED SANSKRIT SYLLABLE OM\*

Hans Henrich Hock

*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

0. In a recent paper (1981), Parpola claims that the Sanskrit particle *om* (also referred to as *praṇava*) was borrowed from Dravidian in the meaning 'yes'. He rejects earlier views, including Keith's (1917) derivation of *om* from the nasal(ized) lengthening of final vowels in Vedic recitation. (Keith's derivation agrees with Bloomfield's earlier (1890) interpretation as far as the origin of the nasal is concerned. Bloomfield, however, derived the particle from PIE \**au* which he glossed as 'now then, well now'. Recitational nasalization is considered a possibility also in Wackernagel 1896:302. For other early views see Böhtlingk & Roth 1855 s.v. *om* and Weber 1853:187-8.)

Parpola's argument is based first on his reading of the Śrautasūtras as establishing the liturgically oldest use of *om*: According to him, the word is used in expressions such as *om praṇaya* 'om, bring forward' which he calls *prasava* and glosses as 'literally "instigation", but in this context also translated "permission, assent" ...'. The passage cited in example (1), with *om* substituting for the prefix *ā*, in his view, then, reflects a secondary extension, 'a gradual assimilation of the Adhvaryu's *saṁpraīṣa* to the foregoing *prasava*.'

- (1) a) *ó śrāvaya* (MS 1.4.11)  
b) *óm śrāvaya* (MS 4.1.11)  
= *ā śrāvaya* (KS 31.13) etc.  
'Call for the *śrauṣaṭ*.'

A similar extension is in Parpola's view found in the Rig-Vedic recitation of the *hotṛ*, where *om* is substituted for the vowel and any

\* An earlier version of this paper was read at the 1989 Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society. I am grateful to the University of Illinois Scholars Travel Fund and Program in South and West Asian Studies for support to attend the meeting. I owe thanks also to George Cardona, Alexander Lubotsky, and Michael Witzel for comments on the paper. As usual, the responsibility for errors and omissions is mine.





addition we need to postulate an 'exclamatory' origin for some of the uses of *om*. It is not entirely clear whether these two different sources can be reduced to one. I conclude by speculating on the path by which *om* became the Sanskrit sacred syllable par excellence.

1. To come to a better understanding of *om* it is, I believe, necessary to go beyond the fairly late evidence of the Śrautasūtras, and of the likewise quite late Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa passage in (4) and to examine instead the earliest relevant attestations, found in the Yajur-Veda Samhitās and in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa, one of the oldest brāhmaṇa texts.<sup>2</sup>

1.1. Let me begin with the citations in (5). Of these, only the ones in (a) and (c) are compatible with Parpola's claim that *om* in the oldest ritualistic texts introduces prasavas. That interpretation is not possible for the similar (d), since the latter is not directed at a participant in the ritual. And the interpretation is rather difficult to apply to (b), in which the person addressed is a participant in the ritual, but is not asked to engage in any ritual act (other than to respond to the question being asked).

- (5) a) bhūr bhúvaḥ svàr devásya savitúḥ prasavé bṛhaspáti-  
prasūtā |  
óm indravántaḥ pracarata (MS 4.9.2)  
'Bhūr bhúvaḥ svàr, under the impulse of god Savitr  
(the impeller), impelled by Bṛhaspati;  
*Om*, proceed, (you) with the word *Indra*!'
- b) áver apò 'dhvaryā́3 óm || íty ávido yajñā́3m íti vā etád  
āha (MS 4.5.2)  
' "Have you seen the waters, Adhvaryu, *om*?" Thereby  
he says "Have you seen the sacrifice?" '
- c) ó3m prátīṣṭha (VS(M) 2.13)  
'*Om*, proceed!'
- d) ó3m kráto smara (VS(M) 40.15)  
'*Om*, (you) mystical power, remember!'

Rather, closer examination of the passages in (5) leads to a different generalization: The passages in (5a,c,d) contain imperatives, (5d) has a vocative beside the imperative, and (5b) contains a vocative. This

<sup>2</sup> Because of their doubtful antiquity, I won't consider the occurrences of *om* in the Rig-Vedic Khilas, such as *sā mām ... devī sarvataḥ pari rakṣatu sarvataḥ pari rakṣatu om namaḥ* 'Let that Goddess protect me on all sides, protect me on all sides; *om*, adoration!' (19.11).

suggests that *om* here functions as a particle of address, used with vocatives and imperatives, just like a variety of other particles in Sanskrit and elsewhere in early Indo-European. Cf. e.g. (6) for Sanskrit, and (7) - (10) for other early Indo-European languages.<sup>3</sup>

- (6) a) **ho** hotar (AŚS 8.13.5, 10.6.13)  
'Ho, hotṛ.'
- cf. b) **ॐ** hotas tathā hotar (ib. 8.13.5)  
'Om, hotṛ; yes/thus, hotṛ.'
- c) mahānāmnīr **bho** anubrūh(i) (ib. 8.14.15)  
'Repeat the mahānāmnīs, *bho*.'
- e) jāye **ho** tiṣṭha (Harivaṁśa 1398)  
'Wife, *ho*, stay ...'
- f) **hayé** jāye mānasā tiṣṭha ghore (RV 10.95.1a)  
'Haye, wife, in your mind, stay, cruel one ...'  
(Sim. RV 2.29.4a, 5.57.8a.)
- g) tārda **hai** pātāṅga **hai** jāmyā h(ai) ... apódita (AV 6.50.2)  
'Borer, *hai*, locust, *hai*, grinder, *hai* ... go on away.'  
(Paipp. instead has *hem* (2x); sim. AV 18.4.66a)
- h) **hé** 'lāvo **hé** 'lāva(h) (ŚB(M) 3.2.1.23)  
'He, enemies/strangers; *he*, enemies/strangers!'  
(Sim. Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ.1.1.1, Kielhorn p.2.7-13. ŚB(K) 4.2.1.24 has *hailó hailá(h)* instead.)
- i) sa ha saṁgrahītāram uvāca  
ānayasva **are** ... (JUB 3.2.2.8)  
'He said to the charioteer: "Lead up (the chariot), *are*..."'
- (7) a) **ô** Khrúsē, pró m' épempsen áanax andrôn Agamémnōn (Il. 1.442)  
'Oh Chryses, Agamemnon, king of men, sent me forth.'
- b) **ô** paûe, paûe... (Aristoph.Ran.269)<sup>4</sup>  
'Oh, stop, stop ...'
- (c) **éason ô** (Aristoph. Lysistr. 350)  
'Give up, Oh.'

<sup>3</sup> For a more comprehensive treatment of such particles, see Schwenner 1924 with references. See also Schwyzler 1949:60, 564, 566, 584, 600, 601 for Greek, Hofmann-Szantyr 1972:26, 339 for Latin, and Grimm 1890:212, 279-306 for early Germanic. For Old English, I have also drawn on Bosworth-Toller 1887 and the OED.

<sup>4</sup> The use of *ô* with imperatives not accompanied by vocatives does not seem to be found in the Iliad.

- d) **â deil(é)** (Il. 11.441)  
'Ah, wretch ...'
- e) **â mẽ kólaze, présbu** (Soph. O.R. 1147)  
'Ah, do not punish, prince.'
- (8) a) **o mi oculo, o mi anime** (Plt. Mil. 1330)  
'Oh, my eye, Oh, my soul.'
- b) **heia mea Iuno** (Plt. Cas. 231)  
'Oh, my Juno ...'
- c) **Heus, sta ilico, amator** (Plt. Cas. 955)  
'Oh/hey, stay here, my lover.'
- d) **Heus, foras | exite huc aliquis** (Plt. Epid.398-9)  
'Oh/hey come ye (pl.) out here, someone (sg.).'
- (9) a) **La, næddrena cyn** (Mt. Kmbl. 3.7:12.34)  
'Oh, generation of vipers.'
- b) **Uton la gepencan** (Th.305.9)  
'Then, Oh, let us consider ...'
- c) **O mihti meiden** (OED sv.1225)  
'Oh, mighty virgin.'
- d) **Hei traitours, quap þemperour, beo ge icome herto**  
(OED, sv. *hey*, 1305)  
' "Hey, traitors," said the emperor, "come here." '
- (10) a) **la lieb man** (Notk. Bth. 115b)  
'O homo.' = 'Oh, man.'
- b) **il-a du zit** (Gl. 812.4)  
'Festina tempus.' = 'Hurry-Oh, time.'
- c) **o wunneclicher herre** (Elis. 4725)  
'O marvellous sir.'

Many of the same particles can be used in other contexts, as well, which share with those in (5) - (10) the fact that they constitute exclamations; cf. (6') - (10')

- (6') a) **úpahūtām3 hó íty āh(a)** (TS 2.6.7.3)  
'(It is) invoked, *ho*.'  
(Sim. ŚB(M) 1.8.1.23, but with *hég*; ŚB(K) 2.7.3.14,  
with MS variants *hég, hé, ha, ho, hag, harig, hog*.)
- b) **yán nú ho tād gāyatrīvid ābrūthā átha kathām hastī bhūtó vahas(i)** (ŚB(M) 14.8.15.11 = BAU 5.15.11)  
'How now, *ho*, if you called yourself one who knows the  
gāyatrī, have you become an elephant and carry (people)?'

- c) **hai** mahā(3) **hai** mahā(3) idam madhv idam madhv  
(JB 2.404)  
'*Hai*, the happiness, *hai*, the happiness; here is honey, here is honey.' (Sim. KŚS 13.3.21-22, Dr.ŚS 11.3.17)
- d) **kā** īm **are** piśaṅgilā **kā** īm kurupiśaṅgilā (VS(M) 23.55)  
'What, *are*, is the reddish one, what is the kuru-reddish one?' (Similarly BAU 2.4.1, ChU 4.1.7, etc.)
- (7') a) **ō** moi (Il. 1.149 and passim)  
'Oh my.'
- b) **ō** pròs theôn (Soph. Ai.371)  
'Oh, by the Gods.'
- (8') a) **Oh** perii (Plt. Cas. 237)  
'Oh, I've died = I'm dead.'
- b) **Heia**, *delicias facis* (Plt. Men. 381)  
'Hey, you're being cute.'
- c) **heus**, *ecquis hic est ianitor?* (Plt. Men. 673)  
'Oh/hey, is there any doorman here?'
- (9') **þæt la mæg secgan ...** (Beow. 3404)  
'That, Oh, may say ...'
- (10') a) **wer-a** **wer** | **ia**, **wer** **mac** **der** **man** **gesin ...?**  
(Erl. 5402-3)  
'Who, Oh, who, indeed, who may that be?'
- b) **owe** **mir** **unde o** **wafen** (Trist.254.19)  
'Oh, woe is me, and Oh, to arms.'
- c) **wafen-o** (Parz. 675.18)  
'To arms, Oh.'
- d) **hei**, **waz** **er** **grozer** **eren** **ze** **diser** **werlde** **gewan** (Nib.21.4)  
'Hey, what great honors he won in this world.'

Beyond the fact that these particles accompany exclamations, they share several other features. One is the possibility of alternating with each other, as in (6d) beside (6e) and cf. the variations in (6g), (6'a). Note further the *ho* in (6a) beside *ǣ* in (6b), in combination with the same vocative, as well as *bhoḥ* in (6c), in a similar 'prasava' passage.

Another feature is the fact, noted e.g. by Schwentner (1924), that the particles tend to be either purely vocalic, such as *ō*, *ā*, or to consist of a sequence of *h* + vowel, as in *hō*, *hā*; note also Lat. *heia*, *heus*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Some particles, such as Lat. *heus*, differ somewhat by ending in a final non-nasal consonant; but note the similar SB variants in (6'a). Skt. *are*, *bhoḥ* differ even more markedly. (As is well known, they are frozen vocatives in origin.)

Greek additionally offers similar particles with final nasal: *ēn* 'lo' (post-Hom.) and *ōun, ōn* 'truly, indeed'; cf. also (O)Lat. *hem*.

Schwentner attempts to link (many of) these particles to Proto-Indo-European antecedents, but Schwyzer (1949:600, n. 1 and 6) considers borrowing possible for some of these and notes that Ion. *ā* does not exhibit the regular shift *\*ā > ē*. This suggests the possibility of independent developments, a possibility admitted in principle also by Schwentner (1924:2-3 with references). This impression is reinforced by the fact that in many languages particles of this type, whatever their origin, may be secondarily combined with each other, along language-specific lines, as in Gk. *ai* : *ai-ai*; *ō, ē* : *ō-ē*; MHG *hei, a* : *hei-a; o-we* in (10'b) above, etc. Note also sets like NHG *ha(h), ah, a-ha; ho, oh, o-ho*.

A language-specific feature of Sanskrit is the tendency of (some of) these particles to undergo 'pluti', i.e., to become trimoric (cf. e.g. (5c, d), (6c)), or to be associated with words exhibiting pluti, as in (5b), (6'a, c). (This matter will be taken up again in §§2.2 and 3.)

Finally, a syntactic feature of these particles is their crosslinguistic tendency to either precede or follow the 'exclamation' with which they are associated; cf. e.g. (5a,c,d) vs. (5b), (6a) vs. (6d), (6d) vs. (6'c), (7a,b) vs. (7c). This tendency seems to have persisted into (early) Modern English, leading to structures of the type (11); cf. also *sirr-a(h)* (OED s.v., since 1526).

- (11) O, the mill, mill-o, and the kill, kill-o  
(OED s.v. O, 1724-7)

What is significant is the parallelism between *om* and the other Sanskrit exclamatory particles as regards phonetic behavior (association with pluti), function (in 'exclamatory' contexts; cf. especially (6a-c)), and word order (before or after the 'exclamation'). This suggests that in the passages cited in (5), *om* does in fact function as an exclamatory particle, not as a particle of assent.

1.2. This impression is reinforced by the earliest prose use of *om* and the related *ām* exemplified in (12). (As (12a) shows, *ām* is attested in fairly early Vedic Prose, pace Parpola.) In the extended context of these passages, the two particles, even where they are used in response to another statement, do not convey affirmative connotations. (To express affirmation, other particles are used, including the *hi* in

(12b), second line; cf. also (13) and Delbrück 1888:524.) Rather, here too, *om* (and *ām*) function(s) as exclamatory particle(s).<sup>6</sup>

- (12) a) *jīvalaś ca ha kārīrādir indradyumnaś ca bhāllaveyas tau*  
*hāruṇe ācārasya sabhāga ājagmatus te hāṣāḍhasya*  
*grheṣu śiśyire sa hovācāṣāḍha*  
*ām āruṇe yat sahaiva brahmacaryam acarāva* (JB 1.271)  
 'Jīvala Kārīrādi and Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, these  
 two came to the dwelling of their teacher Āruṇi, (but)  
 they lived in Āṣāḍha's house. Then Āṣāḍha said:  
 "Lo/hey, Āruṇi, since we have studied together ..." '  
 (Sim. 1.285, 2.431 passim, 3.190)

- b) ... *tān hovāca* ṁ *itha grāmaṁ jaghanenā3 iti* ṁ  
*imo hi* ṁ *iti kasmai kāmāyeti patha ity*  
*om ity hovāca na nu vas tat svargyam ity* (JB 3.269)  
 'He said to them, "Do you go behind the village?"  
 "We go indeed." = "Yes, we go." "For what  
 purpose?" "For the road."  
 "Lo/hey, that does not get you to heaven." '  
 (Similarly JB 1.43 passim and 1.44)

- (13) a) *hi* ṁ *ity annaṁ pradīyate* (PB 12.11.14, 15.5.23)  
 '(With the word) "Yes", food is given.'

- b) *tāv abravīd āstu mé 'trāpīty āstu hī3 ity abrutām*  
 (TS 7.1.6.1)

'He said to the two of them, "Let something be also for  
 me." "Let there be indeed/Yes, let there be," they said.'

In many later prose dialogue passages, *om* appears to have a similar function. By the time of the Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad, however, we find passages in which it seems to clearly mean 'yes'; cf. e.g. (14a) beside the parallel (14b) from the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (with affirmative *hi*) and consider the even more overt passage in (14c). This new use must have arisen from reinterpretation of the *om* in passages like (12b) as meaning something like 'Yes, but ...', just as *hi* became an affirmative particle by reinterpretation in passages like (13b). It is this development, then, which must have given rise to passages like (4), in which *om* is explicitly equated with, or parallels, *tathā* 'yes'.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Caland consistently translates them as 'hé'.

<sup>7</sup> Interestingly, these passages appear earlier than the type (14a, c). Another clear passage suggesting that *om* has acquired the meaning 'yes' is AB 5.25.2 (repeated e.g. in AŚS; cf. (6b) above); cf. perhaps also AB 7.20.4 (with *om tathā*).

- (14) a) *anuśiṣṭo nv asi pitreti om iti hovāca* (BAU 6.2.1)  
 ' "Have you been instructed by your father?" "Yes," he said.'  
 b) *anu tvāśiṣat piteti anu hi bhagava iti* (ChU 5.3.1)  
 ' "Has your father instructed you?" "Yes, (he) in(structured me), Sir." '  
 c) *tad vā etad ajñākṣaram yad dhi kiṁ cānujānāti om ity eva tad āha* (ChU 1.1.8)  
 'This very (syllable) is a syllable of assent; for whatever one assents to, to that one says "*Om*".'

1.3. An apparently very different use of *om* is found in (15) which, except for the final *svaṛṇājyotiḥ* 'light of gold' is very difficult to interpret and which, therefore, I leave unglossed. In this passage, note first the multiple occurrences of *om*, one of which seems to be unaccented. Secondly, we find other syllables (*vā3* beside *vā*, as well as *e* and *ai*). These latter syllables are highly reminiscent of the 'filler' particles in Sāma-Vedic chant, especially *vā3/vā* (or its 'mystical' equivalent *vā3c/vāc*<sup>8</sup>); cf. e.g. the passages in (16).

- (15) *nidhāyo vā3 nidhāyo vā3 nidhāyo vā3 om vā3 om vā3 om vā e ai om svaṛṇājyotiḥ* (MS 4.9.21)  
 (16) a) *o vā ... o hā u vā ... utso devā hirā hā u vā* (JB 1.123)  
 b) *... ā au ho hā yi ... au ho hum mā tā yā hum mā* (JB 1.141)  
 c) *o vā3c o vā3c o vā3c hum bhā o vā* (JUB 4.8.4.2)

What is especially interesting is the frequent occurrence in Sāma-Vedic chant of *o*, *hā*, and *ho*. The latter is phonetically identical with exclamatory *ho* (cf. (6a,e) and (6'a,b)), *hā* has an exclamatory counterpart *hā* in later Sanskrit, and as will be seen in §§2.2 and 3, *o* can be phonologically related to *om*.

This suggests the interpretation of the *om* in (15) and of (many of) the other Sāma-Vedic 'filler' particles as an extension or special use of the corresponding exclamatory particle(s), comparable to that of Engl. *o* in (11) above or (17) below. Similar analogies between exclamatory and 'filler' particles can be observed in many other musical traditions; cf. e.g. the German folksong in (18), whose *holla* and *ho* are also used as ordinary exclamatory particles in German.

<sup>8</sup> On this matter, see further in §4 below.

- (17) Fox went out on a rainy night, prayed to the moon to give him light, for he'd many a mile to go that night afore he reached the town-o, town-o, town-o ...
- (18) Horch, was kommt von draußen rein, holla hi, holla ho ...

2.1. The uses of *om* so far examined are eminently compatible with the hypothesis that *om* started out as an exclamatory particle, but are difficult to reconcile with Parpola's affirmative-particle origin.

Other uses of *om*, however, appear to be very different: First, instead of being added to an utterance, *om* appears to SUBSTITUTE for part of an utterance, specifically for an *a*-vowel; cf. (19a). Moreover, the parallel passage in (19b) contains a non-nasal counterpart, *o*. Finally, plain *o*, without a nasal counterpart, appears to substitute for *a*-vowels in (20). (The interpretation of the latter passage will become clearer once we examine parallel, later passages such as (21) - (22).) Though different from the exclamatory type so far examined, these passages do not, however, provide any meaningful support for Parpola's hypothesis. Rather, (19a) attests to a use of *om* which Parpola considers secondary, at a time when we have no clear evidence for the allegedly primary use of *om* as an affirmative particle.

- (19) a) *óm śrāvaya* (MS 4.1.11)  
 b) *ó śrāvaya* (MS 1.4.11)  
     = *ā śrāvaya* (KS 31.13) etc.  
     'Call for the *śrauṣaṭ*.'
- (20) (*ś*)*ómsā móda iva* ~ *íti prátyāhvayate* (TS 3.2.9.5)  
     'He responds: *śómsā móda iva*.' (Keith: 'Recite, let us two rejoice.')
- (21) *śomsāvom* ... *śamsāmodaivom* ... (AB 3.12.1-4)  
 cf. *śámsāva* ~ *adhvaryo práti me gr̥nīhi* (RV 3.53.31)  
     'Let us two praise, Adhvaryu, respond to me.'
- (22) a) *madā moda iva modā moda iva*  
     or: *madā moda iva othā moda iva modā moda iva*  
     (ĀpŚS 13.13.8-10)  
 b) *othāmo devamade madāmo daivom ath(ā)* (AŚS 6.3.15)  
 c) *otho3 o3 modo3 o3 eva* (Śāṅkh.ŚS 10.5.27)  
 d) *śastraṁ vyatyāsaṁ pratigr̥ṇāti*  
     *othā moda iva madā moda ivom athā* (BhŚS 14.16.6)  
     'He responds to the *śastra* in reverse fashion:  
     *othā moda iva madā moda ivom athā*.'



Now, the proper interpretation of (19) is suggested first of all by the *padapāṭha* gloss on MS 1.4.11 (cf. (23)) which accounts for *o* as a SUBSTITUTION for *ā* and moreover, by adding the symbol 3 (which elsewhere refers to recitational phenomena like trimoric ('pluta') pronunciation or to a particular chanting pitch) relates that substitution to RECITATIONAL practices. Let us refer to this use of *o(m)* as 'recitational substitution'.

(23)      *ó śrāvayēty ā<sup>3</sup> śrāva<sup>3</sup>ya*

To this evidence must be added what appears to me the proper interpretation of the formula in (20) ≈ (21) and of the typologically related formula in (3) ≈ (22) which, though not attested in the earliest texts, appears to be quite old and established, to judge by its wide-spread appearance in later Vedic and in the *Srautasūtras*. (The two formulas occur next to each other in *Bhāradvāja-Srautasūtra* 13.31.12. For further examples and references see Weber 1868:36-7, n. 3.)

In (21) we find, again, that *o* and *om* are recitational substitutions for *a*-vowels, cf. RV *śāmsāva* beside AB *śomsāvom*. The variations in (23), such as *othā* : *otho3 o3* and *moda* : *modo3 o3*, suggest the same analysis for this formula. We can then extend this explanation to the alternation in the first syllables of *modā* and *madā*, rather than assuming these to be different words (from the roots *mud/mod-* and *mad-*, respectively). And the variations between *-da iva*, *-daiva*, and *-deva* are, as Weber (1868) realized, best accounted for as involving a sequence ending in *eva* 'indeed'. We may thus postulate an 'underlying' expression of the type (24). And similarly, we may postulate a formula (25) underlying the expression in (20/21).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> A similar interpretation is found in Hoffmann 1976. But his account differs in two aspects. First, he interprets *modaiva* etc. as du. 1 *modeva* 'let us two rejoice', which is possible but presupposes, as Hoffmann acknowledges, the assumption that the formula acquired its phonological shape at a time when the optative affix *-e-* still had diphthongal pronunciation. My analysis instead requires the assumption that the variant *modeva* resulted from a reinterpretation of *modaiva* (sandhi-form of *moda eva* 'rejoice indeed') as first dual on the model of du. 1 *śāmsāva* : *śomsāvom*. More important, Hoffmann considers *o* a lengthening of short *a* exclusively and proposes two possible accounts: Either *o* directly reflects a pronunciation [ɔ] for short *a*, which becomes [ɔ:] under affective lengthening; or the symbol *o* is used to indicate that lengthened *a* had, like short *a*, a less open pronunciation than long *ā*. Given the oral nature of Vedic tradition, the former, phonetically based interpretation appears more likely, for the second alternative seems to require a written medium to make sense. Hoffmann's interpretation may be considered supported by a mode of *Sāma*-Vedic recitation cited by Caland &

- (24) (\*) (*athā*) *madā madā eva*  
'(Now), rejoice, rejoice indeed.'  
(25) (\*) *śamsāva ... śamsā madā eva*  
'Let us two recite ... Recite, rejoice indeed.'

2.2. Passages of the type (20) - (22) further create difficulties for Parpola's phonetic account of the alternation between nasal *om* and plain *o* and raise interesting questions about the historical origin of the alternation.

First of all, note the predominance in these passages of the non-nasal form. This is important since the positions in which the non-nasal forms occur, namely before consonant (as in the first syllable of *śomsāvom*), are precisely the contexts in which Wackernagel's (1896: 333) occasional loss of word-final *-m* before vowel would not apply.

More than that, the passages in (22b,d) involve reverse recitation, where the formula is first recited in the order of (22c) = (24) and then in inverse order, with *athā* following, rather than preceding the rest of the formula.<sup>10</sup> (Note the express statement to this effect in (22d).) And in this reverse recitation, vowel-initial *athā* is preceded by the nasal variant *om*, instead of normal *o*. That is, here nasal *om* occurs in the context in which Parpola's hypothesis calls for non-nasal *o*.

In these formulas, then, the distribution of nasal and non-nasal forms is precisely the opposite of what Parpola's scenario leads us to expect. This suggests that the variation between nasal and non-nasal forms has to be accounted for by a different scenario.

A very similar distribution tends to occur in the Rig-Vedic recitation called *śāstra* and its variant, the *nyūnkha*, illustrated earlier in example (2) — except that here the nasal form *om* is required only in final or PREPAUSAL position; cf. the formal account in AŚS 7.11.2-13. While evidence for this mode of recitation generally comes from the fairly late *Śrautasūtras*, there is at least one attestation in Vedic

Henry (1907:463-4), in which short *a* if chanted on what is transcribed as a whole note is pronounced *o*, but retains the pronunciation *a* if chanted on a half note. Note, however, that in the earliest attestations of recitational *o(m)*, the *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā* passages in (1)/(19), *o(m)* substitutes for the LONG vowel of the preverb *ā*. To account for this substitution in Hoffmann's terms would require the assumption that *o*-substitution became secondarily extended to long *a*-vowels because expressions like *modo3 o3* could be related either to *madā* (with short final vowel) or to *madā* (with long final *ā*).

<sup>10</sup> Actually, one of the occurrences of *\*madā* is omitted in the first half of the composite formula.

literature, cf. (26). Moreover, we find an explicit formal account as early as the Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa; cf. (27), especially the last three lines. (A similar account is found in Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra 1.1.19-22.) The passage in (27) is interesting on two counts. First, it, too, clearly states that nasal *om* is required before pause. But secondly, it notes some division of opinion on the basic, presumably non-prepausal, form of the particle. (Moreover, following the typical approach of ritualistic Vedic texts, it attempts to motivate the variation in terms of different benefits to the sacrificer.) The issue of non-prepausal variation will be taken up in §2.3. At this point, let me concentrate on the question of prepausal nasalization.

- (26) ... yasyendraḥ pītva vṛtrāṇi jaṅghanat  
pra sa janyāni tāriṣo3m (AB 2.20.14)  
= tāriṣat  
'... Of whom having drunk, Indra slew the vṛtras,  
may he extend (our) people.'
- (27) śuddhaḥ praṇavaḥ syāt prajākāmānām  
makārāntaḥ pratiṣṭhākāmānām |  
makārāntaḥ praṇavaḥ syāt iti haika āhuḥ  
śuddha iti tv eva sthitiḥ | ...  
śuddha eva praṇavaḥ syāc chastrānuvacanayor madhya iti  
ha smāha kauṣītakiḥ | ...  
makārānte 'vasānārthe ... (KB 11.5)  
'The praṇava (= *om*) should be pure (= non-nasal) for  
those who desire offspring, ending in *m* for those who  
desire support. (Now,) some say "The praṇava should  
end in *m* (in general)." But the (correct) position is that it  
should be pure. On this matter, Kauṣītaki used to say:  
"The praṇava should be pure in the middle of the śāstra  
and (other) recitations ..., (but) ending in *m* before  
pause.'

As e.g. Bloomfield and Keith noted, this (near-)obligatory use of nasal *om* before pause follows from more general principles of prepausal nasalization, laid down in the prātiśākhya literature. Moreover, some traditional grammatical authorities correlate nasalization with pluta or trimoric vowel pronunciation, a pronunciation commonly encountered for *o(m)*; cf. e.g. (2), (22c), and especially (26). Note for example the citation in (28), similar statements in the Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya (15.6-7) and Atharva-Prātiśākhya (1.70), and Pāṇini's

sūtra 8.4.57 which provides for the optional nasalization of prepausal *ā*, *ī*, *ū* that are not *pragṛhya*. Moreover, Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra 1.1.20-1 and Pāṇini 8.2.89 teach the substitution of *pluta o3m* for the last vowel ( $\pm$  following consonant) of a mantra in ritual recitation.

- (28) *aṣṭāv ādyān avasāne 'pragṛhyān ācāryā āhur anunāsikān svarān | tat trimātre śākalā darśayanti* (RP 1.63-4)  
 'The teachers proclaim the eight vowels at the beginning (of the list of sounds) to be nasal before pause, if they are not *pragṛhya*. The Śākalas show this (to be true) in a trimoric (vowel).'

The tendency of final *pluta* vowels to be nasalized is, of course, well-known. (For a recent discussion, see Strunk 1983.) However, as observed in Wackernagel 1896:302, the attested text of the Rig-Veda shows it also in other contexts, namely for *pāda*-final *a* or *ā* if the following line begins with a vowel, as in (29).<sup>11</sup> According to Wackernagel, the nasalization was retained in these contexts in order to avoid hiatus between *pāda*-final *ā* and the initial vowel of the following line. This suggests a similar 'hiatus-breaking' explanation for the nasalization of prevocalic *o(m)* before *atha* in (22b,d).

- (29) *nyūptāśca babhrāvo vācam ākrataṁ (l) émiḍ ...*  
 (RV 10.34.5c/d)  
 'If the brown ones (the dice), thrown out, have raised their voice, I go ...'

Note that in both cases, in *pluta* vowels and in the more specific Rig-Vedic context, the nasal forms are derived from non-nasal forms, not the other way around as Parpola suggests.

In this regard, the passage in (30) is quite interesting. For here we find, in formula-final position, three different versions, one with *-ā3*, one with non-nasal *-o3*, and one with nasal *-o3m*. That is, we find all of the three stages postulated in the present account: the original *a*-vocalism, the recitational substitution *-o*, and the prepausal (or formula-final) nasalization — all associated with *pluta*. (The passage, of course, was not intended to demonstrate any such derivation, either historical or synchronic, but merely to state the existence of variation.)

<sup>11</sup> Lubotsky (P.C. 1989) suggests that this nasalization may have been linked to a lengthening of final *anudatta* short *a* before vowel, similar to the lengthening in the well-known Maitrāyaṇīya sandhi (for which see Lubotsky 1983). It is to be hoped that Lubotsky will back up this hypothesis through a complete study of the Rig-Vedic evidence.

Moreover, the passage shows that even in formula-final position, nasalization has not yet become obligatory for all branches of the Veda.

- (30) upāsmāi gāyatā nara<sup>3</sup>m iti dhanamjayya  
 upāsmāi gāyatā nara<sup>3</sup> iti śāṇḍilya  
 upāsmāi gāyatā nara<sup>3</sup> ity eke (LŚS 7.10.16)  
 'According to Dhanamjayya, it is *upāsmāi gāyatā nara<sup>3</sup>m*;  
 according to Śāṇḍilya, *upāsmāi gāyatā nara<sup>3</sup>*, according  
 to some (others), *upāsmāi gāyatā nara<sup>3</sup>*.'  
 (Sim.Dr.ŚS 19.1.34-6)

Finally, expanding slightly on Keith's original account, we can argue that the present account of *o(m)* explains a peculiar sandhi property of this particle, noted e.g. by Pāṇini (6.1.95), namely that unlike other sequences of *a*-vowel plus *o* which contract into the diphthong *au*, the combination of *om* with a preceding *a*-vowel yields *om*, as in (31). (Note that (31a) comes from the fairly early Jaiminīya-Bṛāhmaṇa.)

- (31) a) subrahmaṇyo<sup>m</sup> subrahmaṇyo<sup>m</sup> (JB 2.78-9)  
 b) subrahmaṇyo<sup>3</sup>m̐ subrahmaṇyo<sup>3</sup>m̐ (ŚB 3.3.4.17)  
 = subrahmaṇyā + ó(3)m̐  
 (An announcement of the subrahmaṇyā litany.)

This behavior is as expected if we accept the notion that recitational *o(m)* is a substitution for *a*-vowels, or for any vowel ± following consonant in śāstra and nyūṅkha recitation. In either case, we have a substitution, rather than an addition of *o(m)* and thus no occasion for contraction. Parpola's hypothesis, on the other hand, provides no explanation whatsoever for this behavior of *om*.

2.3. What remains to be addressed is the variation between nasal and non-nasal *o(m)* in non-prepausal contexts, a variation which appears to be quite extensive and which to a large extent is linked to differences between different branches of the Veda. In addition to the references and citations in the preceding section, note the passages in (32).<sup>12</sup> (32a) illustrates different preferences in different branches of

<sup>12</sup> Parpola dismisses the passage in (32b) on the grounds that the Mysore L manuscripts have *om ity* for *o ity*; but the same manuscripts offer *o* for *ॐ*. That is, no matter which reading we accept or how we interpret the precise import of this passage, we must recognize that the Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Bṛāhmaṇa acknowledges both a nasal and a non-nasal tradition.

the White Yajur-Veda. (Cf. Caland & Henry 1906:231-3, as well as (27) above, for differences in the Rig-Veda Brāhmaṇas.) (32b) testifies to similar differences in the tradition of the Śrautasūtras.

(32) a) *tád utāśrāvayanty ó3 svādhéty ...* (ŚB(K) 1.6.1.16)

vs. *tád utāśrāvayanty ó3m svādhéty ...* (ŚB(M) 2.6.1.24)

'And on this occasion (the pitryajña), they call for the śrauṣaṭ with *o(m)* *svadhā*.'

b) *tad dhaika om iti gāyanti | tat tathā na gāyet ...*

*atho dve ivaivam bhavata om iti | o ity u haike gāyanti |*

*tad u ha tan na gītām | no eva tathā gāyet | ॐ ity eva gāyet*

(JUB 1.8.2.3-4)

'Now, some chant *om*. (But) one should not chant that way ... Moreover, there are two as it were, as follows:

*om*, (and) some chant *o*. That is not (properly) chanted, nor should one chant that way. One should chant ॐ.'

The fact that some of the Vedic traditions thus accept nasal *om* even in non-final contexts requires the assumption that in these traditions the prepausal form has been reanalysed as the base form and as such, has been extended into non-final environments. Given the pervasive generalization of prepausal forms in Sanskrit sandhi, such an extension does not seem excessively far-fetched.

3. If my arguments up to this point are on the right track, then we need to recognize two early uses of *o* or *om*, one as an exclamatory or filler particle which can be translated as something like 'lo, hey, ho', another as a recitational substitution. In this section I will examine the extent to which these two different phenomena can be related to each other.

In the later Vedic language, when *om* has become a syllable of formidable mystical significance (cf. §4 below), the two uses of *o(m)* have become identified with each other; witness for instance the many passages in the Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa (such as JUB 1.2.2.1-3) which treat of the mystical importance of both types of *o(m)*.

Further, in the later Brāhmaṇas, exclamatory (→ affirmative) *om* undergoes the same exceptional sandhi as the recitational substitution *o(m)*; i.e., *om* + preceding *a*-vowel yields *om*, not *aum*; cf. (33). (The *(á)dhvaryā3 óm* of (5b) is no exception, for the *-ā* preceding *om* is underlyingly *-o* → *-ā3(u)* under *pluta*.)

(33) *kiṁ sarvaprāyaścittam [hoṣyasi] iti*  
*mahāvyaḥrtīr eva maghavann iti*

sa hovācom aruṇe yad āhutamān ūciṣe katharīn nu vidām

= uvāca + om

cakārtha markāṭo 'mśūn ādatta ~ iti (ŚB 1.6.15-17)

' "Which total expiation [will you sacrifice as a libation]?"

"The great expressions, lord."

He (i.e. Markāṭa) said: "Hey/OK, Aruṇa, since you are called oblation-holder, how did you think that Markāṭa took the drafts (of soma)?"

What is interesting is that this exceptional sandhi behavior holds true also for the Sāma-Vedic filler particle *o*; cf. (34). Moreover, the passages in (35) show that like the recitational substitution *o(m)*, the filler particle may have both nasal and non-nasal variants. (As Caland & Henry (1906:173-4) note, the passage in (35a) refers to a performance practice in the *bahiṣpavamāna* where the *udgātṛs* accompany the chant with a constant chanting of *ho* on a low tone, while the *yajamāna* chants *om*. In (35b), the roles are reversed, and the counterpart of *ho* is plain, non-nasal *o*.<sup>13</sup>) It is this evidence, combined with parallel sandhi behavior, that makes it possible to relate exclamatory *om* and filler *o(m)* to each other, as suggested toward the end of §1.3, on the assumption that the final nasal was introduced under the same conditions as that of the recitational substitution *o(m)*. A parallel, with nasal/non-nasal alternation in an exclamatory particle, is found in (6g), with *hai* beside *hem* in different branches of the Atharva-Veda.

(34) tasmai haitad uvāco ho iyā ity (JB 1.338)

= uvāca + o ho ...

'To him he said this: *o ho iyā*.' (Sim. e.g. JB 3.24)

(35) a) te ho ity etenākṣareṇopagāyeyur om iti yajamānaḥ  
(Dr.ŚS 3.4.6)

b) o ity anya ṛtvija upagāyanti | ho iti yajamānaḥ  
(Bh.ŚS 13.17.9)

In fact, just like the recitational substitution, exclamatory *om* frequently is pronounced with *pluta*; cf. e.g. (5c,d), as well as Pāṇini 8.2.87. And as noted, *pluta* tends to be associated with nasalization.

It appears then that exclamatory/filler *o(m)* and the recitational substitution *o(m)* may have been virtually identical, both in their sandhi behavior and in their (original) phonetic shape. However, there is one important difference which argues against a complete

<sup>13</sup> Here, incidentally, we have further evidence for variation between nasal and non-nasal *o(m)* in different branches of the Veda.

identification of the two phenomena, namely the fact that, as noted, the exclamatory/filler particle is an addition, while the other use of *o(m)* is a recitational substitution.

The behavioral similarities of the two phenomena may in fact be secondary; for there are two areas of contact which might motivate their secondary functional identification with each other — beyond the probably not insignificant fact that they are important elements of the Vedic ritual.

First, the filler particle and the recitational substitution are both closely associated with RECITATIONAL PRACTICES, either as an extension of recitation by means of 'nonsense' syllables (in the case of the filler particle), or as modulations of the text (in the case of the recitational substitution).

Secondly, in certain contexts it is possible to reinterpret the recitational substitution *om* as exclamatory *om*, and vice versa. Consider again the *subrahmanyā* formula in (31). Although in §2.2, I interpreted the final *om* as an instance of recitational substitution, it would be possible to consider it an instance of exclamatory *om* with 'exceptional' sandhi. In fact, the passage in (36) shows that this identification was made by at least some ritualists.

- (36)    *tad dhaita eka om̐ subrahmanyā ̎ ity āhvayanti ...*  
           *tad dha tan na tathā | ... tasmāt subrahmanyom̐ ity*  
           *evāhvayet (JB 2.78-9 = continuation of (31a.)*  
           'Now, some invoke (saying) *om̐ subrahmanyā* ...  
           That (is) not (to be done) thus ... Therefore one should  
           invoke (saying) *subrahmanyom̐*.'

Given these possibilities of secondary identification, as well as the formidable difference between addition and substitution, the way of caution would seem to lie in postulating two origins for *-om*: an exclamatory/filler particle and a recitational substitution. As noted earlier, however, both of these two phenomena antedate the use of *om* as an affirmative particle. Moreover, their phonetic behavior is difficult to explain under Parpola's assumption that *om* originated as a particle of affirmation. Parpola's further claim that *o(m)* is derived from Dravidian *\*ākum/ām* therefore must likewise be considered suspect. Rather, we must return to a position closer to that originally advocated by Keith, which derives at least one of the uses of *om* from Vedic recitational practices.



4. Let me conclude with a few brief speculations on the path by which *om* (and its variants) came to be the Sanskrit sacred syllable par excellence. (This issue deserves a much fuller discussion.)

According to van Buitenen (1959:180-1), the identification of *om* as THE sacred akṣara 'syllable' most likely took place in the Sāma-Vedic tradition, specifically in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad. But this is in conflict with the fact, noted earlier by Keith (1917), that '(t)he first evidence of this important position of the word is found to be in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa', a text that seems considerably earlier and belongs to the Rig-Veda. Cf. the citation in (37) which is embedded in the following context: Prajāpati, the creator God, created the three worlds: earth, ether, and sky. From these he created a series of 'essences': Agni and the Rig-Veda from the earth, Vāyu and the Yajurveda from the ether, and Āditya (the sun) and the Sāma-Veda from the sky. From these, in turn, he derived the following essences:

(37) bhūr ity eva rgvedād ... bhuva iti yajurvedāt svar iti  
sāmavedāt ...

tebhyo ... trayo varṇā ajāyanta

akāra ukāro makāra iti

tān ekadhā samabharat tad etad o3m iti ...

(AB 5.32.1-2)

'... *bhūr* from the Rig-Veda, *bhuvas* from the Yajur-Veda, *sva*r from the Sāmaveda. From these, three phonemes arose: *a*, *u*, (and) *m*. These he put together. That is this *o3m*.'<sup>14</sup>

The citation in (37), however, comes from a fairly late passage. Moreover, locating the oldest attestation of *om* as the sacred syllable par excellence, in itself, does not explain how *om* acquired this status.

Van Buitenen (1959:181) suggests that this development 'must have originated from esoteric speculations'. And indeed, we can find speculations concerning the mystical significance of *o(m)*, and the benefits attached to it; cf. e.g. (27) above. However, there are similar speculations on other particles, such as the *ho* or *vā* of Sāma-Vedic recitation; cf. (38). In fact, the Sāma-Vedic brāhmaṇas regularly identify *vā* as *vāc* '(sacred) speech'; cf. Caland on PB 12.5.11.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Note that *om* is the regular sandhi outcome of *a + u + m*.

<sup>15</sup> The identification of *vāc* 'speech' as THE one akṣara is very wide-spread in the ritual texts, not just limited to Sāma-Vedic brāhmaṇas. Cf. e.g. ŚB(M) 4.3.1.43 and passim. This raises significant questions about the cogency of Parpola's suggestion that the word *akṣara* of RV 1.64.39, 41, 42 may uniquely refer to *om*

- (38) a) **ho** iti hi sarvā vāk (JB 2.243-4)  
'For *ho* is the entire (sacred) speech.'  
b) **vācā** gāyan **vāk** iti nidhanam karoti ...  
... asureṣv idam sarvam āsīd | athaikam evākṣaram deveṣv  
āsīt | **vāg** eva | ...  
... **vāg** vai brahma ... **vāg** vā akṣaram | ...  
(JB 1.104-115)  
'Chanting with *vāc* "speech", he makes the finale (of the  
chant) *vāc* (= *vā*, as in (16a)) ... This whole world was  
once with the Asuras, only one syllable was with the  
Gods, *vāc* "speech" ... *Vā(c)* is brahman ... *vā(c)* is the  
syllable (or: the imperishable).'

There is, however, an element in (37) which suggests why it was *om* that was singled out as the sacred syllable par excellence. And this element comes to the foreground more clearly in two earlier passages. Consider first the passage in (39), in which the *praṇava/om* is identified as inherent in the Rig-Vedic priest's *praṇava* (i.e. the recitational substitution of *o(m)* in the śāstra), in the call for the śrauṣaṭ and the pratigara of the Yajur-Vedic priest, and in the udgītha of the Sāma-Vedic priest. The passage in (40a), occurring shortly after the one in (20) above, is even earlier, though less explicit. Its import is clarified admirably in the related Āraṇyaka passage (40b).

- (39) sa eṣa praṇavo 'bhavat || sa pratigaras sa udgīthas tad  
āśrāvaṇam | tasmād om iti praṇauty om iti pratyāgṛhṇāty  
om ity udgāyaty om ity āśrāvayti | (JB 3.321-2)  
'That became this *praṇava*. That is the pratigara, the  
udgītha, the call for the śrauṣaṭ. Therefore one makes the  
*praṇava om*, the pratigara *om*, one chants *om*, (and) one  
calls for the śrauṣaṭ (with) *om*.'
- (40) a) tát prabāhug vā ṛtvījām udgīthā udgīthā evódgātṛṇām |  
ṛcāḥ praṇavā ukthaśaṁsīnām pratigaró 'dhvaryūṇām  
(TS 3.2.9.5-6)  
'The udgīthā is common to (all) the priests, the udgīthā  
(is common) to the udgātṛs, the ṛces and the *praṇava*  
(are common) to the reciters of hymns, the pratigaras  
to the adhvaryus.'
- b) óm iti bráhma | óm ítídāś sárvaṃ | óm ítý etádanukṛti ha  
sma vā ápy ó śrāvay(é)ty āśrāvayanti | óm ítí sāmāni gā-  
yanti | óm sóm ítí śastrāṇi śaṁsanti | óm ítý adhvaryūḥ

pratigarām prātiḡṇāti | om ity agnihotrām ānujānāti | om iti  
brāhmaṇāḥ pravakṣyānn āha ... (TA 7.8.1)

'Om is brahman; *om* is this whole world; *om*-like, too, is the call for the śrauṣaṭ in (the expression) *ó śrāvaya*; with *om* they chant the chants; with *óm sóm*, they recite the śāstras; with *om*, the adhvaryu gives the response of the pratigara; with *om*, he acknowledges the agnihotra; with *om*, the brahmin speaks, about to announce.'

What is important about these passages is that they affirm the common bond that exists between different priests, their functions and performances in the ritual, and their respective branches of the Veda. For it is indeed true that *o(m)*, in one form or another, is the linguistic element in ritual recitation that is most prominently employed by all of the participants in the ritual. Compare for instance (1) = (19) and *śanisāmōdāivom* of (21) said by priests of the Yajur-Vedic branch, (16) by priests of the Sāma-Veda, and (2), (26), and *sōmisāvom* of (21) by priests of the Rig-Veda.

The syllable *om*, therefore, lends itself most readily as the ONE akṣara that embodies all that is shared by the three Vedas — and that which transcends them. The fact that it can be analysed into THREE component parts, *a*, *u*, and *m* (cf. (37)), no doubt further supported this 'triune' character of *om*, as did perhaps the fact, noted by van Buitenen (1959:181), that *om* frequently has TRIMORIC, pluta pronunciation.

## REFERENCES

Bloomfield, M.

1890 On the etymology of the particle *om*. Journal of the American Oriental Society 14.cl-clii.

Böhtlingk, Otto, and Rudolf Roth.

1855 Sanskrit-Wörterbuch. St. Petersburg.

Bosworth-Toller.

1887 An Anglo-Saxon dictionary, by Joseph Bosworth, edited and enlarged by T. Northcote Toller. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Caland, Willem, and Victor Henry.

1907 L'agniṣṭoma. Vol. 2. Paris: Leroux.

Delbrück, Bertold.

1888 Altindische Syntax. (Syntaktische Forschungen, 5.) Halle: Waisenhaus.

Grimm, Jacob.

1890    Deutsche grammatik, 3. (Second edition.) Gütersloh: Bertelsmann.

Hoffmann, Karl.

1976    Zur Aussprache von altindoar. *a*. Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik, ed. by J. Narten, 552-4. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Hofmann-Szantyr.

1972    Lateinische Grammatik, 2: Lateinische Syntax und Stylistik, von J. B. Hofmann, neubearbeitet von Anton Szantyr. (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 2:2:2.) München: Beck.

Keith, A. B.

1917    Om. Encyclopedia of religion and ethics, ed. by J. Hastings, 11.490-2. Edinburgh.

Lubotsky, Alexander.

1983    On the external sandhis of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā. Indo-Iranian Journal 25.167-79.

OED

1933-    The Oxford English dictionary on historical principles, 12 vols. + supplements, first edition. Oxford: University Press. (Compact edition in 2 vols., 1971, *ibid.*)

Parpola, Asko.

1981    On the primary meaning and etymology of the sacred syllable *ōm*. Studia Orientalia 50.195-213.

Schwentner, Ernst.

1924    Die primären Interjektionen in den indogermanischen Sprachen. (Indogermanische Bibliothek, 3:5.) Heidelberg: Winter.

Schwyzler, Eduard.

1949    Griechische Grammatik, 2: Syntax und syntaktische Stylistik. (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 2:1:2.) München: Beck.

Strunk, Klaus.

1983    Typische Merkmale von Fragesätzen und die altindische 'Pluti'. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1983:8. München.

van Buitenen, J. A. B.

1959    Akṣara. Journal of the American Oriental Society 79.176-87.

Wackernagel, Jacob.

1896    Altindische Grammatik, 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Weber, Albrecht.

1853    Analyse der in Anquetil du Perron's Übersetzung enthaltenen Upa-nishad. Indische Studien 2.1-111, 170-236. [Non vidi.]

1868    Collectanea über die Kastenverhältnisse in den Brāhmaṇa und Sūtra. Indische Studien 10.1-160.

## THE KARTVELIAN ANALOGUE OF PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN \**syomb(h)o*- 'SPONGY, POROUS'

G.A. Klimov

*Institute of Linguistics, Moscow*

The aim of the present communication is to underline using a concrete factual sample, that the renewed interest to Indo-European studies, which is emerging, in particular, due to the development of areal research (Polomé 1983:1359), may be further encouraged by the investigation of areal contacts of the Indo-European languages with their environment in prehistoric times. As it now becomes more and more evident, one of the promising directions in such inquiry is provided by the Kartvelian languages (alongside the Finno-Ugric ones) - almost the only surviving fragment of the Ancient Near Eastern linguistic landscape.

In the stock of the Indo-European - Kartvelian lexical parallels, noticeably augmented during the past two decades and apparently testifying to the earliest areal contacts between members of the two linguistic families, of special interest is a lexical group, consisting of designations of various attributes of low-lying and swampy terrain, absolutely non-typical for the Caucasus. Special literature has already mentioned in this connection such Kartvelian lexemes as Georg. *dube*- 'depression, hollow' (Jedlička 1962:106), *šlam-/lam*- 'silt, slime, ooze', *čumpe*- 'muddy puddle' (Vogt 1939:337), *zutx*- 'sturgeon' (Nazarov 1974:27), *čurbela*- 'leech' (Gudjedjani - Palmaitis 1986:100), which can now be supplemented by Georgian-Zan \**rabo*- 'ditch, trench', Georg. *aṇkara*- 'grass-snake', *lia*- 'quagmire, marsh', *sruṭe*- 'channel, strait', Megr.-Laz *leṭa*- 'clay, dirt', *žvabu-/žvabu*- 'frog' and some others. Taking into consideration that the earliest process of historical settlement of Kartvelian tribes, according to the latest conception put forward by T. Gamkrelidze, consisted mainly in their gradual descent from the higher regions of the Transcaucasian upland to the lower ones, it is natural to suggest that this specific layer of Kartvelian vocabulary cannot be original. And since this layer as a whole reflects quite exhaustively the natural conditions of the Kolkhidian lowland, sparsely populated until the middle of the Bronze Age, it can be labeled conditionally as Kolkhidian vocabulary.

In what follows an attempt is made to show, that the resemblance of the Georgian-Zan verbal stem \**čumb-/čump*- 'to saturate with water; to get wet, soak' (forming the basis of the Georgian derivative noun *čumpe*- 'muddy puddle') to Proto-Indo-

European *\*sʰomb(h)o-* 'spongy, porous' does not constitute a mere "Sirene des Gleichklages", as one might well conclude (cf. Vogt 1939:337) and requires a somewhat deeper explanation.

Turning to the Georgian material, one should mention first of all such dialectal verbs as Imer. and Džavax. *čumpva* 'to saturate with water; to get wet', Gur., Adžar. and Džavax. *gazumpva* with the same meaning, as well as Kartl. *dačumplva* 'to become slightly wet'. From the Old Georgian we may adduce in this connection the comparatively rarely attested verb *mčubeba* 'to bathe; to get splashed with water', revealing the root morpheme *mčub-*, which differs from the modern one, in particular, in a metathesis of the resonant, stipulated evidently by the singularity of the sequence *mb* in Kartvelian languages (cf. also the preverbal formation *aymo-mčubeba* practically with the same meaning.).

From this verb a standard Georgian designation of a muddy puddle or a small swamp *čump-* (cf. its dialectal variation *čumpe-*) is derived, where the final vowel is, in all probability, a known Georgian affix of nominalization. We come across the same stem also in such dialectal forms as Džavax. *cumpl-* 'splash of mud', Ingil. *čumpal-* 'a large drop'. In the bulk of the published Old Georgian texts this noun is not attested. Nevertheless we find it in the form *čumbe-* in the first explanatory dictionary of the Georgian language, compiled in the XVI-XVIIth centuries by Sulxan Saba Orbeliani, who has widely consulted various Old Georgian sources. That form speaks in favour of the metathesis occurring in the Old Georgian verb cited above.

The stem in question is also quite widely spread in the Zanian branch of the Kartvelian languages. In particular, in Megrelian we find it in the verb *dočumpua* 'to bespatter with mud; to get wet, soaked', from which the past participle *dočumper-*, *dočumpel(e)-* 'bespattered with mud, soaked' is here derived (the noun *čumpe-* limited in usage in Megrelian was treated by our informants as a Georgian loan-word. We are faced with the same picture in Laz, where we have it both in the verb *očumpu/očompu* 'to soak; to become saturated with water' (cf. the form of 3rd p. sing. abr. *dičumpu* 'he got wet, soaked') and in the past participle *čumper-* 'soaked to the skin'. Only Svan lacks the stem and, as regards the noun *čümp-/čwimp-*, occasionally used here, native speakers considered it to be an obvious Georgian borrowing.

In the light of what was said above, the impression is that our stem forms one of the common Georgian-Zan isoglosses. It can easily be seen that in the Kartvelian linguistic area it has an evident

western or, to be more exact, southwestern centre of gravity. The latter observation can be supported by the fact that with the advancement through the Kartvelian territory from west to east, and from south to north, this stem becomes less known (thus, according to our data, it is absent in the East-Georgian mountainous dialects).

There is not much one can infer from the available phonetic history of the Kartvelian stem. The Georgian dialectal form with the initial *t* is obviously a secondary one, which can be supported by an analogous development in several other cases (another dialectal form with an initial *z* remains less clear). If we attempt to project the data of the modern languages to the Georgian-Zan stage, it will be natural to reconstruct an ancestral verbal base \**çump-* 'to saturate with water, to get soaked'. An additional prospect for reconstructing the phonetic shape of the proto-form is offered by the Old Georgian material, which allows us to reconstruct a variation of the archetype \**çumb-* (cf. Neisser 1953:16). As in several other Kartvelian stems with final *p*, a sound-symbolic nuance of the first variation is perceptible. Such a nuance usually arises due to the substitution of the former *b* by the glottalized *p*, displaying an expressive function (cf. the same pattern of development in Kartv. \**tkeb-* 'to press; to clasp' > Georgian-Zan \**tkep-* 'to trample, trample down').

In such conditions one is automatically predisposed to compare the Georgian-Zan archetype with the Proto-Indo-European adjective, meaning spongy, porous substance (absorbing water) and reconstructed as \**syomb(h)o-*, the descendants of which are attested in Germanic and Greek. Cf. PGmc \**swamba* (OHG *swamp* 'sponge'; \**swamp-/s(w)ump-*: Engl. *swamp*, Germ. *Sumpf*), Greek *σoμφός* 'spongy, porous' (Boisacq 1916:887; Pokorny 1959:1052; Lehmann 1986:332). There was also an opinion expressed about the Greek word's belonging to the Pelasgian heritage (Merlingen 1954:298).

The semantic similarity of the Proto-Indo-European and Kartvelian stems is beyond doubt. At the same time the phonetic shape of the Kartvelian forms excludes totally a possibility of their treatment as direct borrowings - even if through oral mediation - from Greek: Greek *σ* and *φ* are never rendered in Kartvelian by *ç* and *p* respectively. On the contrary there are here several other examples of a rendering of the Indo-European *bh* as *b*: cf. IE \**uebh-* 'to weave' > Kartv. \**γweb-* id., IE \**ghrabho-* 'ditch' > Kartv. \**rabo-* id. If our comparison holds, the adduced Kartvelian material may shed an additional light on the semantic structure of the Proto-Indo-European adjective itself.

Adhering to the opinion on the areal origin of this lexical parallel, we don't pay too much attention to the fact, that the correspondence IE *s* ~ Kartv. *ç* (in initial position) presented here does not fit in the scheme of phonological correspondences between the languages involved, as it is outlined within the framework of the Nostratic hypothesis. Of more importance seem to be the three following arguments.

The first evidence for attributing the stem under consideration to the earliest Indo-European borrowings in Kartvelian is the fact, that it possesses, as one sometimes suggests, some features of the descriptive formations typical of Indo-European languages. Thus, according to R. Pfister, in the Indo-European material involved we are faced, on the one hand, with an onomatopoetic group *su* bearing a wide national content and, on the other hand, with another analogous sound sequence *mp*, containing an expressive *p*, especially productive in Germanic languages (Pfister 1954:90 and 100). On the contrary, in genuine inherited Kartvelian the sequences *mp* and *mp*, as we can infer from studies on the phonological syntagmatics of the Kartvelian languages, are extremely rare, due to which it is suggested to label them as noncanonical clusters (Gudava - Gamkrelidze 1981:208-209).

As another criterion of this kind one can consider the above-mentioned belonging of the Kartvelian verb to a specific notional realm, other lexical correlates of which in Georgian, Megrelian and Laz also go back to an Indo-European source (cf. the known advantage of the so-called group reconstruction).

Finally, the proposed solution may also be supported in some measure by the very areal attachment of this stem mainly to the western or south-western part of the Kartvelian linguistic area, directly bordering Eastern Anatolia, where the existence of the Indo-European speech seems to be possible already for the early period prior to the Hurro-Urartian expansion.

Given the present state of investigations of interrelations between the Indo-European and Kartvelian languages, it would be unjustifiable to wholly exclude an explanation of our parallel based on the principles characteristic of descriptive vocabulary; this seems, however, to be less likely (on the background of the features of the sound-symbolic or onomatopoetic lexicon, common to the Caucasian languages, the absence of analogues of the word outside the Kartvelian area appears strange). Nevertheless, in that case it would also be hardly possible to consider this parallel to be completely fortuitous.



In conclusion we want to express hope, that the joint analysis of the Kolkhidian vocabulary of the Kartvelian languages (embracing both the ecological and cultural terms) may provide us with valuable information on the prehistoric areal contacts between members of the Indo-European and Kartvelian families and shed an additional light on their history.

Abbreviations in spelling of designations of Georgian dialects:

Adžar. - Adžarian

Gur. - Gurian

Imer. - Imerian

Ingil. - Ingilo

Kartl. - Kartlian

Džavax. - Džavaxian

### References

Boisacq Émile

- 1916 Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes. Heidelberg - Paris.

Gudava T., Gamqrelidze T.

- 1981 Tanxmovantkpleksebi megrulši. - Aka ki Sanidzes. Tbilisi universitetis gamomcemloba. Tbilisi.

Gudjedjani C., Palmaitis M.L.

- 1986 Upper Svan: grammar and texts. - Kalbotyra. XXXVII (4). Mokslas. Vilnius.

Jedlicka Jaromir

- 1962 Georgische Etymologien und Vergleichen. - Bedi Kartlisa (Revue de Kartvéologie). Vol. XIII-XIV.

Lehmann Winfred P.

- 1986 A Gothic Etymological Dictionary Based on the Third Edition of Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache by Sigmund Feist. E.J.Brill. Leiden.

Merlingen W.

- 1954 (Rev.) Van Windekens A.J. Le Pélasgique. Essai sur une langue indo-européenne préhistorique. Louvain, 1952. - Indogermanische Forschungen. Bd. LXI, H. 2/3.

Nazarov Vladimir P.

- 1974 Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der kaukasischen Sprachen. - In: Borbé T. Kritik der marxistischen Sprachtheorie N. Ja. Marr's. Kronberg Ts.

Neisser Friedrich

- 1953 Studien zur georgischen Wortbildung. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. XXXI, 2. Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GmbH. Wiesbaden.

Pfister Raimund

- 1954 Onomatopoetisches *su.* - Indogermanische Forschungen. Bd LXI, H. 1.

Pokorny Julius

- 1959 Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Bd I. A. Francke. Bern.

Polomé Edgar C.

- 1983 The Present State of Proto-Indo-European Studies. Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Linguists, August 29 - September 4, 1982. Tokyo. Edited and published by the Proceedings Publishing Committee. Tokyo.

Vogt Hans

- 1939 Arménien ou Caucasiqne du Sud. - Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap. Bind IX.

## ON CARIAN LANGUAGE AND WRITING

Vitaly Shevoroshkin  
*University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

New, dramatic discoveries of some 50 Carian inscriptions in the Tomb of Montuemhet (Upper Egypt) have corroborated both the existing transcription of Carian and the thesis about Anatolian (Hittite-Luwian) character of this language. A further corroboration has been provided by the collation of Carian inscriptions *in situ*, and in West European and Egyptian museums and archives.

Carian is a South Anatolian language spoken in the first millennium B.C.; Carian inscriptions (mostly found in Egypt) were written in the 7th through 4th centuries B.C. Including recent findings, there exist about 300 Carian inscriptions, mostly short and simple. Whereas the Carian language does not contribute much to our knowledge of late Anatolian languages, the Carian alphabet (more precisely: local alphabets) is of paramount importance as far as the origin of letter writing is concerned. Carian letters are very archaic; Carian inscriptions bear clear evidence of an underlying Semitic way of writing. It seems, the Carians borrowed their writing directly from Semites, from some archaic Semitic writing system: Carian letters bear undeniable resemblance not only to the North but also to the South Semitic writing (cf. my table in the book *Tajny drevnix pis'měn*, Moscow, Progress Publishers 1976, pp. 310-311.

### LOCAL GROUPS OF CARIAN INSCRIPTIONS

The existence of five main groups of Carian inscriptions and, thus, the reconstruction of five local alphabets of Caria proper, as proposed in my book *Issledovanija po dešifrovke karijskix nadpisej* (Moscow, Nauka Publishers 1965, pp. 93-103, esp. tables on p. 101 and p. 102) has been repeatedly corroborated by new findings. These groups slightly differ in their use of variants of Carian letters; for instance, the Carian letter *z* is represented by the variant *I* in Central and Western Caria; by the variant *H* in South-Eastern and North-Western Caria; however, this letter is not being used in Northern Caria. Four groups, except Western, use the variant *E* of the letter *é*; in the West, the variant *h* is used. Four groups, except South-Eastern, use the "Qoppa" sign for *i*; South-Eastern group has the variant *R* instead. Only this latter group of inscriptions shows the triphthong "Omikron-Omega-Omikron" whereas other groups

(except North-Western) contain the letter  $\dot{u}$  (i.e., its regular variant shaped as a quadrangle), - and so on.

Recent findings of Carian graffiti in Egypt show that the above differences are twofold: some do not go beyond superficial oppositions of graphic variants; others indicate deep dialectal divisions. For example, only Northern Caria shows the "Arrow" sign (absent in the four other groups) and lacks  $z$ ; these very features are typical for all 70 inscriptions which constitute the "corpus" of the Tomb of Montuemhet in Upper Egypt (the "Arrow" appears, very infrequently, in a few other Egyptian localities which are not characterized by the uniformity, so typical for the graffiti of the Tomb of Montuemhet). So, having no  $z$ , these graffiti show a certain Carian PN (= proper name, personal name) having the form *mkULO* instead of the expected *mkULOz*; since the  $z$ -less forms appear more than once in the tomb, the rule can be clearly formulated: the consonant  $z$  (phonetically apparently [š]; see below) has disappeared in a Carian dialect represented by the Northern group of inscriptions in Caria proper and by the graffiti of the Tomb of Montuemhet; further research shows that the same - or, rather, a very similar - dialect is represented by Carian graffiti from Buhen.

The above dialect contains verbal forms in  $-\tau$  ("Arrow" sign); the instability of this auslauting consonant is indicated by grammatically identical forms without  $-\tau$  (see below, for details). Other Carian dialects have  $-s$  (or zero) in corresponding verbal forms. It was long ago suggested that Carian  $\tau$  represents the fricative [θ]; since  $s$  might represent either [s] or [š], we may conclude that the above ending originated from proto-Carian [θ], or the like.

Graffiti from the Tomb of Montuemhet have forms in *nda-*, whereas other dialects show *nDa-* (as in *ndakù : nDakù*). These graffiti show the pronoun 'who' (see below) as having the form  $\dot{u}U$  (whereas other dialects show *ku*, phonetically apparently [xu]); Buhen shows  $\dot{u}u$ : there is no  $U$  in Buhen.

There are several other features which contribute to the identification of Carian dialects: a study which now is possible thanks to the enlargement of the corpus of Carian inscriptions.

### IDENTIFICATIONS OF CARIAN LETTERS

All serious investigators of Carian language and/or writing (O. Masson, I. Diakonoff, P. Meriggi, R. Gusmani, M. Meier-Brügger, and some others) have been unanimous in the interpretation of the following letters: *a, e, é, o, u, d, g, v, l, n, m, r, p* (Pi), *t = th* (Theta), *k =*

*kh* (Khi), *s*: see Masson's table in his book *Carian Inscriptions* (London 1978, p. 10). Indeed, Carian PN (= personal name(s)) in the indigenous inscriptions and in Greek versions confirm the above identifications (cf. Carian *tavse* = *Tausa-s* in Gr. versions; *epuk* = *Apouk-ōs*; *nad* = *Nad-us*; clearly identifiable PN-stems in compounded PN: Carian *ak-* = *Ak(a)-*; *ra-* [*ara-*] = *Ara-*; *dnd-* = *Dand-*; *mav-* = *Ma-*; *mk-* = *Mak-os*; *ms-* = *Mas(s)-*, *muk-* = *Mok-*; *-eket* = *Ekat-*; etc.). There are many Carian PN and PN-stems which are identical with PN and PN-stems of neighboring languages: Lycian, Pisidian, Lydian, as well as of Isaurian and Lycaonian (cf. Carian *tut* = Pisid.-Lycaon. *Tout-as*; Carian *Av-* = Isaur. *Aoua*; Carian *ms-*, *mes-* + Isaur. *Mas-* = Lycian *masa-*; Carian *md-* = Isaur. *Mid-*; Carian *kug-* = Lycian *Kouga-s* = Lydian *Gug-ēs*; Carian *nt-* = Lydian *Nit-*, *nt-*, Lycian *ñt-*; Carian *sl(a)ra* = Lycaon. *Salara-*; Carian *muk-* = Lycian *Mok-* [see above, Carian *Mok-*]; Carian *uv-* = Lycian *uwa-*; Carian *sla* = Lycian *hla* (<\**sla*); ?Carian *mavna-* : Pisid. *Mauenna*; Carian *mg-* : Pisid. *Maga-*, etc.). Carian names are easily identifiable in indigenous inscriptions because of a transparent structure of short tomb inscriptions: PN, or: PN PN+suffix\* [type: John Peter-s, or the like], or PN PN+suffix\* PN+suffix\*, etc. This fact has been recognized by the researchers long ago.

G. Neumann, as well as other Hittitologists, have understood, many years ago, that Carian names preserved in Greek versions, show unmistakably the same character of Carian language as is shown by Lycian, Lydian, Isaurian, Lycaonian, Pisidian, Cilician names - i.e., a Hittite-Luwian character. Indeed, Carian compounded PN frequently contain the same Hittite-Luwian stems as other late Anatolian names do: *Para-*, *Arb(a)-*, *Piksō-* : Lycian *Pikse-* (< Anatolian \**pihassa-*; cf. Carian *Pig/krē-* : Lycian *Pigra-*, *pigre*); *Imbar-/Imbra-* (Lycian *mpare-*); *Ap-/Aph-*; cf. also Carian *Kutbe-/Ktoub-* : Lycian *xtbba-/xetbe-* (Carian *Kutbe-lēmi-s* = Lycian *xetbe-leimi*), etc. In many cases, IE etymologies were quite acceptable.

Still, many problems remained because quite a few "difficult" Carian letters have been identified by different scholars in different ways (or not identified at all: cf. the above table in Masson's book).

I can state with satisfaction that some 90% of identifications of Carian letters made by me in 1962-1965 have been corroborated both by recent findings and recent collations of Carian inscriptions.

Let us discuss a few "difficult" letters.

1). *Letter L* (=Λ). In the 60's, I was able to use only two reasons why Carian letter Θ, ① should be identified as a "second l" (cf. *l*, λ in Lydian writing): first, the evidence provided by Carian PN, both

indigenous and in Gr. versions (cf. parallels of the type *Luxze* = *Luksē-s*); second, the suggestion that the Carian patronymic suffix *-L* (in naming constructions A B-L "A, [son] of B"; A B-L C-L etc.) was identical to the suffix *-ld-*, *-ll-*, *-l-* of Carian PN in Greek versions, e.g. *Kostōlli-s* (cf. Anatolian *Ḫastalli-*, literally "bony", to Hittite *ḫasta-* 'bone'), *Kasbōlli-* < Anatolian *\*Ḫaspalli-*, *Ussōld-os/Ussōll-os* (cf. Lycian *wazala*), *Mokollē-s*, *Thualli-s* (< *\*Tu-wa-lli-*), *Ktoubōld-os* < *\*Hat(ta)palli-*, etc. Since it was reasonable to consider Carian an Anatolian language (see above), the identification of Carian *-L* with Anatolian suffix *\*-lli-* (>Hittite, Luwian *-lli-*, Lydian *-li-* [used "instead" of the genitive], Lycian *-li* [especially frequent in archaic Lycian B = Milyan]) seemed very plausible. Still, some scholars continued to object to such an identification.

Recent collation showed that there existed a frequently used Carian PN *mesnarb* (reduced variant: *msnarb*) alongside its variant *mesnaLb* (also: *msnaLb*). Another collation showed that there was no such form as *mesnaLuL*: the "u" (V) was, actually, a damaged letter *b* (overtaken triangle; see below about the identification of Carian letter *b*). So, here we also deal with the PN *mesnaLb* used in a patronymic form *mesnaLb-L*, in a regular construction of the type A B-L "A, [son] of B".

This fact, in itself, seems to show that Carian *L* represented a retroflex sound [ɭ], hence its alternation with *r*. Indeed, new findings of Carian inscriptions of Saqqara revealed a tomb inscription (written in boustrophedon; No. 41 in the above book by Masson) *doulaU sevad mkdDLUD*; here *-d* is used two times instead of the regular suffix *-L*: the inscription shows the most frequent type of tomb inscriptions, namely A B-L C-L (here A B-d C-d). Apparently, *-L* was weakened in auslaut to [ɖ]. It is known that retroflex consonants [ɭ], [ɭ] and [ɖ] are similar and frequently alternate.

2) *Letter i*. This letter, Carian "Qoppa", was transcribed by me as *i* from the beginning, but, at some point, P. Meriggi, R. Gusmani, O. Masson and M. Meier-Brügger concluded that the transcription should rather be *q* (fortunately, neither Masson nor Meier-Brügger ever used this transcription). This conclusion, which later proved wrong, was based on one fact: alternation of the word *nUgok* (a PN or an epithet; rather the latter: it is always used with the suffix *\*-L* which, ultimately, is a regular adjective suffix) with a hapax *nUiok* in the tomb inscriptions in Saqqara (see index in Masson's book, p.95).

Carian "Qoppa" simply could not represent an obstruent: the distribution of Carian letters showed this; this letter was used as a verbal ending (see below) which only could be *-i*, the ending of the

3rd pers. pres. (originally "h-conjugation") in most Anatolian languages. the only explanation for the above alternation was that Carian *g* (letter C) was not [g] but [ɣ] or [x] phonetically, hence its sporadic alternation with *i* = [j] (*i* could be used both as a vowel and as a consonant, a glide). There were, indeed, a few indications that Carian *g* was, actually, a weak *fricative*: it could disappear (i.e., alternate with "zero" as in *glebs* - *iL-lebs* < \**iL-glebs*, PN). In the Tomb of Montuemhet, it, most certainly, represented Anatolian \**h* in several cases (see next section, about Carian PN *gsanduber* = Lycian *Ksanduber-is*). All these arguments of mine were ignored until a collation showed that, in Abydos, there were examples of alternation *i* : *e*, namely in *kikui* : *kekui* (exactly as J. Friedrich had suggested decades ago). And there was never any doubt expressed by serious scholars that Carian *e* is, indeed, *e*: it was present in the only Carian-Lycian bilingual (a coin legend) *er* = *erbbina*, and it was used in Greek inscriptions from Egypt instead of Greek *e*.

Alternation *i* : *e* is also present in PN *Udea*, PN-stem *udea-* versus PN-stem *Udia-* (in *Udiave-*); the existence of this Carian PN in cuneiform writing *Udiya* is confirmed by W. Eilers and L. Zgusta: see Zgusta's work "Neue Beiträge zur kleinasiatischen Antroponymie" (Academia, Prag 1970, p.109).

The same alternation is present in the PN-stems *tild-* : *teld-* (see also next paragraph, about *tild-*). Cf. *ive* : *éve-*.

Carian *i*, apparently a short vowel ([i] is the shortest vowel in very many languages), could disappear not only in the inlaut and auslaut of Carian PN (cf. PN-stem *-kūñi* : *-kūñ*; see below, about *ñ*), but also in the anlaut: cf. *ig-uLoz* (to *mk-uLoz*, *ms-uLoz*, *rav-uLoz*, *uLoz*) versus *g-ULoz* (to *muk-Uloz*, *ULoz*; see below about *u* : *U*), cf. also *g-tut*, apparently from \**ig-tut* (to *av-tut*, *ev-tut*, *tut*, Carian feminine PN *Tutu-bissu* in cuneiform writing, PN-stem *Tout-* in Gr. versions, Lycian B *tuta*, *tuta-si-*, Carian PN *tut-se* etc.; cf. Zgusta, op. cit., p.107). - See also below, about the Carian ending *-i*.

Note that Carian letter *i* is fully identical with the South Semitic *Yôdh*. Carian *i* could be used both as a vowel [i], as in the above examples, and as a glide [i], cf. PN *iiulaθeb* (in Abydos): [i]u-; *miu*; *liiar*; cf. also *iaruli*; *Ubñai* or *Uñai*, and so on.

3. Letter *ì* (Masson's No. 28; shaped as "Qoppa" but has a quadrangle instead of a circle: cf. the same difference in shape between *o* and *û*; see below). As Masson correctly indicates in his book (p.15), the inscriptions from Saqqara confirm my identification of this letter: there are alternations of the type *ngaik* : *ngaék* (followed by a word connector *-qe*; see below). A similar alternation,

i.e.,  $i : i$ , is present in the stem *tild-* versus *tild-*; see my paper "Über den Lautwert des karischen Buchstaben Θ" in *Incontri Linguistici* 8 (1982-1983), p.72; cf. *teld-*.

There are also other similar alternations, for instance  $i : e_1$  (see next section). Letter  $i$  appears almost entirely in old texts.

4. Letter  $e_1$  (Masson's No. 8; *Hêth*). this infrequent letter which does not appear in the new texts (i.e., in the inscriptions of Caria proper, 4th century B.C.) alternates with  $a$  and  $m$  in the PN *mave<sub>1</sub>ûén/mavaûén/mavmûén*; since it alternates with  $a$ , P. Meriggi, and later R. Gusmai, have ascribed a sound-meaning "à" to Carian *Hêth*; cf. Gusmani's remarks in his paper "Zum Karischen" (*Serta Indogermanica*, Innsbruck 1982), p.77. Even before the variant with  $m$ , *mavmûén*, was found, I argued against the interpretation of Carian  $e_1$  as a broad non-front vowel: I am convinced that we have to take into consideration not only the data of combinatory analysis, but also the shape of the letters. It is clear enough that Carian writing originates from some archaic Semitic writing, and that many Carian letters represent sounds in the same, or in a very similar way, as Greek letters do. So, the archaic *Hêth* might have been a representation of a vowel like  $\epsilon$ , not  $a$ . As for  $a/e_1$ -alternation, it might indicate a kind of "Murmellaut", [ə], in an unstressed position: any vowel letter (maybe, except  $u$ ) would fit here. Indeed, as *mavmûén* shows, Carian  $a$  and  $e_1$  in both other variants of this word apparently symbolize a reduced syllabic  $m$ , something like [ɛ] (Carian had no special letters for nasalised vowels): cf. below, about *mum-ega-s* and *mauma-*.

A more solid confirmation of my interpretation of Carian *Hêth* as a letter for a front vowel is the alternation of letters  $i$  (see previous section) and  $e_1$  in an oblique form *iks-n : e<sub>1</sub>ks-n*; see my paper "Theophoric Names in Carian" (*Onomata* 9), p.10.

5. Letter  $U$  (No. 32 in Masson's table). In the early 60's, I have analyzed distribution of Carian letters in texts; as a result, the archaic letter  $U$  (which does not appear in the 4th century B.C.) appeared to be a vowel; this has been confirmed later. Having insufficient data at this time, I interpreted it as an  $e$ -type letter (and I still think it might be a front-vowel symbol -  $\ddot{u}$ ), but, soon enough, new findings showed that we deal with a form of  $u$ , hence the transcription  $U$ . Indeed, there are many clear alternations of the type  $U : u$ , cf. *uLoz*, *-uLoz* versus *ULoz*, *-ULoz* above; *umû : Umû* (in Saqqara: 'stèle' or the like); *ubsnu : Ubsnu* (a PN); *uvn-L : Uvn-L* (and *uvon-L*; an epithet in name constructions), etc.



It is not excluded that Carian *U* originally represented a long vowel (\**ū*), exactly as *e*<sub>1</sub> did (\**ē*). With the decline of the opposition *V:Ū*, our *U* started to "alternate" with the regular *U* (letter *V*) and, eventually, disappeared.

6. Letter *ù* (Masson's No. 27; a quadrangle). This letter plays in Carian texts a twofold role: *ù* can be a vowel (apparently [u], since it alternates with both *u* and *U*); it also can be a consonant (a glide [w]). (So, it is comparable, functionally, with the above *I* ([i]; [i]); I consider this a clear indication of Semitic origin of Carian writing.

Letter *ù* as a vowel appears, for instance, in *ùsaxDoUr* (Abu Simbel), *u/Umù* 'stele' (Saqqara); PN *rùkuvi* (id.); patronym *sonkù-L* (id.); patronym *eokùz-L* (on an object; Egypt); PN *tù*, alternating with *tU* (both in a long graffiti on the Tomb of Montuemhet = Mt); PN *dùg-mea* = "East Phryg." *Dougmeio-s* in Gr. version (cf. -*u*- in PN-stem *dugi-*, apparently to Anatolian PN *Duḥḥiya-*); *nDakù/ndakù* 'wrote/incised' (see below); *tùnU* (a PN?) in Mt; PN-stem -*kùñ(i)*, PN *lùLoz* (Abydos); etc.

Letter *ù* as a consonant [w] appears in *ùu* (Buhen), *ùU* (Mt) 'who'; PN *meùU* (Abydos); *ùabkakl*; *ùém* (PN, from Anatolian \**Uwami-*, Lycian *uwemi*); PN *mavaùén* (see above, about Carian *e*); PN *Uùì* (Mt), etc.

Still, when mechanically determining a vowel function for *ù* in the position between vowels (or next to a consonant, when *ù* appears in the inlaut or in the auslaut), we are not taking in consideration that we might deal with a diphthong having [w] as a "core"-element. Indeed, PN-stem -*kùñi* seems to originate from \**kuwanni*; *tùnU* alternates with PN *towonu* < \**Tuwanuwa* (SE Caria; *owo* is a trigraph "Omikron-Omega-Omikron"); PN *tù* apparently originates from Anatolian *Tuwa*; PN-stem *rù-* seems to represent Anatolian \**aruwa-*; *nda-kù* comes from \**anda-kuwa-* (see below); cf. also PN-stems -*mù* < \**muwa*, \**Muwa*; -*lù* < \**luwa*; -*nù* < \**nuwa*, etc. And in the consonantal unit *kmvdxsβù* (= *Kombdakhasboē*, a *Komē* near Mylassa) the letter *ù* is rather one of eight consonants constituting the form, than a vowel in CV-auslaut. In contrast, the role of *ù* as a consonant, a glide (between two vowels) is clear.

Apparently, the original function of *ù* in its proto-alphabet was that of a *Waw*.

7. Letter *b* (Masson's No. 29 and 30). Having recognized the origin of Carian *b* at the very beginning (it is identical to South Semitic *Bēth*) I originally transcribed it as *p*; this led to an inconvenient transcription π of Carian *Pi* (a rare letter; appears only in old inscriptions). After A. Korol'ev's identification of Carian *ebad*

'here' (cf. Lydian *ebad* 'here') I started to use a more convenient transcription *b* for *Bêth*, and *p* for *Pi*.

A recent confirmation is provided by the PN *gsanduber* (Mt) which is identical to Lycian *Ksanduber-is* (<Anatolian \**Ḫassanta-uppara-*, maybe 'elder son'; \**uppara-* to Engl. *upper*, etc.). It is not clear, whether we have in the above Carian name a *d* or a *ḡ*; this does not interfere with our identification: Carian *ḡ* clearly alternates with *d* (for instance, in the variants of the PN *avḡer/avder* < \**Awa-dara*). Note that Carian *g* (as well as Lycian *g*) frequently represents Anatolian \**ḡ* (cf. the same root \**ḡas-* in PN-stem *-gsù* < \**ḡassuwa-* 'offspring'); as for Mt, Carian *k-* (which usually also originates from \**ḡ*) does not appear in the anlaut in this group of inscriptions. The name *gsanduber* is an excellent confirmation that the commonly accepted transcription of Carian letters *s,a,n,u,e,r* is quite correct.

Carian PN *mesnarb* which was discussed above also contains *b*; it is a compound: the first PN-stem is *mes-* (to Lycian B *masa, masana*, Luwian *massana-*, Sidet. *mašara* 'god'); it appears in very many Carian PN. the second stem corresponds to a Carian PN *Narb-as* in Gr. versions. The equation *-narb : Narb(as)* is a good confirmation of Carian *b* = [b].

8. Letter *q* (Masson's 21; a cross: + or X). This letter was usually transcribed as *h*, apparently because of Lycian A letter + *h*, though Lycian *h* (< \**s*) is a late innovation (Lycian B still has *s* for \**s*). Since Carian name constructions have facultative *-qe* after the non-initial member(s) (cf. A B-L C-L-*qe*; A B-L-*qe* C-L; A B-L-*qe* C-L-*qe*, etc.) it seems appropriate to identify Carian *-qe* as a loose word connector: H. Eichner and other colleagues accepted recently this identification. Carian *-qe* might ultimately originate from IE \**k<sup>w</sup>e* 'and'; cf. Lycian *-ke* 'and', Lydian *-k* 'and' (with delabialization). This is confirmed by the fact that Lydian + *q* originates from IE \**k<sup>w</sup>* (but the labial element was lost in *-k* 'and'). Carian onomastics provide further corroborations for *q* < \**k<sup>w</sup>*: Luwian (< South Anatolian) *kuwa(ya)ta-* 'stand in awe' fits the second compound in Carian theophoric names *iḡ-qaia-*, *av-qeda-*; Carian PN-stem *qe*, \**qeqe* (> *qeq, qqe*) seem to fit South Anatolian root \**kuwa-* (> Luwian *kuwa-*) with the same meaning, etc.: see my paper "Theophoric Names in Carian", *Onomata* 9; cf. "Carian Proper Names", *Onomata* 12.

9. Letter *ñ* (Masson's 38; a "vertical" variant is identical with Lycian *ñ*). My identification *ñ* of this letter (first proposed 27 years ago) has been repeatedly confirmed. This letter appears in the word *mñga* (*g* < \**ḡ*; see above) related to Hittite *manniyahḫa-* 'handle, supervise'; in PN-stems *-kuñ, -kuñi* < South Anatolian \**kunni(ya)*; in

Carian *mñ-* (1st stem of a compounded PN) which is rendered as *Minn-* in Greek versions (to Lycian *mñn-*); in a particle *éñ* 'this' or 'here' (the narrow *é-* indicates an underlying form *VCi*) seemingly related to Hittite *anni-*, Lydian *avi-*, Lycian *ne, -ñe* 'this', etc.

Some scholars ascribe a value "e" to Carian *ñ* because it alternates with *e* (as in *-qñ* : *-qe*); I think that *-qñ* is a contraction of *-qe* (a connector; see above) and the above particle *éñ*. Indeed, there is a tomb inscription in Saqqara (Saq. 1; citations after M. Meier-Brügger's Carian corpus in *Kadmos* XVIII/2, 1979) *avdr-L umù avdño[n-L]-qe éñ as[...]* "This [is] Avder's tomb, Avdnon's [son's]...". As we see, the particle *éñ* follows directly the connector *-qe*. Note that a frequently used word *umù* should have a meaning of the type 'tomb', 'stele' or the like: this is indicated by its surrounding (A-L *umù* B-L... "Of A [is this] tomb, of B's [son]..."). Still, *ñ* seems to alternate with *e* (*blñon* : *-bleon*, etc.) in a position between cons. and vowel (cf. Lycian *-ñn-*; cf. *m/m* : *a/e*<sub>1</sub> in *m(a)vm/m/a/e*<sub>1</sub>V below.

### ANALYSIS OF CARIAN INSCRIPTIONS

The above examples provide some insight into the structure of Carian inscriptions. Both tomb inscriptions and graffiti show a regular structure of name constructions: A [= PN]; A B-L; A B-L C-L; etc. The connector *-qe* can appear after the second, third (etc.) word. The translation of A B-L phrases seems to be "A [son] of B"; that of A B-L C-L phrases either "A [son] of B [grandson] of C" or "A [son] of B and of C", or "A [son] of B [from the town] of C". this is corroborated by the fact that stems B and C may appear as "first names" (i.e., in the position A). It seems there are some titles (which tend to appear at the end of the construction), such as *uvon-L* or *nko-L* (a variant: *slnko-L*, apparently a compound). - Cf. A- *ś* B-*li-s* C-*li-ś* in Lydian

As we have seen, some tomb inscriptions may include a word with the meaning 'tomb', 'stele' or the like; in this case, the "first name" has the *L*-suffix as well: A-L tomb B-L... "Of A [is this a] tomb, of [the son of] B...".

In the tomb inscriptions of Caria proper, the structure is different: a word appears here which can be identified as a verb (when judging on its ending: see below, about Carian verbs). Here are a few examples (numbers after my book *Issledovanija...*), with some additional comments:

106. *śfes sDesa-s msuLoz-L nad-L nko-L*; structures: A Verb B-L C-L D-L (the verb might mean 'put' [this stele here] or the like; another possible meaning of the verb might be 'rests, lies, is buried').

The patronymic *nad-L* is based on Carian PN *Nad* (known from Greek versions); the patronymic *ms-uLoz-L* includes two well-known PN-stems: *m(e)s-* and *uLoz* (this latter is also used as a simple PN).

94. *akseDe av-i nemau-L mavm-L*; structure: A Verb B-L C-L. The same verbal form (*av-i*) appears in 93. The transcription *m* of a relatively infrequent letter (Masson's 37) is based on the alternation *m:m* of the Carian PN *mavmùém* (in a patronymic in Saq. 17), where *-ùén* is a frequent PN "suffix", and our *mavma-*: another alternation, namely, *m:a:e<sub>1</sub>* (*mavm-ùén* : *mava-ùén* : *mave<sub>1</sub>-ùén*), seems to indicate a syllabic character of *m* in *mavm-* and *m* in *mavm-* which implies that Carian *m* and *n̄* (see above) were pronounced more or less in the same way as Lycian *m* and *n̄*. The latter also alternates with vowels in PN-stem *blñon* : *-bleon* and in some other cases. - New inscriptions show a PN *mvm-éveq* (cf. *mavm/m-*; *eg-éveq-L*).

98. *Las biae-s egéveq-L nk[o-L]* "Las built [this], [son] of E., [? of the] honorable", or the like. It seems, *nko-L* is not a regular patronymic since it does not function as a PN (*nko*). *Eg* and *éveq* are known to be PN-stems. The verb *biae-* seems to correspond to Lydian *bi-* 'give' (= Lycian *pije-*), also 'erect, build' (according to R. Gusmani). - Many data indicate that Carian *k* (letter *Khi*) was a fricative [x]; etymologically, it originates from both *\*k* and *\*ḫ*. Hence, Carian *nak-* might belong to Anatolian *\*naḫḫ-* > Hittite *naḫḫ-* 'fear; respectful, reverent/careful toward' etc. (see *The Hittite Dictionary*, Univ. of Chicago 1986, s.v.). Carian *o* in many clear cases originates from a stressed short *\*a*.

The verbal ending *-s* is used in most local groups of inscriptions (including tomb inscriptions), but not in Northern Caria and not in Thebes. Both in N. Caria and in Thebes, the ending *-τ* is used instead. In Abu Simbel (no. 74) we read in a graffito on one of four Ramses colossi: *mesnarb ravkU-L iks-n so-s* "M. [son] of R. ...-d (*so-s*) the ..."; the form *iks-n* seems to be an accusative of unattested *iks\** (Carian lost the nominative ending *\*-s*, as did Lycian; *s* in *iks\** is a part of the stem). The interpretation of the graffito might be "M. [son] of R. incise-d a vow" or the like: see below about a similar inscription from Murwāw, Lower Nubia, and another one, on a relic. Accordingly, in a dedicative inscription from N. Caria we have a verb *so-τ* (instead of *so-s*): *bDuL(-)omeθe mu suso-τ nodr-n so-τ éd avné-τ* "B(-)O. me (?) ...-d, ... (accusative in *-n*) ...-d, ... ...-d", - apparently a sequence of three verbs, all with preceding accusatives, which follows a subject (epithet *-n-L* plus a PN? - cf. *Umēss-os* in Greek version). The interpretation of *mu* as 'me' (accusative or dative, as in other Anatolian languages) is, of course, just a conjecture (it appears before

a verb in the inscription from Caunos as well; another formally possible interpretation is 'four' which does not seem to fit here). Another pronominal accusative (formally accusative or nominative neuter) is *éd*; it seems to build a paradigm with *éñ* 'this' (see above). The appearance of accusatives (and other oblique forms) before appropriate verbal forms is a common usage in the Anatolian languages.

Another verb in *-τ*, *lo-τ*, appears several times in Thebes and seems to belong to *verba dicendi*. A form in *-s* (*lo-s*) is present in the Leningrad inscription on the socle of an Isis statuette: (Egyptian:) "Isis, give life" (Carian:) *avkañ-s* (= 'to Al'); *slra-t lo-s* (= "Slara proclaim-ed [it]", or the like; *-t* is a participle). This is one of several sentences where the Carian dative sg. in *-s* is also used (according to known Egyptian-Aramaic and Egyptian-Greek "macaronic" inscriptions, the formula "[God] X, give life" can be followed either by the dative or nominative of a PN); we interpret *avkañ-s* as a dative since it fits many other cases where we find *-s* as dative (more seldom: locative sing., cf. perhaps Lydian *-λ* = dative or locative sing.). - The Carian name *slra* appears also in a form *slara* (cf. Late Anatolian *Salara-*, in a Greek version).

The interpretation of *-τ* as a verbal ending (3rd sing. past) has an excellent confirmation both in Theban graffiti (where *ll-τ* appears several times as a *verbum dicendi*) and in a ring-seal inscription where *ll-τ* follows a PN ("X spoke [so]", or the like). Indeed, Carian *ll-* 'speak' fits perfectly Lydian *laλe-\** id. (to Hittite < Anatolian *lalje-* id., Lycian B noun *leli* 'text' or the like). The Lydian verb is attested in the form of a participle (*laenś* 'speaking').

\* \* \*

There exists a new, strong corroboration of the fact that several words "in *-i*" are verbs of the 3rd pers. sing. Among various *verba dicendi* (some - with a "solemn" meaning 'announce', 'proclaim' etc.; see below) in the graffiti from Thebes the verb *uvi* is present; it might be compared with Lycian B *uwe-* 'announce' or the like (cf. Lycian A *ube-*: maybe *u-be-*, with a suffix). Cf. also the verbs *ili* and *koi* in the vessel inscriptions (published by Gusmani in *Kadmos* 17, p. 178; see my discussion below). On the other hand, many verbs "in *-u*" exist among Carian verbs, the most frequent being *nDaku* (in Thebes: *ndaku*) 'wrote!', 'incised' or the like (this interpretation is commonly accepted; *nD/da-* is a prefix before consonants, - cf. *nD-* pre-

vocally in *nD-ovb-k*, to *ovb-k*, below). Another frequent verb "in -ù" is *iù* (Thebes).

Some examples with "ù-verbs follow:

(Thebes:) *dīqsù reg-L ndakù* "D. [son] of R. wrote [this]";

(Thebes:) *nUb iù* "N. ...-d" (rather *verbum dicendi*, as in other cases, than 'was'; Carian *e* 'was' is discussed below);

(Abu Simbel, no. 72:) *mavLodou ]ou* "M. ...-d";

(Thebes:) *tildo, oUgoUk, l.n Uavugb-L -o ndaku* "T., O., L. [son] of U. [is] who (-o) wrote [this]"; in cases like this one, the Anatolian languages prefer to put the verb in the singular (not plural); note the frequent postclitic *-o* 'who' (as opposed to the full form *ùU*).

As for the PN and patronyms in the above graffiti, cf. Carian *nUb* (with a regular loss of a short unstressed vowel in the auslaut) and the Lycian PN-stem *-nube-*; the PN *dīqsù* is comparable with the Carian patronym *dīqse-L* (in Saqqara); *mav-*, *mv-* is a regular first stem in compounded PN (cf. Lycian *Mawa*, Anatolian goddess \**Mawa-*); the PN *tildo* is comparable with the PN-stem *tild-*, *teld-*; the PN *oUgoUk* is comparable with the PN *UgUk* (*ou, oU : u, U* is a frequent alternation), *ugug* (in *ugug nn-L*, Thebes; *nn-* = Late Anatolian *Nana-*).

\* \* \*

We would have, of course, too many endings if we considered *-s*, *-τ*, and *-ù* to be different endings. What we have in reality is just one ending (apparently South Anatolian *\*-tta*, *\*-ta*) with the local variants *-s* and *-τ*; this ending was preserved as a rule after etymologically short vowels, but was dropped after long vowels and/or diphthongs, such as *i(?)*, or *ù*. Indeed, we find disyllabic ("long") verbs with or without *-s* or *-τ*, for that matter:

*suso-τ* (N. Caria) and *suso* (Thebes: Luxor Temple);

*sDesa-s* and *sDesa* (S.E. Caria).

After (long?) *a*, there is usually no past ending: cf. the verbs *sava* (in a "final phrase" *Luxze-t sava*; cf. *slra-t lo-s* above); *stda*; *e.ea* (in a short inscription *gsanduber e.ea*), etc.

As for *-i*, it is not yet clear if it is one of the endings (if so, then an ending of the present tense, like Hittite and Luwian *-i*), or just part of a stem.

Carian *s* and *τ* (in our endings *-s* and *-τ*) are phonetically perhaps [ʃ] and [θ]; this might explain their complementary distribution: both originate from a fricative which, itself, originated from the ending *\*-ta* (cf. reflexes: Hieroglyphic Luwian *-ta*, *-ra*;

Lydian *-l*; Lycian *-te, -de*). Carian *-r* might belong here: this is a frequent ending in the long inscription from Caunos ("Caunos dialect").

\* \* \*

It is remarkable that some verbs of the past tense appear in "strings" in Carian inscriptions (cf. also the closely put  $\tau$   $\tau$   $\tau$  in the above mentioned inscription from N. Caria; cf. below, strings of the type *-k -k -k* from *\*-ḥa -ḥa -ḥa*, verbal ending of the 1st pers. past). In principle, this confirms the interpretation of the verbs in  $\tau$ ,  $\tau$  etc. as those of the same tense, - namely, past (past tense verbs appear much more frequently than those of the present tense). Some examples of verb "strings" follow:

(Thebes:) *lūñūén iū lo-τ* "L. swore (?), proclaim-ed [it]";

(Thebes:) *gtut ūU ndakū iū lo-τ xbūn-L* "G. [is] who wrote, swore, proclaim-ed [it], [son] of H."

(Abydos:) *ravuloz iv-s lū mgule-L* "R. ...-d, ...-d [it], [son] of M." - Cf. *iv-s* with the verb *ilv-s*; *lū* with *Lū-* (?).

The separation of the name construction (A B-L) into two "polar" parts (as in our second and third examples) is common in Lycian B and other Mediterranean languages. The PN *lūñūén* has a regular PN-stem (suffix) *-ūén*. The patronym *xb-ūn* has a known suffix *-ūn* (*xb-ūn* to *\*Hepa-wana*, cf. Lycian A *Xba* "Hepa"; cf. Carian *kug-vna* *\*ḥuḥu-wana*?).<sup>1</sup> The PN *gtut* (< *\*ig-tut*) was discussed above; the PN *ravuloz* is comparable to many PN in *rav-* and *-uloz* (-ULoz); the patronym *mgule-L* fits with the known Carian PN *mgula*.

A confirmation of the fact that long vowels can appear as auslauting elements of verbal forms (past tense) is provided also by the Carian verb *e* 'was' (Abydos): in a few sentences this element

<sup>1</sup>There are indications that Carian *é* (written E; cf. Lycian E = i) is indeed a narrow vowel, and that it is of secondary origin. Cf. the PN *ūém*, from Anatolian *\*Uwami-* or *Uwammi-* (Lycian *Uwēmi*, etc.) where *é* is assimilated from a regular broad *e* (from *\*a*), because of the auslauting narrow *-i* (which disappeared in Carian). The suffix *-ūén* seems to originate from *\*wani* (cf. Lycian B *-wāni*) whereas the suffix *-ūn* originates from *\*wana* (Lycian B *-wāna*). Cf. also Carian *ēñ* from *\*anni-* 'this', etc. The patronym *[r]av-gélév-L* might have originated from *\*galawi*, *\*halawi*, or the like. After all, the PN *mava-ūén* has a variant *mave<sub>1</sub>-ūén* where *e<sub>1</sub>* might be a narrow [é] (originally [ē]) influenced by the narrow *é* in *-ūén*. In any case, the variant *le<sub>1</sub>le<sub>1</sub>ki* (which seems to be the name of a god in Carian texts) seems to have assimilated its 1st and 2nd vowels ("narrowed") after *-i* (< *\*-iya*): *le<sub>1</sub>le<sub>1</sub>ki* < *\*Lulabhiya* (a god's name in Anatolian and Hittite). In the other variant of this name, *lleki*, we still have narrow *i* (which alternates with the narrow *e<sub>1</sub>* in *iks-n* : *e<sub>1</sub>ks-n*, etc.).

appears in a different position, but is always connected with two words - *kikui* or *kekui* (PN, subject) and *ivno-s* (apparently locative sing., - cf. frequent Carian -s as a dative sing. ending). If this is so, then *ivno-* might be the Carian name of Abydos (*kekui ivno-s e* means then "K. was in Ivno"). Indeed, Carian *e* 'was' is comparable to Lydian *e-l* 'was' with the ending preserved or generalised. Carian *e* and Lydian *e-l* originate from Anatolian *\*ēs-t(a)*, with a long *ē*. So, Carian *e* can originate not only from unstressed short *\*a*, but also from long *\*ē*.

\* \* \*

As for the verbal forms of the 3rd pers. sing. *present*, Carian seems to have 2 variants of appropriate ending, namely, *-d* and (much more seldom) *-t*. They seem to correspond to Lydian *-d*, Lycian *-di* (both lenited) and Lydian *-t*, Lycian *-ti* (non-lenited). Indeed, Carian *-t* appears in forms with a lost short vowel (Thebes: *lL-t* 'speak-s' to Lydian *laλe-t\** id.; cf. Carian *lL-τ* 'spoke' above). Where this ending appears, the lenited *-d* is used after a long vowel: cf. *sa-d* in Thebes and Buhen, *τνù-d* in Buhen. But in most inscription groups we find a generalised *-d*, cf. *albo-d* (apparently to Lycian B *alba-* 'pray' or the like, according to Bayun and Ivanov), *slmo-d* (to Lycian B *slama-ti* 'add-s', see below), *nuDo-d*, - with *-o-* from a short stressed *\*-ā-*; cf. also generalized *-k* < *\*-ḫḫa* in Carian *nakok* 'I stood in awe' < *\*nāḫḫ-ḫḫa*, *avno-k*, *srño-k*, *srUo-k* etc.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, we have an opposition between the past forms, with the lost endings after long/diphthongized vowels (*-i*, *-u*, *-a* /in all cases except *sDesa-s*, though here also with a variant *sDesa/*), and the present forms with *-d* after the same vowels. This opposition was preserved only in limited groups of archaic inscriptions.

Let us analyse some different Carian inscriptions with verbs; I would like to concentrate on those having the pronoun 'who' (used as

<sup>2</sup>Carian *o* < *\*ā* was discussed at the beginning of this paper. Note the loss of short *unstressed* vowels in the auslaut of Carian words and word stems: PN *nt-alb* (Anatolian *\*Natta*, *\*alba-*), PN *ūén* (Lycian *Uwēmi*), PN *nUb* (*\*Nubai*, Lycian PN-stem *-nube-*), PN *tut* (cf. Anatolian *Tuta*, etc.), PN *lad*, PN *mes-narb* (to Lycian B *masa* 'God' and Anatolian *\*Narba-*), PN *rav-uLoz* (*rav-* to Anatolian *\*Arawa-* 'free, noble'; cf. Lycian A), PN *av-der* (*\*Awa-dara*, *Awa* is an Anatolian theonym), PN-stems *id-*, *ib-* (to Anatolian theonyms *Ida* and *Iba*; also in Carian PN in Greek versions), etc. On the other hand, auslauting (stressed) *-o* is present in *ms-kzo* (< *\*masa-hassá* literally 'God's son', cf. Lycian B *xzzātā* to Hittite *ḫassant-*; Carian *z* from *\*-ss-* also in *-dze*, Lycian B *dezi*, Anatolian *\*tassali-* 'strong', as in Hittite and Luwian), *nko(-L)* from *\*nāḫḫá-* 'fear, awe'; cf. also *-i* and *-ū* (*-i* is preserved when originating from *\*-iya*; *-ū* < *\*-uwa*).



Lycian *ti* 'who' in sentences of the type "A *ti prnnawate* ..." = "A. [is] who built ...").

("Lion":) *kivo-s mvmega-s ovra ku nDakù ubse Uvn-L* "For K.M. [this] dedication (?) who wrote [is] U. [son] of U.". The word *ovra* (cf. the verbs *ov-b-*, *nDov-b-* below) seems to be a regular Anatolian accusative in *-a* ("neutr. pl."). *Kivo-* seems to be identical to the name of the god *kivo* in *kivo māga* (see below); I. Adiego (Madrid) gave the correct reading (*kivos*, not *kovos*) and identified both word combinations (*kivo-s mvmega-s* and *kivo māga*). As for *-s*, it is a regular dative ending (as in *avkañ-s*, see above). So, the word *mvmega-* seems to be an epithet to *kivo-* (a god's name).

(Thebes:) *oblñtn-t ùU ndakù tū IL-τ u... IL-t tU sa-d ntalb ùU dū toro-s dbon-s* "O. [is] who wrote [this]; T. spoke; U. speak-s; T. engrave-s [this]; N. [is] who consecrated (dū) [it] to T.D.". It is not excluded, though, that *tū* is a verb in a string of verbs (*ndakù tū IL-t*). As for *dū*, cf. the verb *Dū-* used in Saqqara (*D* appears seldom in Thebes, hence Theban *ndakù* instead of "Common Carian" *nDakù*, etc.). The word *toro-* seems to be a name of a god (\**Tarhu-*?) in the dative sing., *dbo-n-* being an epithet to *toro-* (cf. Lycian A *tabāna* (?) in the context of a war), cf. *lile-s laqr-n-s* in Caunos (*laqr-n-*, to Lycian B *lak<sup>w</sup>ra* 'stone', Lydian *laqri-sa-* 'wall', being an adjective to *lile-*; *lile-s laqr-n-s* seems to be a locative sing.; this combination appears after a verb *kowo-r*). Cf. in "Lion" *kivo-s mvmega-s* at the very beginning of the dedicative inscription: also dative sing.

(Thebes:) *glebs blñon-L UgUk sla-L iL-τ ùU-n* "G. [son] of B., U. [son] of S. [is/are] who (ùU) spoke this (-n)". The PN *gle-bs* has a second stem also present in other PN (*ùsù-zrme-bs, inok-bs*). It fits with *-bisu* ('present?') in a Carian PN in a cuneiform version *Tutu-bisu* (in a Carian text this would be *tut-bs\**). The PN-stem *blñon-* seems to be genetically identical with the PN *bleon\** (in the PN *rav-bleon*). The patronym *sla-l* includes a PN *sla\**, to Lycian A *hla* (< \**sla*).

(Thebes:) *UtlLa-t ùU-n Lù no-τ* "U. [is] who-this ...-d, ...-d". It seems that we have a string of verbs, *Lù-* (also present in Saqqara) and *no-τ* (cf., in Caria proper: *sDùat no-τ*; PN *sDùat*, maybe, to Lydian, in a Greek version, *Saduatt-ēs*; Carian *Sampi* was also used in this suffix in a Greek version of the Carian PN *Panuatt-ēs*, in the known "tt/ss" suffix. - Cf., in this respect, the Carian name *tanou takae-L* with the first word fitting etymologically to Hittite *zanu-* 'to clean/purify', and the second to Hittite *zah<sup>h</sup>ae-*, Lycian B *zxxa-* 'overcome' etc; or rather, we have a stem *zāh-* here: cf. Carian *nak(o)-* to Hittite *nāh-* above: Carian *-a-* < \**-ā-*).

Let us now switch to the most interesting group of Carian inscriptions, - those with "k-verbs, i.e., with verbal forms of the 1st person sing. past (-k from "Luwian" \*-hha).

(Vessel 1) *evtut tilaün-L* (or *tildün-L*?) *ili sk-k ovb-k kivo mñga* "E. [son] of T. said/proclaimed: 'I ...-d, I dedicate-d [it], o [God] K.M.". The PN *ev-tut* corresponds to the more archaic *av-tut* (from \**Awa-tuta*, a theophoric PN). The verb *ili* might correspond to *ilv-s*. The verb *ovb-* might be related to Lycian A *u-be-* (cf. B *uwe-* 'announce' or 'dedicate' in a "ritualistic" context). The verb *sk-* might mean 'cut' (cf. Hittite *sakk-* 'hit'). On the other hand, *sk-* might refer to a libation. It seems we are dealing here with a "vocative" of a god's name *kivo* (with the epithet *mñga*); cf. the next examples. Since *mñga* is likely a cognate of Hittite *maniyahh-* 'to handle' etc., we might interpret, tentatively, *kivo mñga* a "Kivo the Ruler" (or "...Maker"). See above about dative sing. *kivo-s* "to [the god] Kivo". - It is possible to interpret *ovb-k* as "I announced (a vow)".

Note Vessel 2: here we also have a dative sing. (with added connective particles?) *ado-s-D qavko-s-D* "to/for the goddess Ada ..." (*qavko-* being an epithet? - Note that *ado-s qavko-s* appears as well). Phonetically *ado-* originates from *Ádā-* (see footnote 2). The whole text of "Vessel 2" is as follows: *ilLebs koi ado-s-D qavko-s-D ñθmù nDaku* "I. ...-d [this] to A.Q.; N. wrote [this]" or the like. As for the PN *ilLe-bs* (from \**iL-gle-bs*?), cf. *gle-bs*, *Tutu-bisu* etc. (see note 2). The verb *koi* (3rd sing. past) might mean "(he) dedicated" or "presented". The PN *ñθmù* contains *-mù* < Anatolian \**Muwa* (as for *ñθ-*, cf. Late Anatolian *Indz-*, Lycian A *āz-*, *āzz-* etc.).

(Phiale:) *snD ilv-s mskzo nDovb-k iì-k sk-k* "Sanda announce-d (or the like): 'O [God] M.! I dedicate-d [this], I perform-ed a ritual (libation?), I ...-d!". Cf. Vessels 1 and 2 above. The PN *snD* (note the archaic consonantal writing used for PN and "popular" verbs) to Carian *Sanda* (cf. the Carian PN *senDa*). The verb *iì-* to Hittite *iya-* 'make; perform a ritual' etc. For *mskzo*, cf. footnote 2 (note that in Thebes only *g-* for non-final \**h* was used: *-gsu* < \**hassuwa*, \**h-* as *g-* only).

(Murwāw, Lower Nubia:) *moUb Udñai-L eìks-n so-s sarño-k srUo-k* "M. [son] of U. wrote/incise-d the vow: 'I ...-d, I ...-d!". See above about a similar text from Abu Simbel. Note the alliterating *s-* of both "important" verbs (cf. *s-* *s-* in a *figura etymologica* in Silsile: *lileki stdu-n epuk stda* "O [God] L!! Epuk ...-d the ...", *stda* being

a verb and *stdu-n* an accusative sing.; for the PN cf. Carian *Apouk-ös* in a Greek version).

(An Egyptian relic:) *ravbleon θεγβ-s nDakù ik[s]-n-o Dù-k iun-k* "R. [is] who (-o) wrote/incised the vow/dedication to [the God] T.: 'I dedicate-d [this], I ...-d!'. Cf. for *Dù-*, the verb *dù* in Thebes ('dedicate'? - see above). The PN *rav-ble-on* (to *blñ-on*) seems to originate from Anatolian \**Arawa-balann(a)-na*. The form in *-s* is likely the name of a god in the dative, as in other similar cases. In Lycian there is a place name *zagaba-/zaxaba-* (*Lagba* in a Greek version); phonetically this comparison seems quite feasible (place name = god's name?). For *iks-n*, see above.

(Thebes:) *lileki msvbv iu nun-k ri-k sù-k sUv-k* "O [God] L., - M. swore - I ...-d, I ...-d, I ...-d, I ...-d!". It is not excluded, though, that *lileki* is in the dative (cf., in an inscription, the PN *Udiai*, maybe in the dative, - it follows the formula "Hor, give life" in Egyptian). The PN *msv-bv* (note the archaic writing) seems to fit with two PN: *meseve* and *bUve-*. For the verb *nun-*, cf. Lycian B *nuni-ti*, in a ritualistic context (it is followed by accusative pl. *xruwasaz* 'sacred presents', or the like). Note the two verbs in *s-* (cf. *sarño-k srUo-k* in Murwāw).

(Thebes:) *lūñuén iu lo-τ lileki dù-k* "L. swore, announced: 'O [God] L.! I made a dedication!' (*dù-* as 'dedicate, make a dedication' is better if *lileki* is a dative, not a vocative; cf. above. On the other hand, *dù-k* 'I made a vow' is also possible).

(Thebes:) ... ...-d *ùU-n snkUget iu IU-k tnU* "... [is] who ...-d this (-n); S. swore: 'I made a vow, o [God] T.!'. Of course, our translation of *IU-k* as 'I vow-ed, I made a vow' is one of many other possibilities. - The PN *snkU-get* is comparable with *sonku-* and *rai-get* (cf. *-get-* in Late Anatolian *Moa-get-*, in a Greek version).

(Thebes:) *sdqna uU-n uvi bUve-L mv-k aqko-k gn /-k namikov takov iuvt* (or: *iuvo, iuvL?*) "S. [is] who-this announced (*uvi*), son of B.: 'I ...-d, I ...-d, I ...-d .....'. It is not excluded, in principle, that *-i* in *uvi* is an ending (if so, then of the 3rd person sing. present, as in Hittite, etc.). In any case, cf. Lycian B *uwe-ti* "announces" or the like, in a context about the Lycian monument in Xanthos. The verb *mv-* is comparable with Lycian B *mawa-* or *muwa-*. The strange sign / might be comparable with the Carian *Phi* or trigraph Omokron-Omega-Omicron (our "wa"); it appears two times in Thebes. The end is unclear.

I deliberately did not provide many possible etymological cognates from Anatolian languages so as to be able to concentrate on the internal analysis of Carian texts. Nevertheless, one can easily notice that most plausible parallels are between Carian and the archaic language of Lycian B. I would like to concentrate on one of the most interesting such parallels - a pair Carian *slmo-d* (verb in 3rd person sing. present) and Lycian B *slama-* 'add' or the like; cf., in Lycian A, the cognate *hlmmi* 'addition'. The Carian verb appears in the text on the relic which also has an Egyptian text - Apis shall give life to two persons, one being certainly non-Egyptian (*P-R-J-M*, maybe to Lycian B *Priyama*). The Carian text is added to this inscription; there is place there for two lines, and they are there: *mave<sub>1</sub>ven slmo-d-o* "M. [is] who (-o) add-s [this]" and *mavaùén avno-k-qe* "M. and (-qe) *avno-k*". But *avno-k* is clearly a verb in -k ('I ...-d'), cf., in Caria proper, a construction A B-L *ku albo-d avno-k*; X *nuDo-d-o nako-k* "A B-L [is] who ...-s: 'I ...-d!'; X [is] who (-o) ...-s: 'I ...-d!'", the last word, *nako-k*, is relatively clear: it originates from Anatolian (South) *\*nāḫa-ḫḫa* "I feared, I stood in awe". So, we have here a "regular" appeal to god(s).

Having this in mind, we would expect to find in the Egyptian-Carian inscription mentioned above this kind of a construction: *\*Mavaùén slmo-d-o avno-k* "M. [is] who (-o) add-s: 'I ...-d!'" (i.e. "I have honored [the God Apis]", or the like).

One reason we don't have this standard formula in the Apis text might be lack of space (neither side had enough room). Another reason might be the desire to put the appropriate PN in the "list" of names of people to whom Apis should "give life". So, as a result, the author added both the most important words (his name and the verb directed to the god: *avno-k*) in the line opposite to the other one, i.e. to the phrase "M [is] who add-s". If the only "added" word were *avno-k*, then the idea of "adding" the author's name to the above list would not find any feasible expression.

\* \* \*

There are many Carian inscriptions (especially the long ones) which are quite obscure. But short inscriptions are, more or less, clear, - grammatically. What remains is not just the continuation of textual analysis but also a further insight into existing correspondences between Carian and Lycian (as well as Luwian, Hittite, etc.) phonetics and lexics. This makes a tentative etymological analysis legitimate.

It is clear that Carian is not just an Anatolian language, but a language which is closer to the "Luwian-Lycian" group (it would be incorrect to declare Hittite a language which is opposed to all other Anatolian languages: Lydian has certain features which can only be found in Hittite, so Lydian is not a "legitimate" member of the "South Anatolian" group). Carian also has some "Lydian" features (innovations?).

Carian writing is exceedingly important for the study of the origin of the alphabet: it has many Semitic features which are very archaic and which are lacking in other alphabetic writings: signs which are present either in West Semitic or in South Semitic scripts (such as qoppa-like *Yod*, B-like *m*, etc.), consonantal writing of many PN and verbal forms; archaic shape of letters; boustrophedon and "spiral" inscriptions; letters written "upside down"; use of *Yod* and *Waw* both for *i*, *y*, and *i*, *u*; etc. It is not possible to study further the history of alphabetic writing without a thorough usage of the Carian data.

## THE NUMERAL 'TWO' AND ITS NUMBER MARKING

F. Villar  
*University of Salamanca*

The name of the indo-european numeral 'two' is generally reconstructed as *\*duō(u)*, of which the last syllable is considered to be the dual ending. Although it is true that in several languages this last syllable appears as a plural ending, this is thought to have been a late and purely dialectal development ("Das Wort bekam einzelsprachlich teilweise pluralische Kasusformen") arising in any case after the elimination of the dual ("im Zusammenhang mit dem Zurückweichen der dualischen Flexion überhaupt").

As is well known, there are other forms of the numeral 'two' ending in *~i* (*\*duoi/\*duei/\*dui*), which are very common, especially in derivation and composition, and are present throughout almost the whole range of Indo-European dialects<sup>2</sup>. But these forms have tended to be thought of as secondary, fashioned analogically after the numeral 'three' (*\*trei-/\*tri-*)<sup>3</sup>.

A third form under which the numeral 'two' appears is *\*du-*. Though less common than the other two, it is to be found in Lat. *ducenti*, *duplex*, *dubius*; Umb. *dupla* 'binas', *dupursus* 'bipedibus', *duti* 'iterum'; Latvian *duceles*; Mid.Ind. *dupada* (Aśoka) 'biped', *dujihva* (Pāli) 'which has two tongues', etc.<sup>4</sup>. But *\*du-* has undergone the same fortune as the forms lengthened with *~i* and has generally been held to be an innovation<sup>5</sup>.

Although most Indo-European scholars have considered that the only ancient form of the numeral 'two' is *\*duō(u)*, some dissenting voices have been heard. Ernout and Meillet<sup>6</sup> tended to think that the *\*du-* form was the old one, and they saw no way of explaining it other than as an archaism. And the fact that this form is found in lateral areas (Indian,

*Italic*) would no doubt have contributed towards the wide acceptance of this idea, were it not that in Indian there is no evidence of the variant \**du-* until Aśoka and Prakrit. This does not actually rule out the validity of this hypothesis since as Gonda<sup>7</sup> has argued, this is not the only archaism present in Middle Indian while absent in Old Indian.

On the other hand, the widespread presence of the forms with \*-*i* in all the dialectal areas calls for cautious consideration of the problem and the chronology of its genesis. This was pointed out by Gonda for whom "It would, however, be difficult to take for granted that the -*i* in \**dui-* is nothing but an analogical borrowing from \**tri-* and to consider the many forms deriving from the curious by-form \**dui-*, \**duei-*, \**duoi-* beside \**duōu* as arisen under the influence of the higher numeral"<sup>8</sup>.

As for the hypothesis of an analogy from the numeral 'three', this has one serious drawback in the fact that in all likelihood the \*-*i* in the numeral 'three' is likewise a secondary addition. Indeed, Meillet<sup>9</sup> has shown that there exist forms, among ordinals, derived from \**tr-* (without the \*-*i*): O.I. *t#tīya-*, O.Pruss. *tīrts*, Lith. *trėčias*, O.Sl. *tretijъ*. The absence of \*-*i* in these forms is anomalous if we consider the basic form of the numeral 'three' from which it in principle derives, since in all these languages the \*-*i* is present in the cardinal. And as this absence has no phonetic nor analogical way which could account for its elimination, we are forced to conclude that in 'three' too we are faced with an addition.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, the forms with \*-*i* are not exactly parallel in both numerals. In 'two' there is a predominance of forms with \*-*i* and \*-*oi* vocalism, while forms with \*-*ei* (confined dialectally to Celtic and Germanic) are rare. In 'three', however, forms in \*-*i* and \*-*ei* dominate, and those with \*-*oi* are rare, their presence only being confirmed in Slavic. If the forms in \*-*i* of the numeral 'two' were nothing but an analogical imitation of those in the numeral 'three', a greater parallelism between both of them could be expected. Their lack of

symmetry invites us rather to seek for another origin from which both numerals may have drawn their forms in *-\*i*, to some extent independently of each other<sup>11</sup>.

We may, therefore, ask ourselves -and this is the main object of this paper- what value and significance its early addition can have had.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is a proven fact that in the earliest phases of the Indo-European family some numerals, generally the lowest (except of course 'one'), receive plural marking, while other higher ones do not<sup>12</sup>. But in Indo-European there were two plural morphemes: 1) *-\*(e)s* for nouns, and 2) *-\*i* for pronouns (*\*so* = sing. / *\*so+i* = pl.).

This complementary distribution has never, however, been clearcut. As might be expected, the analogy operated in both directions and as a result, we find nominal forms characterized in plural with *-\*i* (the thematic nom.pl. *-\*oi* being the most conspicuous example) as well as pronoun forms which take *-\*s* (cf. Osc. *pus*, Old Latin *ques*, *quesdam*).

On the other hand, there are some categories which, from the point of view of inflexions, do not behave strictly speaking like either nouns or pronouns. This is the case of personal pronouns, adjectives (particularly certain pronominal adjectives) and numerals. So it should not be surprising that in these there should be a certain fluctuation in the use of the plural morpheme. Thus, in certain languages, such as Lithuanian and Germanic adjectives have a generalized plural in *-\*i*.

In personal pronouns we often find a pluralization, as in nouns, with *-\*s*: Hit. *weś*, Goth. *wei-s*, Goth. *ja-s*, Lith. *já-s*. But there is clear evidence which leads us to think that in earlier stages pluralization may have been with the



pronominal *-\*i*. I have dealt with this subject recently in a paper<sup>13</sup> which may be consulted for further detail. I shall therefore restrict myself here to recalling some of the conclusion reached therein. The first person plural and dual personal pronouns (*\*wei/\*we* respectively) are differentiated by the addition of the *-\*i* of the pronoun plural to a common stem *\*we*. The addition of *-\*i* and the consequent creation of the form *\*wei* is pan-Indo-European, as is clear from the presence of this *-\*i* throughout the whole dialectal range. The form with *-\*i* acts as plural and that without *-\*i* came to function as dual. But the form without *-\*i* is preserved as 1st plural in a marginal instance: the 1st plural Hittite verbal ending *-we-ni* (in complementary distribution with *-men-i*). In more recent stages, some dialects proceeded to pluralize these forms again, this time with the nominal *-\*s*, giving rise to the forms with *-\*s* already mentioned.

Parallel to these changes, the 2nd plural pronoun also shows signs of vacillation -perhaps merely dialectal- between pluralization with *-\*i* or with *-\*s*: O.I. *yū-y-ām* (cf. dual without *-\*i*, *yuv-ām*) as opposed to the already mentioned Av. *yūš* (gath.) and *yūž-am*, Goth. *jūs*, Lith. *jūs*<sup>14</sup>.

The numerals, for their part, constitute a category which is not only not fully integrated into noun inflexions, but which is rarely inflected at all. It is not surprising, therefore, that there are also vacillations in the choice of the plural morpheme, to the slight extent to which these forms do have plural marking.

We should bear in mind that in the whole primary series of numerals (from 'two' to 'ten') the 'two' and 'three' are those which show the clearest morphological number marks<sup>15</sup>. Perhaps it is not entirely a question of chance that these two numerals should be the only ones to have the *-\*i* we are dealing with.

I therefore propose that the *-i* present in the numerals 'two' and 'three' (*\*dui/\*duoi* and *\*tri/\*trei* respectively) should be considered the mark of the pronominal plural. Of course, as usually happens in the reconstruction of prehistoric stages in languages, it is not possible to prove this hypothesis in the same way as if we were dealing with the physical sciences. But it can certainly be matched against known data in order to ensure that it does not clash with them and that the problems it relates to may be integrated in a coherent explanation.

The first consequence of my hypothesis is that if *-i* is a plural morpheme in both numerals, we can predict the existence, for each of them, of a form without plural marking: *\*du* and *\*tr* respectively. In fact, as we have just seen, there is historical evidence of such forms in some dialects and for strictly comparative reason it has long been assumed that they existed in the common language also. It may likewise be predicted that these older forms without the plural morpheme should have survived preferably in certain compounds of the type Lat. *duplex*, *dubius*, or in the ordinal (O.I. *tṛtīya-*, O.Pruss. *tīrts*, Lith. *trėčias*, O.Sl. *tretijb*<sup>16</sup>). Indeed, the preservation of the old forms of these numerals without the inflectional number mark is foreseeable precisely in the first element of a compound, owing to their generally uninflected character. In fact there are historical compounds such as O.I. *dvi-gu* in which the numeral also lacks its historical number mark, which in Old Indian is the dual. For its part, an ordinal like 'third' will not require to be pluralized to the same extent as the corresponding cardinal, since it does not in itself have a sense of plurality referring as it does to one individual (except in the case of the plural 'thirds', which is a different question as it has a different form of pluralization). This latter point is evident in the ordinal 'third' of the historical languages: cf. Gr. *τρίτος*, in which the form of the numeral *τρι-* appears to lack the Greek plural mark for this numeral (*-s*, cf. *τρεῖς*, etc.).

If *-i* is the pronominal plural morpheme used in these numerals, this mark may have been added directly to the primitive form of the numeral: *\*du+i* and *\*tr+i* respectively, which would account for the forms *\*dui* and *\*tri*. But, on the other hand, the analogy of pronominal inflexion may also have acted in a stricter way, with the numeral imitating the final syllable of the pronoun: *-oi*. This would explain the forms *\*duoi* and *\*troi*<sup>17</sup>. Finally, there may be two explanation for the forms *\*duei* and *\*trei*, which may be seen as complementing rather than excluding each other. On the one hand these forms may have imitated the model of the personal pronoun *\*wei* on the basis of NPs such as *\*wei du(i)*, *\*wei tr(i)* > *\*wei duei*, *\*wei trei*. On the other hand, they may have arisen through an imitation of the regular system of vowel alternation *i/oi/ei*. For reasons that are difficult to explain, in 'two' the forms *\*dui*/*\*duoi* dominated, and historical evidence of *\*duei* is only found in Celtic and Germanic<sup>18</sup>. For 'three', *\*tri*/*\*trei* predominate, perhaps as a result of reinterpreting *-i/-ei* as a part of the stem and of shaping its plural inflection on the model of nominal *-i* stems; the use of *\*troi* rested therefore very limited, as I have already noted.

It appears obvious that if *\*duδ(u)* has generally been considered to be the genuine form of the numeral 'two' and the other forms (*\*du* and *\*dui*/*\*duoi*/*\*duei*) secondary creation, this is because it is taken for granted that the numeral 'two' in Indo-European must have had the morphology of the dual. And this is an argument which can no doubt be brought against my proposal.

Indeed, it might be objected, in a language which had dual number we cannot assume that the numeral 'two' had plural marking, when the grammatical number which corresponded to it *per se* was, without any doubt, the dual.

\* \* \* \* \*

Before answering this objection, I should point out that in any case the problem it poses does not cause my hypothesis to clash with any facts that could invalidate it. At worst, it would clash only with another previous hypothesis, which, however it has been sanctioned and made respectable by tradition, is still only a hypothesis after all. I am alluding to the claim that in Indo-European the dual had "always" existed and that this number was even older than plural, since it is more "primitive".

I shall use Meillet and Gonda's words to sum up this view of the "primitivism" of the dual:

"L'emploi de cette catégorie évoque un moment du développement intellectuel où l'homme, pas encore dégagé de la vue des nombres particuliers, ne s'était pas élevé à la conception générale du nombre où l'unité a, par rapport à toute forme de pluralité, une situation spéciale"<sup>19</sup>.

"Let it suffice to remember that the dual is a decaying category, not only in those IE languages in which it occurs but also elsewhere in many IE languages it has left little or no trace. It may even be said that it has tended to disappear where civilization had reached a certain stage of development, or rather, when a definite mental or cultural structure was given up"<sup>20</sup>.

This opinion, which dates back at least as far as von Humboldt<sup>21</sup>, enjoys wide support among Indo-European scholars even today. But, as far as I know, it has never been tested or contrasted with empirical data now available.

Let us begin by considering the idea that the concept of plurality is too abstract for people with a slight cultural development who presumably prefer specific numbers. In the lexicon, the abstract concept of plurality is effected by means of an adjective: "many", "various", "numerous". And in morphological categories by means of "plural number". In both cases we are dealing with the same abstract concept. Specific numbers, on the other hand, appear in the lexicon as numerals "two", "three", etc. and in morphological categories as "dual", "trial", etc.

It is then a known fact that all peoples, however primitive they may be, have a term to express "plurality" in the lexical field. Yet, they often lack words for the specific numerals, even the lowest ones:

'More savage tribes have 3 as a limit than 2. So as limits we have the numerals 'one', and all above 1 = 'many'; 1, 2, and all above 2 = 'many'; 1, 2, 3, and all above 3 = 'many'. Examples of 3-limit tribes are the Brazil forest tribes, Australian of Herbert River, Fuegians, Campas of Peru, etc.<sup>122</sup>.

As far at least as lexicon is concerned, therefore, it does not seem that human beings, whatever their cultural level, are incapable of understanding the abstract idea of "plurality". And since the degree of abstraction is the same regardless whether the concept of plurality is applied to the lexical or morphological areas, neither would this other type of facts appear to confirm the preference of primitive peoples for specific numbers and their incapacity for the abstrac.

The distribution of the dual among the present-day languages of the world does not serve either to corroborate the linking of this category with a low level of development in the civilization of a people. A glance at the map of the distribution of this category<sup>23</sup> allows us to note how, whereas the dual exist to a greater or lesser extent (personal pronouns, nouns) in most of the aboriginal languages of Australia, part of North America continent, south-west Africa and the extreme south of the American continent, it is, however, lacking in the great majority of African languages, in almost all the region occupied by Paleo-Siberian languages and in almost the whole of the Amazon basin, where may be found today's most primitive and underdeveloped tribes, those whose lifestyle is not superior to that of the paleolithic. In direct contrast with this, the dual does exist in a fair portion of western Europe (in Germanic and Slavic languages only in the pronoun) and in Arabian peninsula (Arabic, in the noun [and in the pronoun]).

Neither is the historical distribution of the dual among Indo-European languages in their earliest phases of any assistance in corroborating the supposed link with the level of people's cultural development. The theory that the dual tends, as has been said, to disappear when a civilization reaches a certain level, is not supported by the fact that it survived in the Attic of Pericles time while it had disappeared a millenium earlier in a people with a much lower level of civilization, such as Hittites. Neither is it supported by the fact that it survived in Sanskrit, a language which was the vehicle of an elaborate philosophy, but is absent from the very earliest evidence in languages spoken by peoples such as Celts or Armenian.

But the most consistent empirical argument against the hypothesis I am criticizing is provided by Greenberg<sup>24</sup> in the well known study in which he formulated numerous "universals" of human language. Of these, with the passage of time, the ones connected with word order have become the most widely noticed. But there are others that are no less important. Besides, not all these universals are given the same degree of cogency by the author. Some operate only "with well more than chance frequency" or something equivalent (Universals 4, 9, 11, 17, 18, 23); others "almost always" (1, 2, 10, 39, 41); others are assigned even greater frequency: "always", "in all languages", "in no language", etc. Universal 34 is presented with one of the most rigid formulas:

"No language has a trial number unless it has a dual. No language has a dual unless it has a plural".

According to the explanations offered by Greenberg in the first pages of his study, this implies that of the languages in his sample none has a dual unless it simultaneously has a plural. We should bear in mind that the selection of the sample was not made at random, but following the aim "to obtain as wide a genetic and areal coverage as possible". And, given this degree of representation, the author considers that any statement which held for all languages of his sample "had a fair

likelihood of complete or, at least, nearly complete universal validity".

Among the languages of the sample there are some spoken by peoples with a high level of cultural development (Serbian, Welsh, Norwegian, Italian, Modern Greek, Finnish, Turkish, Hebrew, Hindi, Japanese). But at the same time there are some, and perhaps the majority, spoken by peoples with little cultural development (Yoruba, Nubian, Fulani, Masai, Songai, Bereber, Burusaski, Kannada, Burmese, Malay, Maori, Loritja, Zapoteco, Chibcha, Guaraní, etc.). Thus, the improbability of the existence of a dual number without a plural appears to be independent of the cultural level of the people who speak the language.

Consequently, the alleged incapacity of primitive peoples to shape the abstract concept of "plurality" and their preference for the dual lacks all comparative or typological support and this so-called incapacity is thus shown to be one of those theories which, through inertia, have continued to be repeated without sufficiently undergoing the test of criticism. Much the same thing occurs, for example, with the alleged intervention of the animisme in the creaction of grammatical gender<sup>25</sup>.

By way of conclusion to the above, we can now state, without going beyond the limits of the strictest caution, that there are no historical nor typological evidence to endorse the relationship between the presence or absence of dual number in a language and the cultural level of the people who speak that language. There are numerous languages, both ancient and modern, spoken by civilized and primitive peoples, wich have a plural number without a dual. But in no known language, however low the cultural level of its speakers, do we find a dual number if there is not simultaneously a plural<sup>26</sup>.

Greenberg's universal 34 has a corollary of a diachronic nature which was not explicitly developed by the

author. If a language can have a plural without a dual but no a dual without a plural, then when the category of grammatical number begins to arise in a language, there is every likelihood that the plural will develop before the dual. Normally, the reverse will not occur, because it would give rise to a situation in which a dual existed without a plural, and this, as we have just established, is highly improbable.

It is not necessary to ponder on the importance of criteria of this kind for an indo-europeanist who is trying to reconstruct prehistoric linguistic states or, as in our particular case, to establish the relative chronology of two linguistic traits. Of course I agree that such typological criteria cannot offer a guarantee of absolute certainty. But there is no reason why they should therefore be valued less highly, when not one of the criteria applied in Historical Linguistics can offer any such guarantee either (lateral areas, grammatical irregularities, normal phonetic changes, major area, etc.).

It is therefore most probable that, contrarily to the opinion widely accepted, *in the Indo-European linguistic tradition, as in any real language, the plural have developed before the dual.*

\* \* \* \* \*

Let us now return to the main subject of this study. It might be objected to my hypothesis, I noted, that at least the *-\*i* of the numeral 'two' cannot be a plural mark because it is not plausible that 'two' should receive plural marking in a language with a dual number. We are now in a position to reply to this objection.

I agree that it is not likely that the numeral "two" would acquire plural marking while the dual exists in the language<sup>27</sup>. Hence, if *-\*i* is, according my hypothesis, a plural marking, we should assume that its application to the numeral



'two' must have occurred either before the creation of the dual or after its disappearance.

The second of these possibilities can be ruled out. Forms of the numeral 'two' with *-\*i* (in the varieties *-\*i* and *-\*oi*) are to be found throughout the entire dialectal range. Consequently, we can be sure that the addition of *-\*i* must already have been completed in the common language, whereas the dual disappeared, as is generally believed, during dialectal stages.

We are left, therefore, with the first alternative: *-\*i* as a plural mark was added to the numeral 'two' at a stage prior to the development of the dual. This would permit us a glimpse of a stage without an inflected dual within the Indo-European linguistic tradition<sup>28</sup> in which, however, the plural already existed. In this respect Indo-European resembles all known languages, which makes the reconstruction of the proto-language more plausible.

\* \* \* \* \*

To sum up, data of various kinds lead us to the conclusion that there is no proof of any link between the inflected dual and the degree of cultural development in a people. Indeed, no matter what the cultural level of the speakers may be, there are languages with plural and without dual, whereas there is no known language which has a dual but no plural.

The diachronic corollary to this universal behaviour permits us to reach the conclusion that in the Indo-European, as in any other real linguistic tradition, the development of the dual must have occurred later than that of the plural.

From this it follows that *\*du* is the form of numeral devoid of number marking. It is probably the oldest form

of the numeral 'two' that we can reconstruct. It has only been preserved in marginal uses in lateral areas. For their part, *\*dui*/*\*duoi* and *\*duō(u)* are forms characterized respectively as plural and dual, which were developed in succession in accordance with the evolution of the grammatical category of number and its formal characterization.

The forms with *-\*i* of the numeral 'two' (*\*dui*, *\*duoi*) are characterized by the morpheme of the plural pronoun. The form *\*dui* is the result of adding *\*i* directly to the stem *\*du* while *\*duoi* is the result of a stricter analogy with the plural pronoun forms of the type *\*soi*, *\*k'oi*, etc. Forms in *-\*ei* are the least common for the numeral 'two', restricted as they are to Celtic and Germanic. In any case, they may have arisen either from the analogy with personal pronouns of the type *\*wei*, or from an imitation of the vowel alternation *e/o/ø*.

The traditional explanation that the *-\*i* in the 'two' proceeded from the analogy with 'three' is not very satisfactory because *\*tri*/*\*trei* are not the original forms of the numeral 'three' either (there are also residual forms without *-\*i*: *\*tr*). And on the other hand, it is hard to see how *\*duoi* could have arisen by analogy from a form *\*troi* which exists in scarcely any languages, while the frequent *\*trei* has only generated a *\*duel* in Celtic and Germanic.

Despite the fact that in the numeral 'three' the *-\*i* is also most probably the pronoun plural mark, it must be admitted that the process of introduction of this mark in the two numerals must have occurred with a degree of independence, since there is no strict parallelism between the forms, as might have been expected if one had arisen through analogy from the other.

It is no strange that this pronominal plural mark *-\*i* is not found in other numerals. Rather, it is to be expected that it would only be present in 'two' and 'three'. But, for obvious reasons, not in 'one'. Nor is there any reason to expect it to occur in 'five' and higher numerals, which did not admit

the more recently added plural mark *-\*s* either. As for 'four', the fact that it does not appear marked for plural in all dialects might perhaps suggest a later adoption of the number marking.

When dual number was created, the numeral 'two' received this new morphological characterization, which gave rise to the form *\*duō(u)*. This fact (and perhaps the marking of 'two' with the other plural morpheme *-\*s* in some dialects) caused speakers to lose their awareness that *-\*i* was the plural morpheme and the forms *\*dui*, *\*duoi* were then thought of as pure stems with no explicit number mark. And as such, all awareness of their origin being forgotten, they may even have been used in the new paradigm for the dual. It seems clear that this is how one must interpret the form *\*duoi*, which served as nom.-acc.neuter and was used as the stem for the formation of certain dual cases<sup>22</sup>.

## NOTES

- 1.- K.Brugmann *Grundriss* II 2, pp.8-9.
- 2.- K.Brugmann *Grundriss* II 2, pp.10-11. J.Pokorny, p.229-32. Mention is sometimes made of a possible indo-european form *\*duai* with a feminine or neuter value. But the reconstruction of such a form is highly debatable since the main data are either phonetically ambiguous (O.Ind. *duvé* may perfectly well be explained as *\*duoi*, an explanation favoured by K.Brugmann *Grundriss* II 2, p.9) or are secondary formations (such as Lat.*duae*). In fact Brugmann does not take into account the existence of any such form and considers the O.Ir.*di* to have derived from *\*duoi*.
- 3.- M.Leumann, p.292: "*\*dui-*, das eine bereits idg. Nachbildung von *tri-* zu sein scheint". J.Wackernagel, p.343: "Das Verhältnis dieses *dvi-* zu *duō*, ai.*d(u)vé* ist unklar am wahrscheinlichsten ist dass das *i* schon in der Grundsprache aus der Dreizahl eindrang". Sporadically this *~\*(e/o)i* has been looked upon as part of the stem, cf.F.R.Adrados 1973, p.430.
- 4.- Ernout-Meillet s.u. *duo*. J.Pokorny 229-30. J.Gonda 1953, p.45.
- 5.- C.Bartholomae *IF* 23, pp.44. K.Brugmann *Grundriss* II 2, pp.11: "*du-* war wohl eine Abstraktion aus *duō* usw". A.Walde *Lat.Et.Wtb.*, p.244 also considers *\*du-* to be a not very old derivation of *\*duō*. M.Leumann, p.292: "dieses *du-* lässt sich nicht als ererbt erweisen.
- 6.- Ernout-Meillet s.u.
- 7.- J.Gonda 1953, p.45.
- 8.- J.Gonda 1953, p.44.
- 9.- A.Meillet 1964, p.411. Cf.Ernout-Meillet s.u.*duo*, *tres*.
- 10.- E.W.Fay 1910, p.213 ff. also considers that the root of the numeral "three" was simply *\*ter-/\*tr-* 'point, extremity' in accordance with the shape of the hand bearing in mind that the 'threes' correspond to the middle finger.
- 11.- Analogy does often exist between one numeral and another, as can easily be shown. But C.T.Stewart (pp.229-30) points out that these analogical influence in early phases must have operated particularly among numerals most intimately linked to each other in pairs in consonance with the origin of the decimal system in digital calculation: one+two, four+five, six+seven, nine+ten, three and eight remaining somewhat isolated.

- 12.- Lat. *duos, duas*; Umb. *dur, duir*; Goth. *twai, twa, twōs*; Gr. (Herodotus) *δύοις* [for 'two']. Lat. *tres*, Gr. *τρεις*, O.Ind. *trāyāḥ*, Goth. *freis*, O.Sl. *trije*, etc. [for 'three']; O.Ind. *catvārah*, Gr. *τέτταρες* [for 'four']. Cf. K. Brugmann *Grundriss* II 2, pp. 8 ff.
- 13.- F. Villar *in press*.
- 14.- J. Pokorny, pp. 1114 and 513-14. There is no clear indication that in 2nd person pluralization occurred in Indo-European with *-\*i*. Of course, the Indian form may be but a mono-dialectal analogy from 1st person.
- 15.- Besides 'two' and 'three', 'four' has number marking in some dialects (O.Ind. *catvārah*, Gr. *τέτταρες*, Arm. *čork*) but not in others (Lat. *quattuor*, OHG *fior*). As for *\*oktō(u)*, despite its formal coincidence, it can hardly be considered a true dual, as has been suggested by some scholars since very early on.
- 16.- We cannot verify whether *\*du* would have survived in the corresponding ordinal since, as is well known, 'second' does not derive in the Indo-European family from cardinal 'two', but from other stems meaning 'he who comes behind', 'he who follows', 'other', cf. Gonda 1953, p. 42.
- 17.- The form *\*troi* is only to be found in O.Sl. *troji*. Of course, there is no way of knowing whether it also underlies some Indo-Iranian forms.
- 18.- J. Pokorny, p. 229.
- 19.- A. Meillet 1966, p. 146.
- 20.- J. Gonda 1953, p. 11.
- 21.- W. von Humboldt 1827, pp. 21-25.
- 22.- C. T. Stewart, p. 232 n. 1.
- 23.- P. W. Schmidt 1977, Karte XI.
- 24.- J. H. Greenberg 1963. More recently this same point has been stressed by S. R. Anderson 1985, p. 175: "As one might expect, languages do not distinguish duals unless they also have plurals; nor trials without duals".
- 25.- F. Villar 1983, pp. 85-87; 1984, p. 169.
- 26.- We should bear in mind, however, that most of these universals (perhaps all of them) are not inviolable in absolute terms. What I mean is that perhaps one might be able to find or describe a language that has a dual but not a plural. But, even if this were to happen, it would not invalidate my argument, since in any case it would be an extremely unlikely eventuality.
- 27.- Once again -and I mention this by the way as my argument leads in another direction- in the field of languages we deal with likelihoods,

rarely with impossibilities. It is unlikely that in a language with dual the numeral 'two' should incorporate plural forms. But it is not impossible. Thus, in Greek we have plural forms for this numeral even in dialects which preserve the dual: late Attic *δυοι*, Cretan *δυοις*, Thessalian *δύας*, etc.

- 28.- Of course, if we reach the conclusion that the dual has not *always* existed in the Indo-European family, then we may ask two questions: 1) What circumstances led to the development of the dual and what are the etymological connections of the formal elements used in its expression. 2) Whether its development is early enough for all the Indo-European dialects to have taken part in it including the Anatolian branch (in which case no modifications would have to be made in the traditional reconstruction of the inflected dual and its subsequent dialectal elimination), or whether, on the contrary, its development was not early enough to have affected all dialects since it occurred after the first dialectal splits (in which case we would have to assume that Anatolian languages, and perhaps some other dialectal groups, did not in fact lose the dual but rather never developed it). But these two questions fall outside the scope of this study.

- 29.- K. Brugmann *Grundriss* II 2, pp. 10-11.

## B I B L I O G R A P H I E

- |                            |           |   |
|----------------------------|-----------|---|
| Adrados, F.R.              | 1973      | <i>Estudios sobre las sonantes y laringales indoeuropeas</i> , Madrid.  |
|                            | 1975      | <i>Lingüística Indoeuropea</i> , Madrid.  |
| Anderson, S.R.             | 1985      | "Inflexional Morphology" <i>Language Typology and Syntactic Description</i> v.III: <i>Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon</i> (T.Shopen ed.), Cambridge, pp.150-201. |
| Bartholomae, Chr.          | 1908-1909 | "Zu den arischen Wörter für 'der erste' und 'der zweiter' " <i>IF</i> 23, pp.43-95.   |
| Blankenstein, M.van        | 1907      | "Griech. $\alpha\alpha\tau\alpha$ und seine Verwandten" <i>IF</i> 21, pp.99-115.  |
| Brugmann, K.               | 1897-1916 | <i>Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen</i> (2nd ed.) I-V, Strassburg.  |
| Ernout, A. and Meillet, A. | 1976      | <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine</i> , Paris.   |
| Fay, E.W.                  | 1910      | "Composition, not suffixation" <i>AJPh</i> 31, pp.413-23.   |
| Gonda, J.                  | 1953      | <i>Reflection on the numerals "one" and "two" in ancient Indo-European languages</i> , Utrecht.   |
| Greenberg, J.              | 1963      | "Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements" <i>Universals of Language</i> (J.Greenberg ed.), Cambridge, pp.73-114.       |
| Hirt, H.                   | 1931-1934 | <i>Handbuch des Urgermanischen</i> , v.I-III, Heidelberg.   |
| Humboldt, W.von            | 1827      | <i>Über den Dualis</i> , Berlin.  |

# 154 PERSPECTIVES ON IE LANGUAGE, CULTURE & RELIGION

- |                             |             |  |
|-----------------------------|-------------|--|
| Meillet, A.                 | 1964        | <i>Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues Indo-Européennes</i> , Alabama.            |
|                             | 1966        | <i>Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine</i> , Paris.                                  |
| Pokorny, J.                 | 1959-1969   | <i>Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , Bern und München.                        |
| Schmidt, P.W.<br>(S. V. D.) | 1977        | <i>Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde</i> (Atlas von 14 Karten), Hamburg.        |
| Stewart, C.T.               | 1906        | "The origin of the names of the numerals" <i>BB</i> 30, pp.223-65.                           |
| Sturtevant, E.H.            | 1927        | "Hittite <i>katta(n)</i> and related words" <i>AJPh</i> 48, pp.247-57.                       |
| Villar, F.                  | 1983        | <i>Ergatividad, Acusatividad y Género en la Familia Lingüística Indoeuropea</i> , Salamanca. |
|                             | 1984        | "Ergativity and animate/inanimate gender in Indo-European" <i>KZ</i> 97, pp.167-96.          |
|                             | forthcoming | "On the origin of the person marking in the Indo-European verb" <i>Baltistica</i> .          |
| Wackernagel, J.             | 1930        | <i>Altindische Grammatik</i> III, Göttingen.   |



## SEARCHING FOR WOMAN IN ANATOLIAN AND INDO-EUROPEAN

Onofrio Carruba  
*University of Pavia*

In Anatolian, the Hittite words for "man", "woman", "male", "female" and for kinship names, such as "brother", "sister" and alike, are mostly expressed by means of ideograms that practically prevent us from knowing the term designating these concepts. The so-called "minor" languages, such as Palaic, Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian, using ideograms to a far lesser extent, and 1st-millennium dialects (Lydian and Lycian), written in alphabets of Greek origin, partly allow us to fill up the gaps in our knowledge of these semantic fields.

This article doesn't purport to resume the analysis of the terms, clarified in the course of research on the Anatolian languages and recently further investigated (2), but to focus on the names for "woman". These words, unlike the more frequent kinship names, have not been replaced either by terms of the children speech (Lallwörter), e.g. Hitt. *atta-*, Luw. *tadi*, Pal. *papa-*, meaning "father" etc., or by terms expressed, in Anatolia, by already dialectal linguistic means, e.g. Lyc. *xasba* "son-in-law", from \**haswas* "the one who generates" (cf. Hitt. *hes-/has-* "to generate").

The designations for "woman" seem, instead, to have continued a terminology of sometimes very ancient Indo-European origin.

Obviously, Indo-European scholars have often dealt with these terms in the attempt to clarify their original meaning and form, which, however, can rarely be reconstructed with some degree of certainty, as it happens with all words designating elementary concepts.

Accordingly, this is also the typical and much debated case of the root *\*-sor-/-sr-* "woman" appearing as a relic in various Indo-European languages:

- element of      a) in *\*sye-sōr* (or *sḡ-esōr*), where the compounds:      compound obscures and changes its meaning; and maybe in *uxor* (3);
- b) in numerals such as *\*tri-s(o)res*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>ete-s(o)r-es*;
- c) in archaic Anatolian and perhaps at Nuzi, where *-sar* (with the thematic vowel *-sar-a-* in Hittite and *-sr-i-* in Luwian) almost seems to assume the value of a motion suffix;
- root for      a) in Luwian *asruli-* "feminine", derivatives      originating Hier. *SAL-la-*, verb ? (4) and the abstract noun *asrulahit-* "femininity"; *asrahit-* "femininity" in a

sexual sense (?).

- Sanskrit *strī* "woman": maybe Avestian *hāirisī*

The evidence of Anatolian forms and, especially, the more recent Luwian evidence, where the basic root is attested, has re-opened the discussion on the assumed unquestionable Indo-European form (5).

In tracing the history of the question, Szemerényi separates the ancient form *\*-sor*, as a suffix abstracted from *\*swe-sor*, derived from *\*swe-su-er*, and applied to numerals and maybe to uxor.

As to Anatolian forms, he considers *asar* as the starting point, he relates it to Gk. *ὄρα* (and to Av. *hāirisī*) and reconstructs the Indo-European root *\*oser/osr* or *\*nsr/nsr* ascribing the latter to the root *\*ns* "to love", known from Goth. *ansts*, OHG *unst*, Hitt. *assiya-*, Hier. Luw. *asi-* "lieb, angenehm sein", while he doesn't express himself with regard to *\*oser/osr*. The abstract noun *\*ns-(s)er* "love, affection" would have then developed the concrete meaning of "the loved one" (6).

The proposal is interesting, the etymology possible, but there are several problems.

- First of all, the development of *\*(a)ns* is far from being clear: there are three possible solutions, *as-*, *ass-* and *anz-*, whose relation is still to be evaluated.

This question shall not, however, be discussed herein (7). In our specific case, we may expect something like *assiya-* and *\*assar* or *\*asiya-* and *asar*, not different developments.

- The formant *-sar* excludes the reconstructed form *\*osor/osr*, which would have produced Anatolian *-asar* even in compounds; on the other hand, to consider it related to *-sor* from *\*swe-sōr* and distinct from Anat. *as(a)r*, seems unlikely in the light of Anatolian and Indo-European evidence.

The study of the term under a more strictly Anatolian point of view leads to different developments.

- Firstly, the form *asr-u-* displays an interesting parallelism in structure and formation with *an(na)r-u-* of *annarummi-* "strong", the equivalent of Hitt. *innarauwant-* with the same meaning in the bilingual text, to be derived, together with its Indo-European cognates, from IE *\*Hnér/Hnór* (8).

A parallelism in structure may also be found between the form *asr-a-* of *asr-ahit-* "femininity" and Hitt. *innar-a-* of *innarā* "strongly"; *innar-ahh-* "to make strong";

<sup>D</sup>*Innaraš-smis* "our/your goddess I." and finally the "Hattian" goddess <sup>D</sup>*Inar* (9).

- The contrasting phonological structure of the Anatolian formant *-sar/-sr-* and of the Luwian stem *asr-* is similar

to the contrast between the reflexes of \*Hnér/Hnór in various dialects, with a- (i.e. Greek, Armenian) and without a- (i.e. Sanskrit, Avestan etc.). Hence, this suggests the presence, even here, of a laryngeal root, such as, for example, \*Hsér/Hsór.

This solution would bring about the hypothesis of a parallelism in meaning between \*Hsér "weakness/weak" or alike, and the related, opposite form \*Hnér "strength/strong" (10).

Thus, \*Hsér is likely to be the oldest (or one of the oldest) Indo-European word for "woman", since it displays an -r stem, as well as other kinship names, and is formally parallel to the word for "man" \*Hnér. However, it is still far from designating a gender.

The development of thematic vowels in Anatolian dialects, e.g. Hitt. -sar-a-, Luw. -sr-i-, is obviously a later phenomenon, perhaps even subsequent to the age of Kültepe-Kaneš, where we still find -sar.

At this point, a brief clarifying digression on an Aegean pre-Greek question may be quite relevant. Since the deciphering of Mycenaean inscriptions has proved that the name  $\epsilon\alpha$  cannot have stemmed from \*serwā, as it was believed, the above name may be related, in all probability, to the term \*Hsér/Hsór by means of a form \*Hsar-ā, showing a late "feminine" suffix. Accordingly, this

would designate the Aegean Goddess as the equivalent of Anatolian <sup>D</sup>Inar/ <sup>D</sup>Innaras, the Goddess of "strength", functioning as a protectress.

The term could have preserved better in the peculiarly pre-Greek form (J)asasara, the Minoan "lady", developed from \*(j)asha-Hsar-a and to be related to Hitt. ishassara-"lady", displaying the above-mentioned suffix (11).

Let's deal now with a more recent IE word for "woman", more widely spread in the Indo-European and, probably, Anatolian languages: the root \*g<sup>W</sup>en- and its derivative \*g<sup>W</sup>en-eh<sub>2</sub>, the object of recent dissertations investigating the Anatolian word lately found in Luwian as well (12).

The Anatolian term presents forms with different thematic and consonantic endings:

	Hittite	Luwian	
		Cuneiform	Hieroglyphic
Sing. nom.	SAL-za/-na-as	SAL-is/unattis	FEMINA-na-ti-sa
acc.	SAL-na-an	SAL-in	FEMINA-na-ti-na
gen.	SAL-na-as		
dat.	SAL-ni	wāni	FEMINA-tī
Pl. nom.			FEMINA-ti-zi
acc.		SAL-attinza	
		wanānza	

In addition to these forms, there are the nom. acc. sing. n. *wanassan* and the nom. pl. common gender *wanassinzi* of the resulting relation adjective.

In Luwian, besides the derived stem *wanatti-*, probably with an affective connotation, the simple form *\*wana-* from Proto-Anatolian *\*gwena-*, derived from IE *\*g<sup>w</sup>en-eh<sub>2</sub>* (13), is accepted. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that also an original form *wani-* could account for *SAL-is/in* (dat. *wani* and acc. pl. *wananza*), this form being even more proper, since it presents the thematic vowel *-i*, so frequently used in this dialect (14).

In Hittite, instead, we may admit just one possibility, namely an *-n*-stem, which, with the animate derivational affix *-s*, would have ended in *-nz* (Cuneiform *-an-za*). The whole form is reconstructed as follows: nom. *\*gwenanz*, from *\*g<sup>w</sup>én-on-s*; oblique cases derived from *\*gwenanzan-* according to the structure of a group of Hittite names ending in *-nza*, oblique *-nzan-* (prototype: *sumanza*, *sumanzanas* "cord", with an uncertain flexion, also nom. *sumanzās*, acc. *sumanzan*), which would have developed from ancient IE forms ending in *-on/-en-* + *s* of the Anatolian animate gender in an unstressed syllable, in contrast with those forms with stressed suffix (prototype: *ishimās*, from *\*sh<sub>2</sub>i-mén-s*, oblique *ishimen-* "string") (15).

Several objections may be raised against this

interpretation of facts under different points of view.

For many of the examples, upon which the hypothesis is based, different original forms or different developments or completely different explanations may be postulated.

Since it is not possible to deal with such a complex problem herein, the main objections may be summarized as follows.

- In the first place, stress is not always a determining factor in the development in one sense or the other; on the contrary, one of the most significant and, maybe, frequent terms of the group, namely *istanza*, gen. *istanzanas* "soul", certainly from *\*pstén-*, goes, indeed, against the established, though questionable, rule (16).
- The rule, according to which *Ṽn/ms-* develops into *as(s)-* (e.g. the above-mentioned *ishimās*), has been adopted on the basis of examples such as *hassu-* "king" and *dassu-* "strong" originating from *\*Hóns-u-* and *\*dóns-u-*. Yet, the forms *\*Hns-ú-* and *\*dns-ú-* are as likely, if not more (17).
- Hypothetical examples with unstressed *(V)ṇ/ms-* have served, instead, to explain *anz*: e.g. *hanzassa* "Urenkel" from *\*hamsa-sá-* "zum Enkel Gehöriger"; *hanzana-* "schwarz" from *\*h<sub>2</sub>(o)ms-nó-*; *anzas* "to us; us (acc.)", from *ṇs-ós*.



As to the form **anzas**, it should be borne in mind that we certainly deal with a graphic reproduction (for /anz/) or with a more or less recent formal analogy (on the basis of such forms as **sumas**, **-smas** and other pronouns) to express the pronoun **\* $\acute{n}s$** . This corresponds, to be sure, to Anatolian **\*an-za**, as Luwian **anza**, dative and accusative, clearly shows (cf. also **unza** "(to) you" certainly by analogy) (18).

The term **hanzanas** recurs in contexts demanding an accusative: therefore, this is likely to be a genitive governed by the ideogram **SIG** "wool" of **hanzana-**, namely another noun of the above-mentioned kind with nominative **hanza**, oblique **hanzan-**, and etymologically belonging to **\*Hó/én-s**, not to **\*h<sub>2</sub>(o)ms-nó-** (19).

With regard to **hantzassa** in the expression **hassa hantzassa** "grandchildren and great-grandchildren" in its usual meaning, this may simply be a relational adjective ending in **-assa/i-** of Hitt. **hanza**, an adverb meaning "in front", linked to the previous noun; hence, **hassa hantzassa** "the coming, future descendants" (20), this being a formation of Post-Anatolian origin. As it is obvious, the above argument goes against all etymological proposals and, further, disregards the reasonable attempt to relate **hantzassa** with Hitt. **has-** "to generate", **hassa-** "grand-child" or "descendant", and

- Luw. **hamasa-** **hamsukalla-** "grandchild and great-grandchild" by means of a simple stress shift.
- In different IE dialects, **-ōn-**stems appear as **-ō̃/-ō̄** compared to **-en-**stems, always recurring likewise: this seems, indeed, to be the case of, for example, **haras** from **\*h<sub>2</sub>ér-ō-**; **ishimas** from **\*séh<sub>2</sub>i-mo-**, gen. **\*sh<sub>2</sub>i-mén-s**, with leveling unlike **\*suh<sub>4</sub>-mēn-**, Hitt. **sumanza** (21).
  - Finally, we have to notice that a form like **\*gwenanzan-** seems to be phonologically "difficult" (especially in cases such as the acc. sing.) and has certainly undergone some dissimilation, we cannot obviously be aware of (22).
  - Last but not least, since the nouns in question are ancient IE **-n-**stems, they display, in a much older stage, a process of sigmatization of the nom. similar to that producing the so-called "case in **-sa/za**" in Luwian and Hittite from the 15th cent. on. This process consists in affixing **-s** to the still existing stems ending in a liquid (**-l**, **-r**) or nasal sound (only **-n**). The case in **-sa/-za** serves to express the change of inanimate neuter nouns into agent and animate ones, and remains, therefore, confined to the two cases where these functions have a value, namely accusative and nominative. On the contrary, the above-mentioned

sigmation first occurs in the Proto-Anatolian age, and originates absolutely anomalous nominatives compared to the current formations with thematic vowels (-a in Hitt.; -i in Luw.), and even compared to stems ending in a dental sound, which could produce similar results (-nt + s > nz) in the nominative, but not in the oblique, where a dental is always present (-ntas, -nti etc.). This leads to analogic leveling according to similar patterns (e.g. *sar/-s(a)nas* stems developing -nz(a)/-nz(a)nas); however, the above-mentioned stems remain rare examples and always display uncertain flexion and gender (23).

Back to the main topic, even in view of Luw. *wana-*, we prefer to believe that behind the ideogram SAL there stands a paradigm patterned more like the stems ending in -nt-s, gen. -nt-as, than like later -en/o(n)-stems:

IE	Anatolian	Hittite
*g <sup>w</sup> en-s	*gwan-s	*g(u)wanz
*g <sup>w</sup> en-os	*gwan-as	*g(u)wanas
*g <sup>w</sup> en-m <sub>q</sub>	*gwan-an	*g(u)wanan, etc.

Of course, the Luwian form may be derived from the stem of the accusative or of the oblique, or from that postulated in IE \*g<sup>w</sup>en-eh<sub>2</sub> (24).

It is very difficult to reconstruct the IE word for "woman" with the root  $*g^{w/}en$  (25). Yet, once reconstructed, also through Hittite, whether  $*g^{w/}en-s$  or  $*g^{w/}en-on-s$ , the  $-en$ -form is unlikely to be a Wurzelnomen; on the contrary, it implies an original verbal or nonverbal root that, even on the basis of Gk.  $\gamma\upsilon\nu\acute{\gamma}$ , cannot be other than  $*g^{w/}u$ , with the respective ablaut alternants (26).

Hereby, we face the problem of the meaning, that is often neglected, mainly because  $*g^{w/}en$  is considered a Wurzelnomen and also because the formal analysis constitutes the chief interest.

By bearing in mind that there is a parallel term for "man",  $*gh(e)m-en$ , Lat. homo, Szemerényi proposes to separate the root  $*g^{w/}u-$  from the suffix  $-en$ , and to relate it to  $*g^{w/}ous$ , thus ascribing to  $*g^{w/}en$  the meaning of "cow" (27).

In my opinion, the proposal is both formally and lexically untenable. The problem with the reconstruction lies, indeed, in the original form  $*g^{w/}h_3u-en$  or  $*g^{w/}u-en$ , with a zero-grade root, which doesn't seem, however, to be attested in the stem for "ox" (28).

If we reject this etymology from a variant of  $*g^{w/}ou-$ , we would have to search for the origin of the term in an ablauting verbal root, facing thereby difficulties in the semantic interpretation, as, for example, in the case of

\*geu- "to bend" or \*g<sup>w</sup>eh- "to cry" (29).

At this point, it is interesting to notice that Lat. inguen, Gk.  $\alpha \delta \eta \nu$  "bulge; gland" may have developed from \*en-g<sup>w</sup>en "(part of the body lying) in/ by the pudenda" (30).

This ancient form \*g<sup>w</sup>uen (or \*gwen) "sex" or "pudenda" (perhaps specifically of the woman), could easily explain, on the one hand, the -eh<sub>2</sub> derivative, \*g<sup>(w)</sup>{u}en-eh<sub>2</sub>, as an original "collective" that has later developed the meaning of "woman; female", or the adjectival -i derivative, \*g<sup>(w)</sup>{u}en-i- (to which Luw. \*wani- may correspond); on the other, it could explain the Hittite form as an animate noun ending in -s, \*g<sup>(w)</sup>{u}en-s (31).

However, a new pair of words for "man" and "woman", \*gh(e)m-en and \*g<sup>w</sup>u-en would be available to replace the previous one, namely \*Hner and \*Hser. However, \*Hner, (for reasons of semantic or social concreteness ?), seems to have persisted longer than \*Hser, of which only traces are left, and to have been replaced by other terms in a far more recent time (32).

We may introduce here Lyd.  $\tilde{k}\tilde{a}na-s$  "(Ehe)frau" (Gusmani, Fs. J. Knobloch, 127-132) as a proper argument in favour of the hypothesis of a "short" theme \*g<sup>w</sup>en-eh<sub>2</sub> (Gusmani, 131 for the alternative \*g<sup>w</sup>on-), Hitt. \*guwana-, Luw. wana- versus a "long" theme \*g<sup>w</sup>en-on-s, provided we were aware of the

actual meaning of the Lyd. word. This could indeed designate "family" or a part of the grave. Furthermore, we also find an uncertain *kāns*.

Above all, the underlying phonological explanation is, in our opinion, rather difficult. Since Lyd. *-a-* in *kana-* is an *a*-coloured vowel and *a*, in Lydian, is well attested after a labiovelar (cf.  $\text{+a} \lambda \text{m} \lambda \text{u-}$  "king", "Gk.  $\pi \acute{\alpha} \lambda \mu \upsilon \varsigma$  ), we are thus compelled to assume a dissimilation of the labiovelar into a pure velar consonant before the back vowels, *o* and *u*, at an Indo-European stage (s. Gusmani, l. c.), not at a Post-Anatolian (or Pre-Lydian ) one, as is generally thought, e.g. *kot* "as, because", from *kuwat*; *kud* "where", from *kuwatta* (Gusmani, LW). Moreover, till today no linguistic evidence testifies the presence of an Indo-European *\*o* in any Anatolian language.

In case the etymology proved to be tenable, we would then prefer to propose the following development, in accordance with the previous discussion: from *\*g (u-)en-eh<sub>2</sub>* or *\*g (u-)n-eh<sub>2</sub>* to Pre-Anatolian *\*guwana-*, Pre-Lydian *\*kona-*, Lydian *kāna-*. Yet, more Lydian examples would be necessary.

After having clarified the formal analysis of Hitt. *\*g(u)wanz* (not *\*g(u)wan-anz*) and of Luw. *wana-* from the IE root *\*g<sup>w</sup>(u)-en* we may concern ourselves with a possible solution to the etymological question of *-wiya* (casus

absolutus -wi). This is the typical formant of Anatolian feminine compounds (especially in Luwian), above all among ethnical and theophoric nouns, used as proper names. This problem has a long history too, recently reviewed by Laroche in a remarkably clear way (33). The names in question date from the "Cappadocian" age onwards, and become frequent from the 15th century on.

It is known that the formant recurs as the second element of compounds designating ethnical and theophoric names, such as

**Ziplantawiya**

**Zippalanta**, city

**Armawiya**

**Arma**, the moon (god)

**Santawiya**

**Santa**, a god,

but also in different formations with various nouns and adjectives, such as

**Parsanawiya**

**parsana-** "panther"

**Pihawiya**

**\*piha-** "lightning, light"

**Kummiwiya**

**kummi-** "pure"

The above formations follow a pattern, in which we also find the corresponding masculine term **ziti** "man; vir" and the word **muwa** "vital force; descendants", both of them being more typical of the Luwian vocabulary: **Hattusaziti** or **Hattusamuwa**; **Santaziti** or **Santamuwa**; **Pihaziti**; **Kummajaziti**, etc.

Thus, we may advance the hypothesis that **-wiya**, quoted by Laroche among the "termes d'onomastique de nature et d'origine inconnues", is not merely a suffix, as it was assumed, but an original noun, later used only as a formant, maybe because of its reduced phonetic consistence.

As far as I know, three hypotheses have been formulated with regard to the etymology of the term.

- Formation of a suffix **-wi**, on the basis of **-u**-stems, by means of **-i** of the feminine motion with subsequent transposition to all other stems for the formation of the feminine.

This thesis is not acceptable, because no evidence other than **-wi** is available in Anatolian to prove the existence of the feminine motion (34)

- **wiya** would stem from IE **\*pu-**, Sk. **putráḥ**, Lat. **puer**, etc., through **\*pwiya**, and should be related to Gk. and Etr. **puia** "wife, bride".

This assumption is questionable both on phonological and on semantic grounds: phonologically, IE **\*pu-ia** would have produced Anat. **\*puwiya**; semantically, the root **\*pu-** almost always indicates, whenever it recurs, the young until puberty. Last but not least, there is the new etymology of Gk. **ὀπνίω** to be related to Hitt. **hapus** "penis", both of them from **\*h<sub>3</sub>pus** (35).

- Another etymon comes from **\*wiri-/wiriya**, derived from



\*wir, on the basis of the assumed weak pronunciation of r, which in Anatolian recurs, however, only in word-final position (36).

Hence, in view of its meaning in compounds, especially in such as kummiwiya- "pure woman", pihawiya- "shining woman" and alike, -wiya must have been originally an independent meaningful lexical element, namely \*wi-/wiya- "woman".

The meaning leads us to relate the term to the stem of \*g<sup>w</sup>(u)en postulated for Hitt. \*g(u)wanz and Luw. \*wana. The relation with the root is wholly justified when we think that, in Luwian, the voiced labiovelars \*g<sup>w</sup> and \*g<sup>w</sup>h have produced w (37). Therefore, we may safely assert that \*wi/\*wiya derives from \*g<sup>w</sup>(u)-ih<sub>2</sub>/\*g<sup>w</sup>(u)-yeh<sub>2</sub>, or maybe from laryngeal stems, e.g. \*g<sup>w</sup>h<sub>3</sub>u-ih<sub>2</sub>, that have been postulated to explain Tocharian A ki "cow" (38).

Consequently, the doubt arises whether both terms may have stemmed with the same meaning from the same root and perhaps in the same period. Indeed, of the two terms, wiya has only an equivalent in another Indo-European language, in Tocharian A ki "cow", with a quite different meaning.

As to \*g<sup>w</sup>u-en, it is necessary to find another solution, always bearing in mind that in the beginning it may have assumed a main sexual connotation from a general meaning, such as that of "fold; bulge" or alike in the case of the

root **\*geu-/gu-** (39).

With regard to the root of Hitt. **\*g<sup>w</sup>anz**, Luw. **wana**, -wija, Gk.  $\gamma\upsilon\nu\acute{\eta}$  etc., and its original meaning, we believe that, in our state of knowledge, it cannot be reconstructed with certainty (hence, the use of parentheses in the previous etymological proposals). For the whole of the herein discussed terms, we may propose a few roots, we shall not, however, deal with into detail:

- 1) **\*g<sup>w</sup>ou-** or **\*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>-u**, with the verbal root **\*g<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>3</sub>-**, originating Gk.  $\beta\acute{o}\theta\kappa\omega$  ,  $\beta\acute{\omega}\tau\omega\rho$  , (6v) $\beta\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$  etc., but also the "collective"  $(\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\mu)\beta\acute{\eta}$  , Sk. -gva<sup>ś</sup> (40).

Both terms in question may be related to the above root. Here the main problem lies in the semantic interpretation, since the original root's meaning is something like "pasture/to pasture".

- 2) **\*geu-/\*gu** "biegen; krümmen; wölben". This root would have originated names of different body parts, among which  $(\mu\upsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma)\gamma\upsilon\tilde{\iota}\alpha$  "Mutterschoss" besides  $\gamma\upsilon\tilde{\iota}\epsilon\nu$  "Glied: Arm und Bein"; M Neth. **kutte/kunte** "cunnus"; ON **kunta** "vulva" (41).

To this root it is possible to relate both Luw. **wana**, Gk.  $\gamma\upsilon\nu\acute{\eta}$  etc., and -wiya (cf.  $\gamma\upsilon\tilde{\iota}\alpha$  ), and maybe even Lat. **inguen**.

- 3) An IE root **\*g<sup>w</sup>(u)eh-/ \*g<sup>w</sup>(u)H-** with the specific meaning

of "female sexual organs; vulva" or alike, represents a possible solution, that would unify all these terms and get rid of the semantic problems by keeping the forms **wana** and **wiya** together. However, the usual difficulties in the explanation of IE  $*g^{w/en-}$ , as mentioned above, remain.

- 4) Another possibility could be that of keeping **wana-/\*g<sup>w</sup>en** apart from **-wiya**, to be related to the root and meaning of  $*g^{w/eh_3-/*g^{w/ou-}$ . Accordingly, **-wiya** would be, in my opinion, a *Wurzelnamen*, but the meaning "vulva" or alike, made "collective" by **-eh<sub>3</sub>** with the meaning of "woman", or the meaning "cow" are not suitable (42).

Thus, we may conclude this section, by asserting that also Luw. **-wiya**, which was regarded, together with **zida/i** "man; male", as one of the basic terms of Pre-Anatolian substratum languages, should be considered as an Indo-European word (43).

Among the Anatolian words for "wife; woman" only Lycian **lada** seems to oppose any Indo-European etymological interpretation, but, as it is my duty now, I will try to propose briefly my opinion with regard to this.

At first, we must discard two proposable hypotheses:

1. a "Lallwort" for "wife" (e.g. dissimilated from **\*dada** or the like) is rather unlikely;

2. there are seemingly no Indo-European roots beginning with *l-* which could include a word meaning "wife; woman".

Granted that a root beginning with a laryngeal would have left some mark, such as *a-* or *h-*, i.e. Lycian *a/e* or  $\chi$ , we should thus follow the same way as for *lātāi* "of the dead", past participle, from Luwian *ulāi-* (or *walāi-*) "to die; to consume; to disappear" (cf. Hitt. *ulāi-* "to disappear") (see Carruba, SMEA XI (1970) 37 against the common interpretation  $\Lambda\eta\tau\acute{\omega}$ , cf. e. g. Neumann, Fs. Laroche (= Florilegium Anatolicum) 1979, 362).

Likewise, Lycian *lada* stems from *ulāta(r)* or the like, after all from IE *\*uel-ǵ-/ulē-* "drehen; wälzen; biegen", also "umhüllen" (a different Indo-European root? Pokorny gives one lemma for both), which also originated Lat. *vulva* and perhaps Hitt. *UZU.walla-* "Oberschenkel; Keule", if we want a sexual semantic parallel to *\*g<sup>w</sup>(u)-en-*. Otherwise, *ulatā(r)* Lyc. *lada* would mean "die Umgehüllte" or "die Verborgene" or the like, though the semantic side of the etymology may be not widely supported.

## NOTES

- + May professor Edgar C. Polomé, an indefatigable researcher of numerous origins and of fascinating etymologies, be willing to accept this raid into the origin common but difficult words.
- 1) Lists, grammars, dictionaries, both etymological and not, will be quoted in the usual abbreviations. Other references will be given in the footnotes.
  - 2) Very useful for the Indo-European kinship terminology is O.Szemerényi, *Acta Iranica* 16 (1973) 1-240. For Anatolian, see O.Carruba, *La parola del passato* 127 (1969) 269-278; and E.Laroche, *Les Noms des Hittites*, Paris 1966, *passim*.
  - 3) See O.Szemerényi, *Kratylos* 11 (1967) 206-221 ( = *Scripta Minora* I, Innsbruck 1987, 107-122 ).
  - 4) Cf. P.Meriggi, *WZKM* 53 (1957) 222 ( meaning ); E.Laroche, *DLL* 1959, s.v.; F.Starke *KZ* 94 (1980) 75 fn.1.
  - 5) See for example, M.Mayrhofer, *Studien zur indogermanischen Grundsprache*, 1952, 32 ff.; A.Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 (1961) 161 ff., 190ff. E.Laroche, *NH* 302-306; H.Kronasser, *EHS* (1966) 109-112; O.Szemerényi, *o.c.* fn. 3, 207.
  - 6) See, Szemerényi, *o.c.* 215 ff. But "ns may give also anz: see below and compare Hier.Luvian aza- ( from a<sup>n</sup>za- "to love", cf. J.D.Hawkins, *Kadmos* XIX (1980) 123 ff. (asi is no more the correct reading ).
  - 7) The "laws" of the development are sub judice, see fn. 6 and below in the text.

- 8) For the same beginning and word structure, cf. e.g. Hitt. idālu/Luvian adduwali: E.Laroche, RHA 76 (1965) 41f.  
About the Indo-European root, cf. R.S.P.Beekes, Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals (1969) 75; M.Mayrhofer, IG 1986, 134. For the Etymology also J.Puhvel, HED I-II, 366-373; J.Tischler, HEG ss.vv. The etymon \*en-h<sub>2</sub>nor-u "Manneskraft in sich habend" proposed by H.Eichner in A.Bammesberger, Die Laryngalthorie, Heidelberg 1988, 141, is in contrast with Hitt. andan, Gr. ἐνδον; Hitt. antur-za/zija "drinnen" from \*en-dhuor, H.Kronasser, EHS 168, on the contrary A.Kammenhuber, HW<sup>2</sup> I 123.
- 9) Cf. H.Kronasser, EHS Bd. 2 (E.Neu) 67f. Also D<sup>h</sup>Innaras-mis "my I." is possible. About the "Hattian" goddess Inar see A.Kammenhuber, ZA 66 (1976) 68 ff. On the contrary O.Carruba in E.Campanile, Problemi di sostrato nelle lingue indoeuropee, Pisa 1983, 89 (not Hattian, but Indo-European goddess).
- 10) Of course that would happen even if the laryngeals are not the same, therefore I leave the laryngeal undetermined. The forms were matched by other kinship terms, as \*p<sup>h</sup>ter / m<sup>h</sup>ter.
- 11) For Mycenaean e-ra, see A.Morpurgo, Mycenaean Graecitatis Lexicon, Roma 1963, 92; and M.Gérard-Rousseau, Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes, Roma 1968, 94 ff. Other possible etymologies are from F.S.Schröder, Gymnasium 63, 57 ff. ("Jahresgöttin") and A.J. van Windekens, Glotta 36 (1957/58) 399-311 ("einjähriges Tier" "junge Kuh").  
For Minoan (J)asasara, see the last discussion by G.Fugliese Carratelli, La parola del passato 166 (1976) 122-128.

- 12) F.Starke, KZ 94 (1980) 74-86; J.A.Hardarson, MSS 48 (1987) 11<sup>5</sup>-137. Cf. also N.Oettinger, KZ 94 (1980) 46; 59f.
- 13) Cf. F.Starke, o.c. 85; but see also J.A.Hardarson, o.c. 122.
- 14) Cf. E.Laroche, DLL 138 § 29. That seems to be a Proto-Anatolian development. However we have also in Indo-European a root with ending -i: Skr. jāni, Got. gens, cf. now G.Darms, Schwäher und Schwager, Hahn und Huhn. Die Vrddhi-Ableitungen im Germanischen. München 1978, 74 ff.; Hardarson, o.c. 129 ff.
- 15) See N.Oettinger, KZ 94 (1980) 44-63, with previous bibliography, fn. 2 and 3 (H.Eichner). The problem is the same as for (a)ns to as(s), seen above.
- 16) N.Oettinger, o.c. 59 fn. 60; but cf. also idem, "Indo-Hittite"--Hypothese und Wortbildung, Innsbruck 1986, 18 n. 92; F.Starke, o.c. 85.
- 17) About these words, see R.Gusmani, Il lessico ittito, Napoli 1968, 100 f. and 97 fn.24; J.J.S.Weitenberg, Die hethitischen U-Stämme, Amsterdam 1984, s.v.; and H.Craig Melchert, HSP 101 (1988) 212 ff.
- 18) Cf. O.Carruba, Die Sprache XIV (1968) 13-23, espec. 17ff.
- 19) Other possible derivation may be from \*h<sub>2</sub>b/éms-sor "mud", like karza, karzanas from \*kért-so(r), cf. H.Eichner, MSS 32 (1973) 98 fn. 78. Moreover we would have \*h<sub>2</sub>b/én/ms-i- "mud; slime", cf. Gr. ᾠή ᾠή Skr. ási-tah. We have also Hitt. GIŠ<sub>3</sub>hanzan- a tool.

- 20) Perhaps better: "generation; offspring".

Summarizing about the syntagma H.Kronasser, EHS 156 ff. with a hint to a analogous proposal after the discussion of Milewski's etymology. Also important is H.Craig Melchert, RHA 31 (1973) 56-70. With the solution we are proposing here all discussion about the idiom draw near to the end, since the following facts would be ascertained:

- The formation of hanzassa is that of a derivational adjective from hanza ("in front; before" ( O.Szemerényi, Ga.Kronasser, 1982, 225 ff. ) with the suffix -assa- and consequently the word has the meaning "(of the) future; coming".
- The meaning of hassa is "generation; offspring". Yet the sense "offspring of the first generation, children", and also for hanzassa "offspring of the second generation; grand-children" ( the spacing is of mine ), proposed by Melchert, o.c., is untenable on the ground of the texts and of the sense we had proposed here.
- The meaning of the syntagma will also be; " to ( with katta also "till to" ) the generation(s) of the future" ( for the plural, see below ).
- We don not know the etymology of hassa- ( the last attempt by H.Craig Melchert, HSP 101 (1989) 212f. ). If it is an abstract noun, it is the verbal noun of hes-/has "give birth" and it would have apophonic a from \*o, opposite to the very verb with \*e/ə (or ø; cf. Gr. γεννᾶν / γίγνομαι / γένος ).
- The ending -a must be, also in my opinion, according to the texts as reviewed by Melchert, o.c. 66, and to the common meaning of such phrases, the directive one and would have nothing to do with the Old Anatolian numerus collectivus ( cf. H.Eichner, Akten VII. Fachtagung Berlin 1985, 134-169; J.A.Hardarson, MSS 48 (1987) 71 ff.; E.Neu in O.Carruba, Per una grammatica



- ittita, forthcoming. About other pertaining terms, see already O. Carruba, in *Le lingue d'Europa*, Atti del V. Convegno Intern. di linguisti, Milano 1969, Brescia 1972, 184.
- From these contexts it may be that the directive ending a belongs also to the plural paradigm, as other "local" cases.
- 21) See, J.A. Hardarson, MSS 48 (1987) 118 ff.
- 22) A very common occurrence in Anatolian. as e.g. Hitt. laman, Hier. Luvian atima<sup>n</sup>za, Lyc. alama, Lyd. etams but Lat. nōmen; Hitt. lammar Lat. numerus etc.  
As far as our nouns is concerned, see e.g. halzanan for hanzanan Kronasser EHS 59 ( if "black").
- 23) Cf. O. Carruba, Gs. Kronasser 1982, 1-15. Objections by Th. P. J. van den Hout, KZ 97 (1984) 60-80. Cf. Melchert, Gs. W. Cowgill 193 fn. 7.
- 24) Also a root ending in -i is possible, see fn. 14.  
Another solution is proposed by Hardarson, o.c. 121 ( nominative \*gyantsa, obliquus \*gyantsan- ).
- 25) Cf. M. Mayrhofer IG 109. See also E. P. Hamp, KZ 93 (1979) 1-7; W. Meid, KZ 80 (1966) 270-71; E. Campanile, Inc. Ling. 3 (1976-77) 21-28.
- 26) It is also very likely, that \*g<sup>u</sup>(u)-en-s is the Indo-European animate form towards \*g<sup>u</sup>(u)-en-eh<sub>2</sub> as collective noun with a slight different meaning, see e.g. Darms, o.c. 77.
- 27) See O. Szemerényi, Acta Iranica 16 (1977) 73ff.
- 28) See V. I. Georgiev, Die Sprache 19 (1973) 140-147; J. Schindler, ibid. 148-157.  
A stem \*g<sup>u</sup>(h<sub>3</sub>)u-en- is in my opinion necessary to explain Gr. γυνή towards Böotian βῆνᾱ, even if this may be a simple anaptyxis from regular βῆνᾱ, cf. ved. gnā.

- 29) Cf. below for the possibility that our noun stems from \*geu-/gu-.
- 30) Also the related words would confirm that: N.Icel. þukkr "bulge", from \*en-g<sup>u</sup>(u)-o- displays a composition with the formans -o, not -en. Other explications by Pokorny, s.v.; and H.Rix, MSS 27 (1969) 102. Gr. ἔστυ may be from \*n-g<sup>u</sup>(u)-en, with n from en "in".
- 31) If the originary stem is derived from \*g<sup>u</sup>eu-/g<sup>u</sup>u- a form \*g<sup>u</sup>(u)-en-on is very difficult. Got. qino is clearly not of Indo-European age, cf. J.A.Hardarson, o.c. 128f.
- 32) The terms meaning "wife" seems to be more changeable than those for "man", as can be demonstrated in the development of the historical languages ( e.g. in the Romance or Germanic languages ).
- 33) E.Laroche, NH 325ff.345; H.Kronasser HES 170.
- 34) See already O.Carruba, in *Le lingue d'Europa* (Atti del V Convegno Intern. di Linguisti, Milano 1969, Brescia 1972, 177ff.  
The well argued attempt by N.Oettinger, KZ 100 (1987) 35-43 that the so called i-motion seems to neglect was proved to have in Anatolian the old Indo-European relational function not the feminine one ( Luvian ta-ti-is "father" but ta-ti-i-is "of the father; paternal", where -i-, from \*-i-, and -ī-, from \*-ih<sub>2</sub>, are different suffixes ).
- 35) V.I.Georgiev, Arch.Or. 36 (1968) 196 (\*puwija ); and C.Watkins, Fs.Neumann 457 ( H.Peters: \*h<sub>3</sub>pus ).

- 36) O.Szemerényi, *Acta Iranica* 16 (1977) 213 fn. 29. On the contrary, weak articulation of internal -r- are very rare in Anatolian and also in Hittite and seemingly originated by dissimilation: arta(r)ti "a plant"; arsassur ( for arsarsur ) "stream": ku(r)essar "shawl; scarf"; pian for piran ( only in divination texts ) is an abbreviation.  
About these problems, see P.Meriggi, *Schizzo grammaticale dell'anatolico*, Roma 1980, 270 § 61-63. E.Neu, *Ps. Neumann*, 205 ff.; H.Craig Melchert, *Gs. B.Schwartz* 1988, 215 ff.
- 37) See J.Tischler, in O.Carruba, ed., *Per una grammatica ittita*, forthcoming. H.Craig Melchert, *Gs. W.Cowgill* 1987, 184-85.
- 38) J.Schindler, *Die Sprache* 19 (1973) 151, proposes for the last word \*g<sup>u</sup>(u)uih<sub>2</sub> or \*g<sup>u</sup>h<sub>3</sub>(u)uih<sub>2</sub> .
- 39) We remind, that all the terms with sexual meaning are subject to taboo and are almost always substituted with others.  
See. Pokorny *IEW* s.v. for numerous terms of parts of the body.
- 40) See Georgiev and Schindler, *oo.cc. fn.* 28; and Pokorny *IEW* s.v.
- 41) See. Pokorny *IEW* 393 also for all the terms of parts of the body.
- 42) For a II millennium attribute referring to a goddess and also stemming from \*g<sup>u</sup>ou-, see Myc. go-wi-ja, A.Morpurgo *MGL* 1963, s.v.
- 43) After the discovery that Indo-European k̂ developed into Luvian z, the etymon<sup>of zida/i</sup> everyone thinks of, is certainly analogous to Gr. ἡ Μοῖτις "bride; concubine", though, in my opinion that is only possible if we accept an unconditionated shift of k̂ into z.

## DEATH AND THE HITTITE KING

H. Craig Melchert  
*University of North Carolina*

The Indo-European component in Hittite culture is not large. Nevertheless, continuing research has shown that the Hittites did retain certain significant aspects of inherited PIE institutions.<sup>1</sup> Professor Polomé, the honoree of this volume, has himself provided examples through his comparison of Hitt. *ḫaššu-* 'king' with Gmc. *\*ansuz* and Hitt. *tuliya-* 'assembly' with the family of Olce. *bulr* 'orator'.

One area where societies are notably conservative is in their views on death and afterlife and in their funeral customs. Puhvel (1969a) and (1969b) has presented evidence that the Hittites preserved the PIE notions of death as a meeting with one's ancestors and of the desired afterlife as a bountiful existence in a well-watered and inalienable pasture.

Both of these concepts are attested in our principal Hittite text on death and afterlife, the royal funeral rites (see Otten, 1959). While the expression 'become a god' may be restricted to the Hittite king, the recent study by Archi (1979) suggests that other members of the population were also accorded a status after death comparable to that of the Roman *mānēs*. A much gloomier view of life after death appears in the fragmentary text discussed by Hoffner (1988), but the status of this composition is not yet clear. As he indicates, we cannot exclude the possibility that it reflects a foreign tradition.

One Hittite text dealing with death has not yet received the attention it deserves. I refer to the final paragraph of the Old Hittite Testament of Hattusili I. The passage has been cited in passing as evidence for burial vs. cremation (Gurney, 1981: 168), but its full significance has not been appreciated.

The Testament is available in a full edition by F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein (1938). This edition is rightly regarded as a landmark in the field, and I do not wish to dispute its overall very high quality. Nevertheless, no work of scholarship may be regarded as sacrosanct, and the present case is no exception. In particular, I defy anyone to make coherent sense of the authors' German translation of the final paragraph (§23) of the text (1938: 16f).

The fundamental problem is their assumption that the final attested paragraph forms part of the official testament (see their explicit acknowledgment of the difficulties, 1938: 190). As shown by the text itself, this assumption is erroneous. The provisions of the testament actually end with §21. The following §22 merely admonishes the adopted heir to heed the king's words. As correctly seen already by Sommer and Falkenstein, the phrasing of this paragraph is formulaic. The heir is to have the words of the testament read to him monthly, and he is to 'impress' the words on his heart.<sup>2</sup>

With this final admonition the testament, the official document, is complete. What then is the following paragraph §23? I assert that it is due to a mistake. The scribe who was recording the king's words failed to stop when the testament was finished and kept on writing down what he heard. The result is something unique and precious in the Hittite corpus: direct reportage of a live event.<sup>3</sup> And what an event it is! The king is dying, or at least thinks he is (we do not know whether Hattusili I actually died on this occasion or not). Having completed the task of dictating the testament, the king breaks down and unburdens himself of his innermost feelings before the audience of those assembled to witness the testament. The onlookers find this spectacle acutely embarrassing, but are unable to quiet the distraught king. In the confusion, the scribe's indiscretion in recording all of this is overlooked, and this account is included in the official document and even duly translated into Akkadian. Viewed in this light, the highly emotional and disjointed nature of the text of §23 makes sense:<sup>4</sup>

## KUB I 16 III 64-73:

LUGAL.GAL *la-ba-ar-na-aš A-NA* SAL *ha-aš-ta-ya-ar me-mi-iš-*  
*k(i-i)z-zi*  
*le-c-ma-mu-uš-ša-an pa-aš-ku-i-i-ta le-c-ma-an-še*  
 [LUG]AL-*uš ki-iš-ša-an te-ez-zi* DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL-*ša da-ra-*  
*an-zi*  
 [ka-a]-*ša-wa-az* SAL.MEŠŠU.GI-*uš pu-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi* LUGAL-*ša-*  
*aš-[ma-aš]*  
 [ki-iš-ša]-*an te-ez-zi ki-nu-un-wa-az nu-u-wa* SAL.MEŠŠU.GI-*[uš]*  
 [pu-nu-uš-ki-iz]-*zi U-UL ša-ag-ga-aḥ-ḥi nam-ma-mu-uš-*  
*ša-a[n]*  
 [le-c]-*pa-aš-ku-i-i-ta [le]-c* EGIR-*pa-mu-za pu-nu-nu-uš-ki-*  
*[pāt]*  
 [nu-ut-ta]-*ud-da-a-ar-m[e]-eḥ ša-a-ki-iš-ki-mi* SIG<sub>5</sub>-*an[-x-x-*  
*mu qṛ-ri]*  
 [tāg-ga-n]-*ya-ta-mu-za-pa an-d[a ḥar-ak] nu-mu tāg-ga-[ni-*  
*ya-ta]*  
 [ ] *tāk-na-az pa-aḥ-[ -š]i*

"The great king, the labarna, keeps speaking to Ḥaštayar: "Do not forsake me!" (In order) that the king may not say thus to her, the palace officials say: "Look, she is interrogating the 'old women' (i.e. soothsayers)." The king says thus t[o them]: "She is still now interrogating the soothsayers? Don't I know?—Do not then forsake me, do not! Interrogate me! I will give [you] my words as a sign. [Wash me] well! Protect me on your bosom from the earth!"

## Notes:

line 65: the precise meaning of *paškuwe-* is still not determined, but all occurrences point either to 'reject, drive away' or 'forsake, abandon, forget'. See Götze-Pedersen (1934: 20&63), Friedrich (1952: 165), Kronasser (1966: 481) and Oettinger (1979: 334). Contra Sommer and Falkenstein (1938: 190), the corresponding Akkadian verb is best assigned to *naparkū*

(*neperkū*) in the sense 'leave, go away from': see the first two references above and also Reiner (1980a: 281).

line 65: *-še...tezzi*. This cannot mean 'speaks of her', contra Sommer (1938: 191). All the alleged examples he cites with *-mu* are accusative, and even these do not mean 'speak of me', but rather represent the Hittite form of indirect speech. The dative enclitic *-še* plus *tezzi* can only mean 'says to her', as already shown by the preceding ANA *šal haštayar memiskizzi*, which is taken as 'speaks to H.' even by Sommer. She is not present, of course, but that is no valid objection. The whole point of the passage is that the king in his distress is crying out for her succor in a context where her mere presence would be inappropriate.

lines 65-66: the clause *tē=man=še...tezzi*, with the prohibitive negative and the optative particle *man*, expresses a wish, namely that the king not speak in this manner. Since the wish clearly is not that of the king, I take it to be that of the palace officials, who react accordingly. I translate with a negative purpose clause, something which so far as we know Hittite would have had no other way of expressing. If one finds this too bold, one could alternatively take the wish as an editorial comment of the scribe, but even then he would surely be voicing a common sentiment. What I insist on is the relationship of this clause to what follows: the palace officials say what they do to the king because they are trying to put an end to his embarrassing outburst.

line 67: I restore *-šmaš* 'to them' rather than *-še* 'to her' (with Sommer and Falkenstein) because in the next sentence the king refers to *Haštayar* in the third person (the restored verb is assured by the Akkadian). This would make no sense if the king were already speaking to *Haštayar* again.

lines 68-69: I find it most natural to take the king's second sentence as well as the first as a question. What remains unclear is whether we should understand the second sentence with the first ('Don't I know that she is still now interrogating the soothsayers?'), or with what follows ('Don't I know (anything)?--Interrogate me!'). The fact that the following sentence is directed once again at *Haštayar* argues for the former.

lines 72-73: This correct translation was given already by Götze (1922: 183). Sommer (1938: 199) rejects this on the absurdly hyperrational grounds that it is impossible for a woman to save a man from death! Obviously, this is entirely irrelevant to a dying man terrified of death. Having rejected the only natural interpretation, Sommer must take the ablative *taknar* as an instrumental: 'protect me on your bosom with the earth!'. Since this is manifest nonsense, he must then in totally ad hoc fashion turn this into 'On your bosom bury me in the earth.' First of all, this simply is not what the Hittite says. Furthermore, we are not dealing with a man calmly giving instructions for his funeral (pace Sommer). No dying man is going to ask to be put down into the ground. Also false is the objection that the corresponding Akkadian *ina eršetim ušrinni* cannot mean 'protect me from the earth' (Sommer and Falkenstein, 1938: 199). Akkadian does not regularly indicate with *našāru* that from which one is to be protected, but

the construction does occur, and with *ina*: see the example *ṣaman=ḡunu ina ḥiṣu uṣ-ra-a* 'Protect yourselves from sin!' cited by Reiner (1980b: 38) sub *naṣāru*, 3e. Since *ina* is used frequently in Akkadian to indicate 'place from' with other verbs (Oppenheim, 1960: 141f), its use here to render a Hittite ablative seems quite unremarkable.

I may summarize the scene as follows. The very act of dictating the long testament must have put a considerable strain on the seriously ill king. It would not be at all surprising if the king, relaxing from this supreme effort, suffered an attack or felt himself take a turn for the worse. In any case, Ḫattušili cries out for the aid of the woman Ḫaštayar, who is evidently not present. The identity of Ḫaštayar is not yet determined: she may be the king's wife, his mother, or (pace Sommer and Falkenstein, 1938: 189<sup>1</sup>) his favorite concubine. If we choose the last possibility, we may easily understand the embarrassment of the assembled courtiers. However, the assumption is by no means necessary. To witness publicly the mighty king of the Hittites crying out pathetically for a woman's aid would surely have been embarrassing enough.

The embarrassed members of the court try to quiet the king by telling him that Ḫaštayar is busy consulting the soothsayers, presumably on his account. Mention of the soothsayers breaks into the king's consciousness, but only momentarily. Responding briefly to the officials, he then takes the idea of looking for signs and turns again at once to Ḫaštayar, insisting that he himself can provide the necessary signs, if she will only pay attention. The scene reaches an emotional climax with his plea that she take him to her bosom and protect him from the earth (i.e. from death and the burial which follows). The text then ends abruptly. It is conceivable that these are the king's last words—that he dies immediately thereafter. However, it seems a rather great coincidence that the king would manage to complete the entire testament and then die only moments later. It is more likely that the scribe breaks off because the courtiers, finding the king's raving completely intolerable, finally put an end to the scene. In any case, I submit that this remarkable paragraph represents a vivid eyewitness account of the Hittite king wrestling with his fear of death.

What does this account tell us of the Hittites' attitudes and practices relating to death? Both more and less, I think, than has been claimed. The king's plea for protection from the earth does clearly imply burial. The immediately preceding mention of washing might further suggest direct burial of the corpse without cremation, but I believe we must be cautious on this point. Cremation does not preclude washing and other preparation of the body, and the fact that the king does not mention fire means little. This single text certainly seems a very slim basis for the conclusion of Gurney (1981: 168ff) that direct burial was the standard practice of the Old Hittite period, succeeded only later by the cremation described in the royal funeral rites, a change he attributes to Greek influence. Recent research has shown that both direct burial and burial after cremation were practiced in Central Anatolia from early in the 2nd millennium B.C.E. (see MacQueen, 1975: 136ff, with refs.). While the attested manuscripts are Neo-Hittite, linguistic criteria show that the royal funeral rites were composed no later than the Middle Hittite period, and they are likely to be Old Hittite in composition

(see Melchert, 1977: 73f). Based on what we know now, I believe we can only safely assume the coexistence of both direct burial and cremation in the Hittite tradition, as now conceded by Gurney (1981: 171, note). Evidence for both practices is also found in virtually every other Indo-European tradition (see already Schrader, 1923: 102ff). Schrader (1923: 108) presents arguments for the primacy of burial, but he qualifies as merely probable his assumption of burial alone for the PIE speech community. In any case, we cannot resolve this issue on the basis of the Hittite evidence.

Of far more interest, it seems to me, is what the present text tells us about the real attitude of an individual Hittite towards imminent death. Since we find the expression 'become a god' used for the death of a Hittite king already in the Edict of Telipinu, the concept must be Old Hittite. As mentioned above, the evidence presented by Puhvel (1969a) and (1969b) shows that the Hittites also inherited the idea that upon dying one is welcomed into the world of the afterlife by one's ancestors, particularly by one's mother. Despite these assurances of happy immortality, however, the dying Hattusili is frightened. He sees only the immediate certainty that he will soon be put down into the cold, dark earth alone, and like many a poor mortal since he finds this a terrifying prospect.

As I have suggested elsewhere (1986: 110), there seems to be little fundamental difference between us and ancient peoples when it comes to facing death. Hattusili's words speak to us directly across the centuries. His fear is palpable. We not only at once understand but also are moved by his agony and his desperate cry for his loved one's tender comfort. These emotions are neither Hittite nor Indo-European, neither ancient nor modern, but simply human.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See for example Watkins (1989: 789ff) with references.

<sup>2</sup>For the phraseology of both of these provisions see Sommer-Falkenstein, 1938: 178f. As the authors correctly insist (1938: 188), the final charge to Mursili to do what is in his heart must not be understood as license to do whatever he wishes. Rather he is to follow the dictates of the testament which he has 'impressed' on his heart.

<sup>3</sup>Gurney (1981: 173) stresses the directness of expression and individuality of the entire testament, which I would not deny. My understanding of the final paragraph also requires us to assume that the testament was genuinely dictated by the king himself. Nevertheless, the testament is an official document, intentionally formulated in the presence of (and undoubtedly with the counsel of) members of the court and expressly meant for public consumption. As such, it still lacks the unguarded spontaneity which I contend is found in the final paragraph.

<sup>4</sup>For the establishment of the Hittite text I refer the reader to Sommer and Falkenstein (1938: 188-199), whose readings and restorations I follow unless noted otherwise. For brevity's sake I omit here the full Akkadian text, which is certainly a translation of the Hittite (see Sommer and Falkenstein, 1938: 202f). Readers should know that the Akkadian is the basis for most of the authors' restorations of the Hittite.

## REFERENCES

- Archi, Alfonso  
1979 'Il dio Zawalli. Sul culto dei morti presso gli ittiti,'  
Altorientalische Forschungen 6.81-94.
- Friedrich, Johannes  
1952 Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Heidelberg.
- Götze, Albrecht  
1922 'Akkadisch-Hethitisches,' Zeitschrift für Assyriologie  
34.170-188.
- Götze, Albrecht and Holger Pedersen  
1934 Mursilis Sprachlähmung. Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selskab.,  
Hist.-filol. Med. 21/1. Copenhagen.
- Gurney, Oliver  
1981 The Hittites (revised reprint). Harmondsworth.
- Hoffner, Harry  
1988 'A Scene in the Realm of the Dead,' A Scientific Humanist.  
Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs, ed. by E. Leichty, 191-  
199. Philadelphia.
- Kronasser, Heinz  
1966 Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache. Wiesbaden.
- MacQueen, James  
1975 The Hittites and their Contemporaries in Asia Minor.  
Boulder.
- Melchert, H. Craig  
1977 Ablative and Instrumental in Hittite. (Harvard Ph.D. diss.,  
unpub.).  
1986 'Hittite *uwaš* and Congeners,' Indogermanische Forschungen  
91.102-115.
- Oettinger, Norbert  
1979 Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums. Nuremberg.
- Oppenheim, A. Leo (ed.)  
1960 The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the  
University of Chicago. Vol. 7. Chicago.
- Otten, Heinrich  
1959 Hethitische Totenrituale. Berlin.
- Puhvel, Jaan  
1969a 'Hittite *annaš šiwaz*,' Zeitschrift für Vergleichende  
Sprachforschung 83.59-63.  
1969b '"Meadow of the Otherworld" in Indo-European tradition,'  
Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung 83.64-69.
- Reiner, Erica (ed.)  
1980a The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the  
University of Chicago. Vol. 11/1. Chicago.  
1980b The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the  
University of Chicago. Vol. 11/2. Chicago.
- Schrader, Otto  
1923 Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde. Vol. 1.  
Berlin.
- Sommer, Ferdinand and Adam Falkenstein  
1938 Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I. (Labarna  
II.). ABAW, Phil.-hist. Abt., NF 16. Munich.
- Watkins, Calvert  
1989 'New Parameters in Historical Linguistics, Philology, and  
Culture History,' Language 65.783-799.

# THE MEANING OF THE EXPRESSION "TO BECOME A WOLF" IN HITTITE

Jos Weitenberg  
*Rijksuniversiteit*

0. In the following I intend to study the meaning of the idiomatic expression "to become a wolf" in Hittite. I shall argue that, in Hittite, this phrase has a very precise meaning: "to forfeit one's rights" in a given situation. I dedicate these lines to Professor Polomé, a scholar whom I profoundly admire; whose advice I repeatedly sought and never in vain. The next lines will touch the subject of comparative Indo-European and Germanic law, a theme that is dear to Professor Polomé. I hope that the result will not disappoint him: I do not find any unequivocal indication that the expression "to become a wolf" as it is used in the Hittite Laws, is of Proto-Indo-European ancestry.

1. According to §§ 1-4 of the Hittite Laws, in a case of murder or homicide it is required that a compensation is paid by the offender (or his family) to the victim's family. Two paragraphs, §§ 37 and 38, formulate exemptions from such a compensation<sup>1)</sup>:

§ 37 (A II 10) ták-ku SAL-na-an ku-iš-ki pít-ti-nu-uz-zi n[u(-)  
k]u-i-e-eš a-ap-pa-an-an-da pa-a-a[n]-z[i] (11) ták-ku 3 LÚ.MEŠ na-aš-ma 2  
LÚ.MEŠ ak-[(kán-zi šar-ni-ik-zi-il NU.GÁL)] (12) zi-ik-wa UR.BAR.RA-aš  
ki-iš-ta-at. "If anyone abducts a woman and if those who go after/behind,  
three persons or two persons, are killed, there will be no compensation.  
'You have become a wolf' "

§ 38 (A II 13): ták-ku LÚ.ULÙ.LU.MEŠ ha-an-ne-iš-ni ap-pa-a-[an-t]e-eš  
nu šar-di-ya-aš ku-iš-ki pa-iz-zi (14) ták-ku ha-an-ne-eš-na-aš iš-ha-a-aš  
li-e-[la-ni-at-ta nu [lù]šar-di-an wa-al-ah-zi (14) na-aš a-ki  
šar-ni-ik-zi-il NU.GÁL. "If people are "taken" in a lawsuit and some helper  
comes, and if a/the<sup>2)</sup> opponent gets angry and strikes the helper, and that  
one dies, there is no compensation".

Within the context of the Hittite Laws as a whole, § 37 concludes a series of paragraphs about marriage regulations<sup>3)</sup>. After § 38 the text continues with rules on fief and feudal duties. The two paragraphs raise the question why no compensation is required. Imparati (1964: 222) offers a synthesis of the previous scholarly discussion: both paragraphs condemn actions that clearly violated law and order. For that reason, lawful rights to receive a compensation are forfeited. In the following I intend to study what precisely is the reason for using the expression "you have become a wolf" in § 37.

2. Before entering into any discussion of § 37 one should be well aware of the words of Neufeld (1951: 153): anything brought forward with respect to this paragraph must be accepted "with considerable reserve".

There is uncertainty about the precise wording of this paragraph. Without exception discussions of the text are based on the following reading of 1.10 in Friedrich's edition (1971: 26 n. 15): n[u?] ... šar-di-i-eš a-ap-pa-an an-da pa-a-a[n]-z[i]<sup>4</sup>. This reading is supported by the variant [ša]r-di-ya-aš in the slightly divergent text B. The traditional reading yields the following translation: "if anyone abducts a woman, and helpers go behind\after, (and) if three or two person die, there is no compensation (etc)".

Otten's restoration k]u-i-eš eliminates one problem: In earlier discussions there was room for debate as to whether the ones who "go behind / after" are belonging to the same group of persons out of whom "three or two are killed". Otten's restoration would remove at least this doubt; from the use of the relative pronoun it would follow that the ones who "go behind / after" are the same persons as the ones who are killed. But also when one adopts Otten's restoration, a main problem still remains: who are the ones that "go after/behind" the abductor?

3. Imparati (1964: 221) explains § 37 as follows: here there is no question of abduction of a girl by a boy with the intention to marry her; such cases are treated in § 28 and § 35. § 37 concerns the abduction of a married woman. The "helpers" are either belonging to the abductor or to the woman's family. Imparati adopts the first option: "given the fact that it is stated that 'there is no compensation' for the victims, one might agree that they belong to the company of the abductor, which, having committed an action against justice that provoked public disorder, have therefore lost any right. This is confirmed by the sentence 'you have become a wolf', that is, you behaved like an animal of prey."

It follows from Imparati's interpretation that the phrase "you have become a wolf" simply is a metaphoric expression that adds or detracts nothing from the situation itself. Friedrich (1971: 96) expresses the same view on this sentence.

There is no external indication which would force one to assume that § 37 treats a type of abduction that is essentially different from the cases treated in § 28 and § 35. Therefore, Friedrich (1971: 96) is more correct in assuming that the abduction which is treated in § 37 is a "Brautraub", that differs from other cases of abduction of an unmarried girl in one respect only: the abductor had prepared to use force .

Thus, this particular paragraph is concerned with a "normal" abduction. This explains why, in the Hittite Laws, § 37 was attached to the section on rules for marriage. The abduction was complicated by the fact that a killing "of three or of two persons" occurred during the abduction. The situation clearly had gone out of hand and therefore a separate ruling was required.

4. What exactly is supposed to have happened? An answer to this question will only be possible if we understand the words a-ap-pa-an an-da (or, with Otten, a-ap-pa-an-an-da) pa-a-a[n]-zi. Unfortunately, no agreement has been reached. One may interpret this phrase as "they go behind", in which case the abductor's helpers are meant (Sommer, Friedrich, Imparati, Neufeld) or as "they go after (i.e. they pursue)" (to free the girl, so Sturtevant, Haase, Goetze). These translations all slightly overlook the word anda; Friedrich-Kammenhuber (1975 ff.: 152) translates "hinter [ihnen?] gehen hinein", which is very close to Friedrich's interpretation (1971: 96). Otten (1969: 94) suggested to read āppananda pānzi. He translates the adverb as "hinterher", which may have both a spatial and temporal meaning.

Our knowledge of Hittite syntax does not allow us to disambiguate the text. Therefore, a logical analysis of the contents of § 37 has been attempted. One tried to interpret § 37 within the context of the other rules which occur in the corpus of Hittite Laws. Thus, Neufeld (1951: 153) argues that the Hittite Laws already provide for the event that the abductor was the killer of persons that had followed him to get the girl back: previous paragraphs (the §§ 1 to 4) would rule that the boy (or his family) had to pay a compensation for a killing. Therefore, in Neufeld's view, § 37 treats of the remaining alternative: the killed persons belong to the party of the abductor.

5. This approach is very attractive because it would give § 37 its raison d'être. Nevertheless, it seems to me that this explanation does not really make clear why the sentence "you have become a wolf" is added. Why was it added here and not in the next paragraph? Why was it added at all? An error has been committed, a conflict of interests has been solved, what would there be to add? Therefore, a treatment from the point of view of the internal consistency of the Hittite Laws is not sufficient for an understanding of the use of the phrase "you have become a wolf".

Such an understanding may be reached through the insight that § 37 and § 38 belong to two different strata. It is clear that in § 38 the exemption

of compensation finds its justification in the fact that the distribution of justice through a court had been hindered; in that way, a central body defends its prerogatives. The paragraph belongs to a stratum in which centralization of justice was taking place or had taken place. But (as was remarked by Haase and Neufeld) in § 37 we trace a stage in which distribution of justice was (or partly was) a private affair.

Therefore, § 37 represents a situation in which the parties, that is the families involved, decide to solve a case of abduction that has run out of hand. The Hittite Laws are offering a set of options to solve a situation that arose from an abduction: the abduction may be accepted (in which case the abductor refunds the bride price to the first bridegroom) or not (in which case, the girl's parents separate her from the abductor). In the same way, what is presented as "the" rule in § 37, only constitutes one option out of a set of possibilities to deal with an abduction that went out of hand. In this particular situation the parties involved decide that their interest is best served by refusing the abductor any right to compensation. That is, it is judged by the parties involved, that the abductor has forfeited his rights. They formulate this decision in the sentence "you have become a wolf".

Thus, in contradistinction to § 38 where the exemption becomes effective by law, in § 37 the exemption originally becomes effective BY shouting this phrase to the abductor. It is important to see that the sentence has a legal effect. It is not an expression of horror, it is not here a metaphor based on the rapacious conduct of the wolf as Imparati thought.

6. What is the precise meaning of the expression "you have become a wolf"? It is the traditional (Friedrich, Imparati) opinion that the phrase indicates that someone is outlawed. This may be correct insofar as the practical effect of the events is equivalent to banishment, though no Hittite sources inform us about this. But in § 37 what is expressed is not the fact that someone is outlawed, but that certain rights were forfeited in connection with a specific situation. We find this same idea expressed in another Hittite source, the royal decree of Hattusili I (BoTU 10 β, 13 etc.): the king has disinherited his own son and now introduces Mursili as his heir and successor<sup>5</sup>):

kasatta-smas Mursilin pihhun (14) GIŠ.SÛ.A ABI-SÛ apas dāu DUMU-mis  
NU.DUMU-as (15) amminzan-a IR.MEŠ-amman UR.BAR.RA-as mān pank[ur-set] (16)  
I-EN ēstu "Behold, I gave you Mursili. (14) Let him take the chair of his father. My son is a non-son, (15) but let him be one of you my servants like the kin of the wolf".

The King here expresses the degradation of his former heir to the status of one of his many servants. Sommer-Falkenstein (1938: 75) translated "and let your, my servants' kin be one like that of the wolf"<sup>6</sup>). It seems to me that in translating I-EN with "einig" ("united") an unjustified metaphor was adopted.

Thus, the concept "to deprive someone (or to be deprived) from one's previous rights" is expressed idiomatically by "to become / to be a wolf" in Hittite. In the Laws, the use of this expression certainly has a legal meaning. This meaning possibly is connected with the concept of expulsion from the community, but this is not its primary meaning.

7. The expression "you have become a wolf" has frequently been studied from an Indo-European background. Different proposals have been made to connect the expression with certain aspects of Indo-European society.

Watkins (1970: 324) argued that § 37 testifies to a concept of a "wolf-marriage" in Hittite society. Such a "wolf-marriage", according to Watkins, is the Hittite equivalent of the Indo-European institution of marriage by abduction. Above I argued that the situation which is treated in § 37 of the Hittite Laws is not a typical case of abduction for marriage. Also, the phrase "you have become a wolf" does not serve to legalize a marriage of an abducted girl with her abductor but to express that certain rights (that have nothing to do with marriage) have been forfeited. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that a marriage by abduction could be understood as a "wolf-marriage".

In a number of articles<sup>7)</sup> Ivanov argues that "to become a wolf" is a formula of Indo-European 'proto-legal' ancestry. This concept enables to connect the legal meaning of § 37 with references in Hittite and in other Indo-European languages that belong to a ritual sphere. In Greek, someone who has eaten human body parts for ritual purposes is said "to become a wolf". According to Ivanov (1973: 104), "both in the Hittite law and in the Greek tradition the survival of an ancient custom (the marriage by abduction or the human sacrifice) was supposed to be connected with becoming the wolf". As in Hittite the formula "to become a wolf" has no inherent connection with marriage by abduction, Ivanov's argumentation is invalid; we cannot prove a structural identity of the Greek and Hittite formulas. Of course, no one would wish to deny the fact that, in Indo-European culture, the wolf played an important role in ritual and myth. Also it is possible (though not really proven) that in Hittite texts we find traces of a wolf-cult; Ivanov (1973: 104) mentions the "wolf-men" that occur in ritual texts (cf. Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 373-375) and the reference "he cries in a wolf's

fashion" in the ritual KUB 9.31.2.12. But we have no evidence that the formula "to become a wolf" has any connection with such a cult.

The (unjustified) interpretation of the phrase "you have become a wolf" as a verdict of banishment reminds of Germanic juridical practice. Haase (1958: 34-35) explicitly refers to the Lex Salica, where banishment is expressed with "wargus sit", which is translated by Haase as "let him become a wolf". Any etymological relation between the Hittite and Germanic facts depends on the interpretation of the meaning of wargus and its cognates. The view that Germanic \*wargaz originally meant "wolf" (and secondarily "criminal") is based on the fact that in a part of the North Germanic area, this word vargr occurs in the meaning of "wolf". However, Jacoby (1974. 1976), following previous studies, convincingly showed that the meaning "wolf" for vargr is recent. Therefore there is no material basis to compare Hittite "you have become a wolf" and "wargus sit" directly. Rather, Germanic \*wargaz "criminal" etymologically belongs to Hittite hurkil "criminal act" (Puhvel 1971).

8. One might mention two more cases in which wolves are named in a context that is vaguely comparable to the context in the Hittite Laws. None of these instances can be considered to be very reliable, however.

8.1. In a kenning which dates to 900 AD, the monster Thjazi, the abductor of Idun, is called: snótar úlfr "woman's wolf" (Jacoby 1974: 120). It is possible that the kenning reflects a background that can be connected in a structural way with the situation that is treated in § 37 of the Hittite Laws, but of course there is no evidence for such a contention.

8.2. In an Armenian text we find the expression "he became a wolf" in relation with marriage customs. Among the rulings that are collected in the Armenian Canonical law, there exists a "letter of Sewant(os)". I shall discuss its date below, but in any case this letter belongs to the earliest layer (i.e. the 5th century AD) of the collection. § 9 of this document reads as follows (Akinean 1949: 77; Hakobyan 1964: 473):

"In the days of Noach there came a flood because of those who had had intercourse with the daughters of Cain. If someone has intercourse with his betrothed (xawseal) do not mingle (mi xarnëk') with him, because he became a wolf (gayl elew) and he had not his wedding blessed. And cursed be who mingles with his offspring."

The expression "he become a wolf" here seems to refer to the boy's conduct (in the sense of: "he behaved rapaciously") and to be connected



with a form of banishment from the (Christian) community. It is possible that this Armenian text reflects a background that is comparable to the situation in § 37 of the Hittite Laws. But before one can even approach a study of the possible relation of the Armenian and the Hittite text, a crucial philological problem should be solved first:

It is not clear whether the document is an originally Armenian text or a translation. A bishop Sewant (or Sewantos, Sewantes) is not otherwise known in Armenian ecclesiastical history. In fact, a name like this is found nowhere in relevant Greek or Syriac sources either. The document has the following heading in our manuscripts: "In this letter of repentance there are 14 paragraphs" (Akinean 1949: 74; Hakobyan 1964: 468). On the basis of this heading, Akinean (1949) identified the author Sewant(os) with Dionysios of Alexandria (3rd. century AD), who (as the historian Eusebius of Caesarea tells us) wrote a letter "on repentance to (the Armenian) bishop Merowžan<sup>8</sup>). Akinean's identification does not seem to have been accepted. Nevertheless, the name Sewant(os) definitely does not look Armenian, so it remains possible that the document was not originally written in Armenian. Under these circumstances it is very hazardous to compare the expression "he became a wolf" in this letter with the Hittite Laws from an etymological point of view.

9. To conclude: the arguments which were previously adduced to establish a Proto-Indo-European background for the phrase "you have become a wolf" are not valid. It is most probable that the wolf gave raise to idiomatic expressions already in Proto-Indo-European. It is quite possible that there existed an expression "to become a wolf" already at the Proto-Indo-European level. It cannot be excluded that such an expression was motivated by the rapacious conduct of the wolf. But it cannot be shown that at the Proto-Indo-European level such an expression was used in the sense in which it was used in Hittite: that it had a well defined meaning in legal language.

## NOTES

1. For a general discussion of the reading and translation of these paragraphs I refer to Imparati (1964). With regard to the textual readings I follow the communis opinio except in the case of § 37 l. 10 for which see Otten 1969: 94 and the discussion below, section 2.
2. "a" von Schuler (1982: 103). "Taken in" means either "arrested during" or (preferably) "implicated in"; cf. Starke (1977: 49).
3. Therefore, Imparati (1964: 220) is only partly right when she states that §§ 37-38 have no link with either the preceding or the following paragraphs.
4. Or n[u-kán šar-d]i-e-eš with Gueterbock 1961: 68. On sardiya- see Neu (1974: 56).
5. for the restoration of the text see Sommer-Falkenstein (1938: 75). A characterization of this decree is given by Von Schuler (1959: 441 f.).
6. Von Schuler (1959: 466 n.53): "Mein Sohn ist ein Unsohn, meine Diener sind Wölfe" is only partly correct. Gueterbock did not attempt to translate the simile in his treatment of the word pankur (1964, 103). The translation and interpretation of HAB II 46 needs reconsideration..
7. I refer specifically to Ivanov 1973; see also Gamkrelidze - Ivanov (1984: 493-497).
8. On this letter and its addressee see Chaumont (1969, 83)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akinean, N. 1949

Dionesios Alek'sandrac'i, t'ow'it' vasn apašxarowt'ean ar'  
Mehrowžan episkopos Hayoc', in: Handēs Amsōrya 63, 59-78.

Chaumont, M. 1969

Recherches sur l'histoire d'Arménie de l'avènement des sasanides à  
la conversion du royaume, Paris

Friedrich, J. 1971

Die hethitischen Gesetze, Leiden

Friedrich, J. - Kammenhuber, A. 1975 ff.

Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Zweite Auflage, Heidelberg

Gamkrelidze, T. - Ivanov, V., 1984

Indoevropskij Jazyk i Indoevropejcy, Tiflis

Gueterbock, H.G. 1964

Lexicographical Notes II, Revue Hittite et Asiatique t.22  
(fasc.74) 95-113

1961

Review of Friedrich, die hethitischen Gesetze, Journal of  
Cuneiform Studies 15, 62-78

Haase, R. 1958

Bemerkungen zu einigen Paragraphen der hethitischen Gesetzestexte,  
Archiv Orientalni 26, 28-35.

Hakobyan, V. 1964

Kanonagirk' Hayoc', Volume I., Erevan

Imparati, F. 1964

Le Leggi Ittite, Roma

Ivanov, V.V., 1973

On the Interpretation of the §37 of the Hittite Laws in the Light  
of Other Indo-European traditions, Linguistica 13, 102-110

Jacoby, M. 1974

Wargus, vargr 'Verbrecher' 'Wolf', eine sprach- und  
rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung, Uppsala

1976

Nordische Ortsnamen mit Varg- 'Wolf' 'Verbrecher' und Ulv- 'Wolf',  
Beiträge zur Namenforschung NF 11, 425-436

Neu, E. 1974

Der Anitta-Text (= Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 18), Wiesbaden

Neufeld, E. 1951

The Hittite Laws, London

Otten, H. -Souček, V. 1969,

Ein althethitisches Ritual für das Königspaar (= Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, 8), Wiesbaden

Pecchioli Daddi, F. 1982

Mestieri, Professioni e Dignità nell' Anatolia Ittita, Roma

Puhvel, J. 1971

Hittite hurkiš and hurkel, die Sprache 17, 42-45.

Sommer, F. - Falkenstein, A. 1938

Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattušili I. (Labarna II.), München

Von Schuler, E. 1959

Hethitische Königserlässe als Quellen der Rechtsfindung und ihr Verhältnis zum kodifizierten Recht, in: Festschrift J.Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet, Heidelberg, 435-472

Von Schuler, E. 1982

Rechtsbücher, in: R.Borger c.s., Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments Band I, Gütersloh, p.96- 125

Starke, F., 1977

Die Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen, (= Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 23), Wiesbaden

Watkins, C. 1970

Studies in Indo-European Legal Language, Institutions, and Mythology, in: Cardona, G. e.a., Indo-European and Indo-Europeans, pp.321-354.

# THE INDO-EUROPEAN ORIGIN OF THE GREEK METERS: ANTOINE MEILLET'S VIEWS AND THEIR RECEPTION BY EMILE BENVENISTE AND NIKOLAI TRUBETZKOY

Pierre Swiggers

*Belgian National Science Foundation*

In 1923 Antoine Meillet laid the foundations of the comparative study of Indo-European metrics. This was the second breakthrough in the history of comparative Indo-European poetics, after Adalbert Kuhn's foundation-laying work on the recurrence of fixed poetic formulae<sup>1</sup>. But whereas Kuhn's discovery related to the semantics (couched in syntagmatic frames) of Indo-European poetics, Meillet laid bare the technique of Indo-European poetic language<sup>2</sup>, and, as he noted himself, this is a crucial and firmly established component of the reconstruction of Indo-European civilization:

"Les coïncidences signalées ici, entre les types grecs et les types védiques, ne sont pas fortuites: elles sont trop complètes, trop précises dans le détail pour qu'on y voie de purs accidents, ou pour qu'on les explique toutes par le parallélisme des types linguistiques. Si les métriciens en tirent parti, ils pourront sans doute renoncer à partir des types informes et mal différenciés, arbitrairement supposés jusqu'ici (...)

On se propose ici, au contraire, de montrer que, avec les données dont la linguistique dispose actuellement, le problème admet une solution précise et que cette solution fournit à l'étude historique des mètres grecs une base solide. Le lecteur aperçoit la portée de cette conclusion: déterminer la métrique indo-européenne c'est reconnaître un élément de la civilisation indo-européenne (...)

La métrique indo-européenne aurait ainsi sa place parmi les "institutions" d'une nation dont la comparaison des langues attestées permet d'entrevoir la langue, et dont l'influence qu'elle a exercée permet, sinon de mesurer, du moins d'estimer jusqu'à un certain point le degré de culture. La poésie indo-européenne échappe nécessairement puisque le monde indo-européen commun n'a ni connu, ni sans doute voulu connaître, l'écriture. Mais les restes de sa technique en établissent l'existence et l'importance" (Meillet 1923: VII, 3 and 5).

In his *Origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs*, Meillet writes as a linguist, not as a scholar of Greek or as a specialist of

metrics, but from the very outset he makes it clear that in order to understand the nature of Greek meter, it is necessary to study it from the historical and comparative point of view. In fact Meillet was not the first to study Indo-European metrics from a comparative vantage point<sup>3</sup>. In 1860 Rudolf Westphal had published his "Zur vergleichenden Metrik der indogermanischen Völker" (Westphal 1860) and in 1887 Hermann Usener had attempted a comparative reconstruction of Greek meter (Usener 1887)<sup>4</sup>. But Meillet's perspective was very different from theirs<sup>5</sup>: in his 1923 book Meillet set forth to show how language structure and metrical structure are intertwined, while excluding from the comparative frame suprasegmental features such as pitch or tone<sup>6</sup>. His reconstruction of the Indo-European meters is based on the principle that rhythm in Indo-European poetry results from the succession of long and short syllables<sup>7</sup>, an opposition which was an intuitively functional one for those who used this system:

"Ainsi indépendant du ton, le rythme de l'indo-européen ne reposait que sur des différences de quantité entre les syllabes. La comparaison montre que toute syllabe indo-européenne avait une quantité définie, soit brève, soit longue (...) En matière de langue, ce qui importe, ce ne sont pas les quantités absolues, ce sont les oppositions. Il y a syllabe longue là où le sujet parlant sent une longue, et brève là où il sent une brève. Il ne s'agit pas ici de physique, mais d'une action à exercer sur les auditeurs" (Meillet 1923: 9).

Concentrating his comparative investigation on Vedic and Greek meters<sup>8</sup>, Meillet was able to formulate a principled reconstruction of Indo-European versification, which can be summarized as follows:

- (a) Metrical structures are based on the succession of long and short syllables; they are not linked to pitch or tone (the place of which is, in principle, indifferent to verse structure);
- (b) The syllable is the unit of rhythm;
- (c) Syllables are linked within a verse, but the treatment of the word-coda (*la fin de mot*; cf. Gauthiot 1913) serves as a signal<sup>9</sup> within the verse. More specifically, the word-coda, showing a different phonetic treatment from word-internal elements, does not structure the rhythm, but serves to articulate, through the cesura (which is a word-coda situated at a specific locus within the verse) the formal structure of the verse.

Among the main results of Meillet's study we have to mention the reconstruction of the "natural" metrical alternance ~ - in Indo-European<sup>10</sup>, flanked by a number of less frequent types: ~

~ (given the frequency of groups with two short syllables) and sequences of only long syllables<sup>11</sup> (sequences of three short syllables are avoided in Greek<sup>12</sup> and Vedic). The most "natural" alternances correspond to iambic and trochaic meters (for units consisting of three morae)<sup>13</sup> and to anapestic (~ ~ -) and dactylic (- ~ ~) meters for units of four morae.

A second important finding concerns the "liberty" of the primitive Indo-European metrical system, which appears from the particular status of the verse-initial and verse-final elements (as shown by the phenomenon of catalexis in Greek and the Vedic *triṣṭubh* verses<sup>14</sup> and by the freedom with respect to quantity of the verse-initial segments in Vedic and Greek poetry<sup>15</sup>) and from the fluctuating number of syllables in verses (between 12 and 15 in iambic trimeters; between 12 and 17 in hexameters<sup>16</sup>). In short, Meillet rejects the concept of rhythm as being uniquely determined by the decomposition into feet: the verse, not the foot is the primary unit.

"Beaucoup de métriciens semblent convaincus qu'il leur faut trouver dans tous les vers antiques des mesures exactes, comparables à celles de la musique des modernes, et qu'on n'a scandé une pièce de vers anciens que lorsqu'on a réussi à la découper en pieds de valeur égale comme on découpe en mesures, au moyen de barres, un morceau de musique. Il y a là une erreur fondamentale qui vicie notamment les deux précis français sur la matière, celui de M.L. Havet et celui de M. Masqueray. Et même des métriciens qui, comme M. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, se rendent compte de l'extrême souplesse de la rythmique grecque, ne formulent pas nettement le principe qu'il n'y a pas lieu de chercher dans un vers grec des mesures égales entre elles; pas lieu, par conséquent de vouloir découper chaque vers en pieds (...)

Si l'on fait abstraction de la régularité des pieds, il est possible de comparer le vers grec ancien au vers védique: en effet le vers védique n'est pas divisible en pieds. Il ne devient comparable au vers grec qu'à partir du moment où la théorie du vers grec n'est plus dominée par le pied" (Meillet 1923: 29-30; see also p. 35 and p. 42).

To this one can add the observation that in some types of Greek verses (viz. "short" Eolic, Alcaic and Sapphic verses) no cesura occurs, a phenomenon which is not attested in Vedic. It is interesting to note that the presence of a cesura correlates with a more "oral" brand of poetry<sup>17</sup>: it is typical of the Vedic ritual hymns and of Greek elegiac poetry.

Finally there is Meillet's demonstration of the Greek metrical innovations, on the level of both metrical laws and metrical genres. In fact, both innovations are intimately linked: the fact that in Greek (except for Eolic) poetry - contrary to Vedic - two short syllables equal a long one (  $\sim\sim = -$  ; Meillet 1923: 45) explains the appearance of the hexameter, which Meillet regards as an artificial meter:

"L'hexamètre est un vers rigide, avec un temps fort revenant à intervalles égaux. La seule liberté qu'il offre consiste en ce que le temps faible consiste indifféremment en  $\sim\sim$  ou en  $-$ . Il se trouve donc exclure la succession  $\sim -$ , qui était fréquente en grec commun et qui l'est demeurée partout en grec, là même où la proportion de brèves est restée relativement le plus élevée. Cette circonstance donne à l'hexamètre un caractère artificiel (...)"<sup>18</sup>

L'hexamètre n'est pas, comme le vers de chanson et comme le vers iambique, un mètre populaire, employé dans des genres populaires. C'est un mètre savant, manié par des spécialistes, les aèdes qui composaient des épopées, les savants qui composaient des poèmes didactiques. C'est un vers où tout est artificiel et traditionnel: le vocabulaire, plein de mots archaïques; la grammaire, où les vieilles formes se maintiennent à côté des nouvelles, et où se rencontrent des formes éoliennes à côté de formes ioniennes; le phonétisme, mêlé de formes de dates diverses et de parlers divers" (Meillet 1923: 58, 61).

The logical conclusion deriving from these facts is that the hexameter was borrowed from a non-Greek tradition. Meillet, linking form and content of Homeric poetry, situates the origin of Greek epic poetry in Asia Minor, and links it with a learned cult of poetic education. We are thus forced to attribute an Egean origin to the Homeric poems and to Greek lyric poetry:

"Mais, si profondément que les Hellènes aient nationalisé tout ce qu'ils ont emprunté, si entièrement qu'ils aient imposé leur caractère propre à tout leur art, ceci n'exclut pas que, au début, quand les Hellènes étaient encore des "barbares", les poètes qui paraient de leur art les réunions de l'aristocratie, aient reçu les leçons des poètes épiques qui participaient aux fêtes des princes égéens. Hors de la Grèce, l'épopée homérique n'a aucun pendant exact dans le monde indo-européen (...)

Les vers de la grande lyrique étaient faits pour porter une musique savante, composée en vue de chaque pièce. Ils



sont de forme différente dans chacun des poèmes (...) La grande lyrique grecque résulte d'un développement savant, parti surtout d'Asie-Mineure et où des influences non helléniques sont sans doute intervenues en une large mesure" (Meillet 1923: 62-63, 74).

Meillet's 1923 study met with a cool and sometimes even outright negative reception by Greek scholars such as G. Ipsen, O. Schroeder, P. Maas and A. Platt<sup>19</sup>, but in his perspicacious review Joseph Vendryes grasped the importance of the booklet:

"Il existe des ouvrages de grammaire comparée où la métrique est ainsi utilisée, mais il n'existe pas d'ouvrage de métrique écrit par un comparatiste. Or, M. Meillet s'est proposé de bâtir une théorie comparative de la métrique indo-européenne, d'annexer à la grammaire comparée des langues indo-européennes une province nouvelle qu'on pourrait appeler la métrique comparée. Là est la première originalité de son livre. Il n'y a pas de raison en effet - et l'on devrait s'étonner que M. Meillet ait éprouvé le besoin de s'en justifier - pour que la métrique, considérée en elle-même, ne bénéficie pas des ressources de la méthode comparative. Si elle en a été privée jusqu'ici, c'est sans doute pour la même raison qui a tenu si longtemps les philologues classiques en défiance à l'égard de la grammaire comparée, à savoir la difficulté d'acquérir la possession de disciplines spéciales très touffues pour en dégager des vues d'ensemble" (Vendryes 1923: 47-48).

To this we can add two more positive reactions. They stem from two giants in the history of linguistics, both specifically interested in language structures - as Meillet was. In a letter of August 1923<sup>20</sup>, Emile Benveniste expresses his admiration for the almost mathematical spirit and beauty of the work, for its thought-provoking conclusions, perhaps hard to accept for scholars of Greek, but extremely appealing to comparatists. Benveniste's enthusiastic reaction was preceded by an earlier epistolary appraisal: on the 18th of July, 1923 Nikolai Trubetzkoy sent a letter to Meillet, approving the latter's conclusions and adding some technical details concerning Slavic and Classical Sanskrit meters. Trubetzkoy's letter paves the way for the integration of Slavic poetics within the reconstruction, thus anticipating Jakobson's metrical studies<sup>21</sup>.

Both letters are preserved in the "Legs Meillet" (Bibliothèque du Collège de France)<sup>22</sup>, and they are published here as a tribute to the inspiring comparative work on Indo-European languages and civilization by my friend and "fellow-*Brabander*", Edgar Polomé.

## LETTER OF E. BENVENISTE TO A. MEILLET

Le 2 août [1923]

Mon cher maître,

Ce n'est pas par négligence, mais bien par conscience que j'ai tardé jusqu'ici à vous remercier de m'avoir adressé votre livre sur les Mètres grecs. Je voulais le lire attentivement et que ma lettre fût autre chose qu'un accusé de réception. Je vous en prie, mon cher maître, laissez-moi oublier à qui j'écris; passez-moi la naïveté de louer un de vos livres et de vous dire à présent - je n'oserais pas le faire de vive voix - le plaisir esthétique que procure d'abord à un esprit qui goûte vivement la beauté mathématique, cette oeuvre d'une si belle ligne, à l'architecture sobre et nue; cette pensée si ferme et si suggestive à la fois, qu'elle semble à chaque instant vous offrir des tentations de vagabondage quand elle vous enchaîne solidement; ce raisonnement lumineux, aigu, et serré, dont on n'apprécie la hardiesse que quand il vous a convaincu, et qui ne laisse que le sentiment joyeux d'un progrès sans la crainte d'une aventure. On souhaiterait presque que le livre parût aventureux aux philologues, si cette méprise pouvait les tirer de la somnolence où l'*Aperçu* les a trouvés - et laissés. Que diront-ils en lisant que l'hexamètre est d'origine étrangère, ou les vers de la grande lyrique influencés par l'Asie Mineure ? Pour moi, ces conclusions me séduisent très vivement; elles concordent si bien avec quelques observations que m'a suggérées un rapide examen des termes grecs relatifs à la musique et au rythme ! J'essaierai peut-être de pousser plus avant cette recherche, car la provenance d'un certain nombre de ces termes se laisse préciser, et mène à de curieuses constatations. Il faudrait tout de même se décider à étudier le vocabulaire de la civilisation grecque.

En ce moment, je partage tout mon temps entre diverses besognes alimentaires et mes noms sogdiens. Je pousse activement la rédaction du manuscrit et pense vous l'envoyer avant qu'il soit longtemps. Diverses difficultés arrêtent mon inexpérience: ainsi je ne sais vraiment comment classer les thèmes nominaux. On ne peut les classer ni d'après leur forme ancienne, trop lointaine, ni d'après leurs ressemblances actuelles qui sont trompeuses. C'est un fouillis que je ne sais comment organiser. En revanche je vois à peu près clair dans la question difficile des désinences. Je tâche à ajuster tout cela. Cela fera un agglomérat qui ne rappellera en rien le

premier volume (dont je vous ai envoyé hier un compte rendu). Je profite de ma copie du Sutra, que j'ai remis à M. Pelliot, il y a quelque temps, après une ultime et fructueuse révision. Le commentaire est assez bref et se borne à signaler les difficultés d'interprétation et quelques étymologies nouvelles.

Je compte rédiger, au premier instant de loisir, deux ou trois notes sur des questions de paléographie ou de phonétique sogdiennes. Je songe aussi à un article sur la publication de Rosenberg. Je l'ai regardée de près; il y a beaucoup à rectifier et beaucoup de neuf à ajouter. Tant d'autres projets encore !

Mon ami Renou est en Bretagne, et se débat entre ses parfaits védiques qui se dérobent à son étreinte, me dit-il; mais je n'en crois rien: il a eu des victoires plus difficiles.

Laissez-moi vous dire merci encore une fois, mon cher maître, et vous assurer de ma reconnaissance et de mon dévouement respectueux,

Emile Benveniste

P.S. Au moment de fermer cette lettre, je reçois le mot de Marouzeau que vous avez la bonté de me transmettre, annoté de votre main. J'accepte immédiatement sa proposition.

E.B.

#### LETTER OF N. TRUBETZKOY TO A. MEILLET

18/VII 1923

Cher Collègue!

Je vous remercie chaleureusement pour l'aimable envoi de votre étude sur "Les origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs". Vos idées sont lumineusement convaincantes. J'ai lu votre livre avec d'autant plus d'intérêt et de plaisir que tout ce dernier temps j'avais beaucoup réfléchi sur différents problèmes de la métrique slave, et que les résultats de mes réflexions s'accordent parfaitement avec vos vues sur ce sujet. Il me semble seulement que l'élimination du principe quantitatif (ou, plutôt, l'extension sur le vers entier de la liberté métrique, limitée primitivement au début du vers) a été amenée en slave-commun par le fait que le système phonétique slave comportait non plus deux mais trois

degrés de quantité (a, u, y, i, ě - o, e - ѳ, ѵ), ce qui devait bouleverser tout le rythme de la langue. Quoi qu'il en soit, cette élimination totale du principe quantitatif a été le fait fondamental de la réforme métrique du slave-commun. Toutes les autres particularités de la métrique slave n'en sont que des conséquences. En détruisant les anciennes règles quantitatives le slave-commun était obligé, - pour maintenir la régularité métrique, - de régler plus sévèrement l'usage de la coupe: si la coupe du trištubh et du jagati flotte entre la 4<sup>me</sup> et la 5<sup>me</sup> syllabe, la coupe des mètres slaves a toujours une place fixe. Mais il est remarquable que dans les mètres communs à tous les Slaves (Serbes, Bulgares, Tchèques, Slovaques, Polonais et Petits-Russes) la coupe tombe toujours après la 4<sup>me</sup> (4+3, 4+4, 4+6) ou après la 5<sup>me</sup> syllabe (5+3, 5+5). Les vers coupés après la 3<sup>me</sup> ou après la 6<sup>me</sup> syllabe ne sont connues que dans le folc-lore polonais et petit-russe et même là ne joue pas un rôle important. En védique, où la coupe ne joue qu'un rôle secondaire et où le principe quantitatif constitue l'essence du rythme, il y avait des mètres à 8 syllabes sans coupe obligatoire. En slave-commun, où la coupe était le seul instrument métrique, des mètres de ce genre sont devenus impossibles, et il en résulte la règle générale que non seulement un vers, mais chaque segment métrique dépassant 6 syllabes doit avoir au moins une coupe obligatoire. Et comme la première coupe tombe toujours après la quatrième ou après la cinquième syllabe, un vers de 12 syllabes doit avoir au moins 2 coupes (4+4+4, 4+3+5, 5+3+4 etc.). - Tout cela n'est que la conséquence de l'élimination du principe quantitatif. - Parmi les mètres qu'on peut avec beaucoup de certitude attribuer au slave-commun, les mètres 4+3, 4+4, 5+3, 4+4+3, 4+4+4 et 4+3+5 peuvent donc remonter directement à des mètres indo-européens. Il est plus difficile d'affirmer la même chose pour les mètres 4+6 et 5+5: tous deux sont slaves-communs (4+6 apparaît déjà dans la Chronique de Nestor: rusi jestī /veselije piti - ne možemŭ /bezŭ togo byti - réponse de St Vladimir aux Bulgares qui cherchent à le convertir à l'Islam); mais ni en grec ni en védique les vers de 10 syllabes ne jouent un rôle important (la dvipad-viraĵ est plutôt un mètre de 5 syllabes).

Je ne me suis jamais occupé de la métrique grecque, et je ne me sens pas autorisé à émettre quelque opinion à ce sujet. Il me semble que certains traits de l'évolution que vous supposez pour le grec auraient pu être illustrées par des parallèles indiens. La métrique du sanskrit classique manifeste la même tendance à éliminer la liberté primitive et à généraliser certaines combinaisons métriques en fixant la quantité de toutes les syllabes du vers. Les mètres galinī (----/ - ~--~--), vatōrmī (~---~--~--), indravaĵrā (~--~--~--/ ~--~--~--) etc. ne sont que des généralisations de différentes

combinaisons possibles du triṣṭubh védique: le mètre vaṃgasthā (˘-˘-˘-˘-˘-) est un jagatī normalisé. Parfois deux combinaisons du même mètre se contaminent: le mètre vasantatilaka (-˘-˘-˘-˘-˘-) est sans doute la contamination des combinaisons "triṣṭubhiques" --˘-˘-˘-˘- et --˘-˘-˘-˘-. On aperçoit la tendance à remanier les anciens schèmes de manière à obtenir des mètres composés de "pieds" égaux: ainsi la drutavilambitā (˘, ˘˘-, ˘˘-, ˘˘-, ˘-) est un remaniement du jagatī et le mètre -˘˘, -˘˘, -˘˘, -- (son nom indien a échappé à ma mémoire) un remaniement du jagatī. Sous l'influence des chansons populaires on arrive à la notion de la "résolution" des longues. C'est par une "résolution" que la vaṃgasthā (˘-˘-˘-˘-˘-) se transforme en ručira (˘-˘-˘˘˘-˘-). Enfin, les mètres dits "prākṛtāḥ" (par exemple le gāthā ou āryā) présentent l'égalité ˘˘˘˘ = -- comparable à l'égalité ˘˘ = - du grec, à ceci près que dans certaines parties du vers ˘˘˘˘ peut être remplacé non seulement par --, -˘˘ et ˘˘-, mais même par ˘-˘. Et comme ces mètres ne se laissent pas rattacher aux mètres védiques et qu'ils figurent surtout dans des chansons prakrites, chantées dans les classes inférieures, on est tenté de soupçonner ici aussi une influence étrangère (dravidienne ?), tout comme pour l'hexamètre grec.

A propos de l'hexamètre, il me vient à la mémoire que la seule inscription cohérente qu'on ait trouvée jusqu'à présent en langue thrace est rédigée en hexamètre: le fait que ce mètre était employé non seulement par les Grecs, mais aussi par d'autres peuples du bassin de la Mer Egée appuie votre hypothèse sur son origine étrangère. Du reste, votre démonstration est lumineusement convaincante sans ça.

Je vous remercie encore une fois, cher Collègue, pour le grand plaisir que vous m'avez procuré par l'envoi de votre intéressante étude.

Votre très sincèrement dévoué

Prince N. Troubetzkoy

P.S.: Après une lutte longue et acharnée je suis enfin en possession (cette fois-ci définitive, je l'espère !) d'un logement à Vienne. Mon adresse est: Dorotheerstrasse 12<sup>III</sup> (Wien I).

N.T.

## NOTES

1. See Kuhn (1859, 1864). Kuhn's work on poetic formulae was taken up by generations of scholars; for a selection of work in this field, see the anthology edited by Schmitt (1968). The most extensive treatment of the topic is Schmitt (1967). See also Herzenberg (1974).
2. For a synthesis of both types of investigation, see Nagy (1974).
3. For a penetrating study of Meillet's work on Indo-European poetry, in its relation to earlier and later work, see Bader (1988).
4. On Usener's metrical work, see Campanile (1982).
5. Meillet's approach radically differs from well-known treatments of Greek metric such as Chaignet (1887), Masqueray (1899), Goodell (1901), and Maas (1923). It also differs from the views adopted by Meillet in his earlier studies on Indo-European metrics, viz. Meillet (1897, 1913, 1920a,b). The study of 1897 is reused in the *Origines* (1923: 33-35) with respect to the analysis of the cesura.
6. Meillet (1923: 8-9): "Il est naturel que, dans les deux langues où le ton indo-européen a conservé son caractère et, au moins en principe, sa place, le védique et le grec ancien, le ton ne joue dans le vers aucun rôle: la répartition des syllabes toniques et atones est indifférente dans le vers védique comme dans le vers grec ancien. Des langues où la place ancienne du ton est maintenue en quelque mesure, mais où le ton tend à se lier à des variations de durée et d'intensité, ne se prêtent donc pas à conserver la métrique indo-européenne. Tel est le cas de la métrique romane ou grecque byzantine (dans la mesure où elle se fonde sur l'état de langue de l'époque des auteurs). Et tel est aussi le cas du balte et du slave, langues tardivement attestées, et où, tout en gardant une élévation caractéristique de la voix, les syllabes toniques tendent à s'accompagner de longueur et d'intensité". On the correlation between language structures and metrical rules, see Meillet (1923: 7-8).
7. For Greek this had been shown already by Goodell (1901).
8. Of these two, the Greek testimony is the most valuable given the variety of genres and dialects used in Greek poetry (see Meillet 1923: chapters IV and V). An important difference between Greek and Vedic is the almost complete absence of dactylic and anapestic

meters in the latter (Meillet 1923: 46-47, 72-73). Meillet (1923: 12-13) excludes Baltic and Slavic (where tone determines length), Germanic and Celtic (where verse structure is based on pitch accent, always affecting the same syllable), as well as Armenian and Tokharian (for which no useful data are available). As to Latin, Meillet points out that only the Saturnian verse is original, but it differs from the Indo-European type by the special value conferred to initial syllables (thus giving way to alliteration games for purely formal concerns; cf. Naevius: *eorum sectam sequuntur multi mortales*; Ennius: *o Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulusti*). Iranian verse structure is closer to the original Indo-European type, but has lost the distinction between short and long vowels in the word-coda. For attempts to integrate Celtic and Latin within the framework outlined by Meillet, see Watkins (1963) and Cole (1969; see also Meillet 1923: 77).

9. In a way Meillet anticipates here the notion of "juncture", as developed in Harris (1951: chapters 12 and 14).

10. See especially Meillet (1923: 19-23).

11. This is due to the frequency of closed syllables in Indo-European.

12. See Saussure's observations (1922: 464-466), based on comparatives such as σοφώτερος, φίλτερος, and forms such as ἐκατέρωθεν and ἐκάτερθεν (\*ἐκατεροθεν).

13. As noted by Meillet, the distinction between the iambic and trochaic types is a Greek innovation, not found in Vedic (which has a basically iambic meter): "Etant donné que le grec a des traces de la liberté des syllabes initiales, la constitution de mètres où les pieds purs alternent avec des pieds impurs résulte d'une innovation grecque. La distinction de deux types parallèles, l'un iambique, l'autre trochaïque, en a été une conséquence nécessaire" (Meillet 1923: 55; see also p. 56).

14. The Vedic *triṣṭubh* can be seen as an extension of the liberty of *la fin de mot* in verse-final position (with - ˘ corresponding to the jagatī - ˘ ˘): this corresponds exactly to the difference between catalectic and acatalectic verses in Greek.

15. See Meillet (1923: 39-40, 52, 64). In fact, the freedom extends to the part of the verse before the cesura (cf. Meillet 1923: 37). As Bader (1988: 110-111) observes, Meillet did not expand these ideas into a theory concerning the status of verse-initial elements



(the problem of acephalous verses is briefly touched upon by Meillet 1923: 64-65).

16. See Meillet (1923: 27-33, 51).

17. Meillet did not explore this path (1923: 47), but a number of hints can be found in his book: see, e.g., p. 31, 39 (concerning the freedom with respect to quantity of verse-initial elements), 40, 42 (on the transitions between prose and verse), and 54.

18. This was also noted by Meister (1921: 56, 231), who also pointed out the non-Greek origin of classical Greek metrical and musical terms (cf. Meillet 1923: 60-61 note 1, and see Benveniste's letter below).

19. See Ipsen (1924-25), Schroeder (1924), Maas (1924) and Platt (1924).

In his third edition of the *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1930) Meillet inserted the following justification of his attempt: "Sans doute les hellénistes sont, pour la plupart, restés sceptiques vis-à-vis des conclusions de cet ouvrage; mais je crois y avoir appliqué correctement les méthodes de la grammaire comparée et les principes de la rythmique" (p. XVII).

20. In this letter Benveniste refers to his own work on Sogdian, more specifically to his contribution to the edition of the "Sutra of Causes and Effects", and to his descriptive studies of Sogdian grammar: Gauthiot-Pelliot (1926-1928), Benveniste (1927; the first part of this article is devoted to a problem of Sogdian orthography, the second to problems of phonetics) and Benveniste (1929). The review referred to in the letter is Benveniste (1923). The publication by Rosenberg referred to here is an edition and study of two Sogdian fragments, reviewed by Meillet in the *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 24:2, 1923, p. 43.

On Emile Benveniste's colleague and friend Louis Renou, see the obituary by Benveniste (1967).

21. See Jakobson (1952); p. 66 contains the edition of a letter of Meillet to Jakobson, dated 25 December 1929, where one reads: "Je suis bien heureux de voir que vous apercevez le moyen de relier le mètre de la chanson baltique et slave aux mètres indo-européens. J'avais bien l'instinct que la question se pose. Mais, faute de travaux préparatoires, je n'ai pu y toucher".

I have tacitly corrected orthographic and grammatical errors in Trubetzkoy's letter.

22. I would like to thank Prof. Y. Laporte (Administrateur-général du *Collège de France*), Prof. G. Fussman (Secrétaire de la *Commission du Legs Meillet*) and Dr. G. Duverdier (Librarian) for allowing me to consult and to publish this correspondence: Prof. Françoise Bader (*Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*) deserves special thanks for her friendly encouragement.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bader, F. 1988. "Meillet et la poésie indo-européenne". *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* 42. 97-125.
- Benveniste, E. 1923. review of R. Gauthiot, *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*. Vol. I: *Phonétique* (Paris, 1914-1923). *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 24:2. 38-43.
- Benveniste, E. 1927. "Notes sogdiennes". *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 23. 123-132.
- Benveniste, E. 1929. *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*. Vol. II: *Morphologie, syntaxe et glossaire*. Paris.
- Benveniste, E. 1967. "Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Louis Renou". *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1966, 395-401.
- Campanile, E. 1982. "La metrica comparativa di Hermann Usener". G. Arrighetti et al., *Aspetti di Hermann Usener filologo della Religione*, Pisa, 137-145.
- Chaignet, A. 1887. *Essais de métrique grecque*. Paris.
- Cole, Th. 1969. "The Saturnian Verse". *Yale Classical Studies* 21. 3-73.
- Gauthiot, R. 1913. *La fin de mot en indo-européen*. Paris.
- Gauthiot, R. - P. Pelliot (with the collaboration of E. Benveniste). 1926-1928. *Sutra des Causes et des Effets*. Vol. II: *Transcription, traduction et index*. Paris.
- Goodell, Th. D. 1901. *Chapters on Greek Metric*. New York.
- Harris, Z. S. 1951. *Methods in Structural Linguistics*. Chicago.
- Herzenberg, M. 1974. "Zur Rekonstruktion indogermanischer Formeln". *Antiquitates Indogermanicae. Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert*, Innsbruck. 93-99.

Ipsen, G. 1924-25 [1926]. review of Meillet 1923. *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch* 10. 58-59.

Jakobson, R. 1952. "Studies in Comparative Slavic Metrics". *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 3. 21-66.

Kuhn, A. 1859. *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertrankes*. Berlin.

Kuhn, A. 1864. "Indische und germanische segenssprüche". *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 13. 49-63.

Maas, P. 1923. *Griechische Metrik*. Leipzig.

Maas, P. 1924. review of Meillet 1923. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 45. 517-519.

Masqueray, F. 1899. *Traité de métrique grecque*. Paris.

Meillet, A. 1897. "De la partie commune des Pādas de onze et douze syllabes dans le Maṇḍala III du Rgveda". *Journal asiatique* ser. 9. 266-300.

Meillet, A. 1913. *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*. Paris.

Meillet, A. 1920a. "Métrique éolienne et métrique védique". *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 22. 16-17.

Meillet, A. 1920b. "Sur le rythme quantitatif de la langue védique". *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 21. 193-207.

Meillet, A. 1923. *Les origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs*. Paris.

Meister, K. 1921. *Die homerische Kunstsprache*. Leipzig.

Nagy, G. 1974. *Comparative Studies on Greek and Indic Meter*. Cambridge (Mass.).

Platt, A. 1924. review of Meillet 1923. *The Classical Review* 38. 20-22.

Saussure, Ferdinand de. 1922. *Recueil des publications scientifiques*. Genève.

Schmitt, R. 1967. *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit*. Wiesbaden.

Schmitt, R. (ed.) 1968. *Indogermanische Dichtersprache*. Darmstadt.

Schroeder, O. 1924. review of Meillet 1923. *Philologische Wochenschrift* 44. 351-355.

Usener, H. 1887. *Altgriechischer Versbau, ein Versuch vergleichender Metrik*. Bonn.

Vendryes, J. 1923. review of Meillet 1923. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 24: 2. 47-50.

Watkins, C. 1963. "Indo-European Metrics and Archaic Irish Verse". *Celtica* 6. 194-249.

Westphal, R. 1860. "Zur vergleichenden metrik der indogermanischer völker". *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 9. 437-458.

## "AS RARE AS FIG-FLOWERS"

K.R. Norman  
*University of Cambridge*

In his examination of the growth habits of the many fig species called by the botanist "strangling figs", Emeneau (1949, p. 345) pointed out that the species of the genus *Ficus* possess the peculiarity that the inflorescence is in the form of crowded compact clusters of flowers placed inside a fleshy stalk, and pollination is effected by fig wasps that develop from eggs laid in the gallflowers, one of the three types of flowers found in the inflorescence. He noted that these propagative arrangements seem not to have been understood by the Hindus. He listed a number of references in Indian literature to the growth habits of various species of fig tree but, since his paper was concerned mainly with the strangling figs, he did not discuss the references to fig-flowers as a symbol of rarity.

In a paper published many years ago (Norman, 1966, p. 76), I commented upon the inclusion of the word *umbara-uppha* ("flower of the *udumbara* tree [= *Ficus racemosa* (Linn.), *F. glomerata* (Roxb.)])" with the meaning "unreal fortune (*abhūtābhuyadayaḥ*)" in the Prakrit lexicon *Deśināmāṇī* (I.119), and I pointed out that this was a reference to the apparent failure of the tree to produce flowers. I expressed at that time a hope that I might be able to deal at greater length with some of the references in Indian literature to this botanical feature. I should like in this short paper, offered in honour of Edgar Polomé, to return to the subject.

The simile of the fig-flower to illustrate rarity is not uncommon in Indian literature.<sup>1</sup> We find in the Pāli canon, in verse 5 of the *Sutta-nipāta*, the statement: *yo nājjhagamā bhavesu sāraṃ vicinaṃ pupphaṃ iva udumbaresu so bhikkhu ...*; "That *bhikkhu* who has not found any essence in existences, as one searching among fig-trees does not find a flower ...".<sup>2</sup> The *Sutta-nipāta* commentary<sup>3</sup> states: *yathā udumbara-rukkhesu pupphaṃ vicinanto esa brāhmaṇo nājjhagamā, evaṃ ...*; "Just as that brahman searching for a flower on fig-trees does not find one, in just the same way ...".

It occurs elsewhere in Pāli at *Vimānavatthu* 50.16 (*dullabhāyaṃ dassanāya pupphaṃ udumbaraṃ yathā*; "It was a chance as rare to see as an *udumbara* flower"<sup>4</sup>), where the *Vimānavatthu* commentary<sup>5</sup> explains: *yathā nāma udumbare bhavaṃ pupphaṃ dullabhadassanaṃ kadācid eva bhaveyya, evaṃ ...*; and at *Apadāna* 418,26 (*odumbarakapupphaṃ va ... dullabhaṃ loka-nāyakaṃ*; "A leader of the world is as

hard to obtain as an *udumbara* flower"), where the *Apadāna* commentary<sup>6</sup> explains: *udumbarikapuppham vā ti udumbararukkhe puppham dullabham dullabhuppattikam* iva ("As hard to obtain, as difficult to arise, as a flower on the *udumbara* tree").

It is also found in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit: *tadyathā mahārāja audumbarapuṣpam kadācit karhicil loke utpadyate* ("even as the fig blossoms rarely and at some places, so on rare occasions, and at certain places ... adorable Buddhas are produced on this earth",<sup>7</sup> *Lalita-vistara*, ed. Mitra 119,21 = ed. Lefmann 105,1); *durlabhadarśanā hi vatsa tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksambuddhāḥ tadyathā audumbarapuṣpam* (*Divyāvadāna* 19,14); *udumbarasya yathā puṣpam dullabham kadācid utpadyati loke* ("As the blossom of the glomerous fig-tree but rarely is found appearing in the world ... so is it with the appearance of glorious Buddhas and Tathāgatas",<sup>8</sup> *Mahāvastu* I 233,19); *audumbaram iva kusumam na hi sulabhadarśanā sambuddhāḥ* ("It is no easier to win sight of the Buddhas ... , than it is to see the flower of the glomerous fig-tree",<sup>9</sup> *Mahāvastu* I 270,3); *udumbarasya yatha puṣpa jātaṁ varṇopatetaṁ suruciraṁ mmaṁjugandham tathaite buddhā* ... ("As the beautiful, bright and sweet-smelling flower but rarely grows on the glomerous fig-tree, so these Buddhas ... only appear ... ",<sup>10</sup> *Mahāvastu* II 330,13); *puṣpam iva udumbaram vane buddhā utpadyanti* ("Buddhas appear as rarely as the flower of the glomerous fig-tree in the forest",<sup>11</sup> *Mahāvastu* III 62,3); *yo nādhyaḡamad bhayeṣu sāram buddhvā puṣpam udumbarasya yadvat* ("Who, having considered, has not found any essence in existences, as one does not find a flower of the *udumbara* tree", *Udāna-varga* XVIII.21); *audumbaram puṣpam ivātīdurlabham* ("How endless is the Buddha's sphere, difficult to obtain as is the flower of the *udumbara* tree",<sup>12</sup> *Suvarṇabhāṣottara Sūtra* 247); *samyaksambuddhā loke utpadyante tadyathā udumbarapuṣpam* ("Tathāgatas, Arhats, perfectly enlightened beings, who are as rare as an *Udumbara*-flower",<sup>13</sup> *Catuspariṣatsūtra* 8.6).

A comparable phrase is also used by the Jains: *udumbara-puppham iva dullahe* ("As hard to obtain as the flower of the *udumbara* tree", *Nāyādhammakahāo* I.1.2814; I.1.3115; *Bhagavāi* 9.3316; *Rāyapaseṇaiya* 6117). As noted above, the compound *umbara-uppha* is quoted in the *Deśināmanālā*. Its inclusion in that lexicon of *deśi* (i.e. non-Sanskritic) words is presumably because, although the component parts of the compound are not *deśi* words, the corresponding compound (\**udumbara-puṣpa*) does not occur in Sanskrit. A similar comparison to fig-flowers is also made in brahmanical Sanskrit, cf. *audumbarāṇi puṣpāni śvetavarṇam ca vāyasam matsyapādam jale paśyen na nārīhrdayasthitam* ("One might see *udumbara* flowers, or a white crow or a fish's footprint in water, but not what stands in a woman's heart", *Indische Sprüche*, 7490).

The phenomenon is referred to in the modern languages of India. Mitra quotes (1881-86, p. 169 n. 48) the Bengali saying: *tumi ḍumur phul haiyacha* "you are become a fig flower", used of friends who have not been seen for a long time, and the phrase *umbarāceṃ phūla* occurs in Marathi, with a similar meaning.<sup>18</sup> Literary references to the peculiar flowering habits of the fig tree are not limited to Indian literature. R.M. Rilke also refers to this phenomenon in his *Duino Elegies* (6.2).<sup>19</sup> He says:

Feigenbaum, seit wie lange schon ists mir bedeutend,  
wie du die Blüte beinah ganz überschlägst  
und hinein in die zeitig entschlossene Frucht,  
ungerühmt, drängst dein reines Geheimnis.

"Fig tree, how long it has impressed me, that you almost pass over blossoming, and into the promptly revealed fruit, unglorified, pack your unbroken secret".<sup>20</sup> Here, however, the point of the reference is rather to make use of the fig-tree as a symbol for nearly instantaneous fruitfulness. Because of the way that the flowers are concealed inside the fruit case, and are pollinated by insects penetrating into it, the fig tree appears to spring directly into fruitfulness without the intermediate flowering stage.

It is to be noted that the original force of the simile was to emphasise the impossibility of something happening, as can be seen from the verse quoted from *Indische Sprüche* above, and also from the similes found in Pāli in conjunction with the fig-flower simile, e.g. *candamhi sasakaṃ yathā, vāyasānaṃ yathā khīraṃ* ("like the hare in the moon, like crows' milk") in the *Apadāna*. As the *Apadāna* commentary<sup>21</sup> states: *candamaṇḍale sasalekhā sasariṇaṃ dullabham iva* ("As difficult to get as the mark or form of the hare<sup>22</sup> on the circle of the moon"). It also occurs in a list of non-existent things given by the Pāli grammarian Aggavaṃsa: *sasavisāṇaṃ tiṭṭhati, udumbara-pupphaṃ vikaṣati, vañjhāputto dhāvati* ("The hare's horn stands up; the *udumbara* flower blooms; the barren woman's son runs", *Saddanīti* 691,31). Nevertheless, in its most common usage in Buddhist literature — as an indication of the rarity of the appearance of a Buddha — there is a change of emphasis. The simile is used to illustrate something that did occur, but very rarely. The point was not that there were never Buddhas, but that they were exceedingly rare. The same developed implication is also seen in the usage in the modern languages.

The basis of all these comparisons and statements is the apparent failure of the glomerate fig, and indeed all figs, to produce flowers, a phenomenon recognised by its



descriptions in Sanskrit as *apuṣpa* "not flowering" and *apuṣpaphala(da)* "bearing fruit without flowering" (Monier-Williams, 1899, s.vv.). Miss Horner (1974, p. 99 n. 4) refers, without naming her source, to a Hindu legend that the gods are said to gather on the tree on Dīpāvalī night and pluck all the flowers, which is presumably an attempt to explain why they do not appear on the tree. Mitra (1881-86, p. 169 n. 48) refers to "a universal belief among the Hindus that the fig never blossoms, except on very rare occasions, and that whoever is fortunate enough to behold the blossom becomes a king". He suggests that the flowers might become visible, in abnormal cases, if the fleshy stalk remained unclosed for a time, but he expressed himself uncertain about such an abnormal case ever happening. The use of the simile clearly arises from the fact that, as Emeneau states, the Indians seem not to have understood that the flowers are inside the fig, and consequently they believed that fig trees, unlike other trees, fruited without flowering.

#### References

- Böhtlingk, O., 1870-73, *Indische Sprüche*, Vols I-III, St Petersburg.
- Boney, Elaine E., 1975, *Rainer Maria Rilke: Duinesian Elegies*, University of N. Carolina Press.
- Emeneau, M.B., 1949, "The strangling figs in Sanskrit literature", *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, Vol. 13, No. 10, pp. 345-70.
- Emmerick, R.E., 1970, *The Sūtra of Golden Light*, London.
- Horner, I.B., 1974, *Vimānavatthu: Stories of the Mansions*, *Minor Anthologies of the Canon*, Part IV, London.
- Jones, J.J., 1949-56, *The Mahāvastu*, Vols I-III, London.
- Kloppennborg, R., 1973, *The Sūtra on the foundation of the Buddhist Order*, Leiden.
- Mitra, Rajendralala, 1881-86, *Lalita Vistara* (translation of *Lalita Vistara*, chapters I-XV).
- Molesworth, J.T., 1857, *A Dictionary, Marāṭhī and English*, 2nd edition, Bombay.
- Monier-Williams, Sir Monier, 1899, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford.
- Norman, K.R., 1966, "Notes on some deśī words", *Indian Linguistics* 27, pp. 74-78.
- —, 1984, *The Group of Discourses (Sutta-nipāta)*, Vol. I, London.
- Phūlchandji, Mahārāj, 1953-54, *Suttāgame*, Vols I-II, Gurgaon.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Pāli texts are quoted from the Pali Text Society editions. Other texts: *Divyāvadāna* (ed. E.B. Cowell & R.A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886); *Mahāvastu* (ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1882-97); *Udāna-varga* (ed. F. Bernhard, Göttingen, 1965); *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (ed. E. Waldschmidt, Berlin, 1952-62); *Lalita-vistara* (ed. R. Mitra, Calcutta, 1877; S. Lefmann, Halle a. S., 1902); *Suvarṇabhāṣottama Sūtra* (ed. J. Nobel, Leipzig, 1937); *Deśināma-mālā* (ed. R. Pischel, 2nd edition by P.V. Ramanujaswami, Bombay, 1938); *Nāyādharmakahāṇo* (ed. N.V. Vaidya, Poona, 1940); *Bhagavāi; Rāyapaseṇaiyaṃ*.

<sup>2</sup> Norman, 1984, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Paramatthajotikā* II 19,30.

<sup>4</sup> Horner, 1974, p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* 213,28.

<sup>6</sup> *Visuddhajanavilāsini* 488,13.

<sup>7</sup> Mitra, 1881-86, p. 142.

<sup>8</sup> Jones, 1949, p. 190.

<sup>9</sup> Jones, 1949, p. 224.

<sup>10</sup> Jones, 1952, p. 306.

<sup>11</sup> Jones, 1956, p. 63.

<sup>12</sup> Emmerick, 1970, p. 100.

<sup>13</sup> Kloppenborg, 1973, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> = Phülchandji, 1953, p. 960,19.

<sup>15</sup> = Phülchandji, 1953, p. 966,1.

<sup>16</sup> = Phülchandji, 1953, p. 600,9.

<sup>17</sup> = Phülchandji, 1954, p. 87,2.

<sup>18</sup> See *Mahārāṣṭraśabdakośa*, Poona 1932, s.v. *uṃbara*, where it is explained as: *duṣprāpya durmiḥ vastu* ("Something hard to obtain, hard to meet with"). Molesworth (s.v. *uṃbarāceṃ phūla*) says of the phrase: "used of a person of whom we are but seldom favored with the sight; an *angel-visitor*".

<sup>19</sup> Information from Professor R.A. Wisbey, Professor of German at King's College London.

<sup>20</sup> Boney, 1975, p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> *Visuddhajanavilāsini* 488,14.

<sup>22</sup> The Indian convention is to see a hare (*sasa*) or antelope (*miga*) on the face of the moon, rather than a man.

## REGLES D'ECHANGE, VOEUX MONASTIQUES ET TRIPARTITION FONCTIONNELLE

Guy Jucquois  
*Université de Louvain*

Ce fut la trouvaille géniale de Claude LEVI-STRAUSS de concevoir toute forme de vie sociale sous l'angle de la communication et de l'échange. Les règles qui président, dans toute société, aux différentes formes que celui-ci peut prendre structurent apparemment toutes les relations humaines. Pourtant, l'Occident a tenté, à travers le dépouillement religieux de la vie monastique, de s'y soustraire. Le christianisme, en effet, a inventé trois voeux correspondant, me semble-t-il, terme à terme aux trois modalités de l'échange. Qu'il me soit permis d'exposer cette thèse en hommage à Edgar C. POLOME, en pointant simplement que c'est dans le Moyen Age occidental, dans un monde où l'héritage indo-européen de la tripartition fonctionnelle a été mis en évidence récemment, que les trois voeux monastiques se sont constitués en un tout solidaire...

\*        \*

\*

### 1. Les règles fondatrices du groupe.

#### 1.1. Groupe, relations et règles.

Le groupe constitue une unité sociale, intégrée et structurée. Il ne se différencie de l'agrégat que par le fait que s'y vivent diverses relations spécifiques. Les membres du groupe adhèrent aux règles qui régissent ces relations: ils acceptent des normes ou des valeurs communes, ils participent à un même système d'activités et ils adoptent un même mode de communication.

Dans la mesure où on considère le groupe social comme une entité réelle ayant une existence propre, il faut en préciser les limites et les contours. La typologie définit ainsi, d'après le critère de l'extension, des groupes dits primaires et, à l'opposé, des groupes sociaux se confondant avec des sociétés globales (BALANDIER. 1978. 56).

Il est clair que, plus les dimensions du groupe seront étroites, plus également les rapports seront directs entre les membres, ce que renforceront encore un bas degré de spécialisation et une praxis commune. La simplicité relative de la structure du groupe social, liée, de manière probable, à la complexité de la société globale, accentue la conscience d'appartenance, mais diminue aussi, dans une même proportion, la capacité de ce groupe à résister aux tensions internes qui peuvent survenir.

D'autre part, c'est par la conformité aux règles et par la conscience qui en découle que chacun des membres peut se prononcer, pour lui-même et pour les autres, sur l'appartenance ou non à tel groupe. L'adhésion n'est cependant jamais totale ou absolue, "la possibilité de la déviance est inscrite dans la nature même du processus au terme duquel la conformité est tant bien que mal assurée" (BOURRI-CAUD. 1978. 870). Cette dernière sera donc appréciée en termes de degrés.

### 1.2. Règles d'inclusion, règles d'exclusion.

La question se pose toujours, tant pour les membres d'un groupe que pour ceux qui ne le sont pas ou

plus, comment devient-on et reste-t-on membre ou comment cesse-t-on de l'être ?

Dans les groupes primaires, l'opposition est forte entre ce qui est intérieur au groupe ("in group") et ce qui lui est extérieur ("out group") ou entre le "Nous" inclusif et le "Ils" exclusif. C'est selon le même principe d'inclusion vs. exclusion que fonctionnent les groupes à statut particulier ou les groupes spécialisés. Parmi ceux-ci, il est une forme d'opposition qui revêt ici une importance primordiale, puisqu'elle recoupe une opposition naturelle et biologique, celle qui existe entre sexes, et qui s'exprime toujours en termes de culture et de rapports sociaux.

Cette opposition des sexes se traduit souvent par l'existence de groupes spécialisés dont l'entrée se mérite et s'obtient à travers une initiation. L'opposition, parfois très marquée, n'exclut pas la coopération, elle aussi, souvent soigneusement élaborée à travers les règles sociales.

Somme toute, les groupes sociaux aux règles d'inclusion vs. exclusion claires et explicites ne se distinguent-ils pas de toute autre situation mettant en présence des êtres humains, si ce n'est pas par la précision, l'insistance, l'univocité et l'arbitraire de règles d'échange dont l'existence est constitutive de toute vie collective. En effet, comme le rappelle opportunément Jacques LACAN, "être négocié n'est pas, pour un sujet humain, une situation rare..., chacun, à tout instant et à tous les niveaux, est négociable, puisque ce que nous livre toute appréhension un peu sérieuse de la structure sociale est l'échange" (LACAN. 1973. 10). L'approche de la structure élémentaire de toute vie sociale renvoie donc inéluctablement à envisager les règles constitutives du groupe comme étant, par nature, réciproques et obligatoires.

1.3. Les règles d'échange des biens, des personnes et des paroles.

Claude LEVI-STRAUSS, dans un texte célèbre et véritablement fondateur, rappelle que, sans réduire la société ou la culture à la langue, on peut néanmoins "interpréter la société, dans son ensemble, en fonction d'une théorie de la communication" (1958. 95). En effet, précise-t-il, "les règles de la parenté et du mariage servent à assurer la communication des femmes entre les groupes, comme les règles économiques servent à assurer la communication des biens et des services, et les règles linguistique, la communication des messages".

En réalité, il vaudrait mieux parler de "circulation" que d'"échange", ou plus exactement il apparaît aisément, quel que soient les termes utilisés, qu'aucun n'est et ne peut être réellement adéquat. En effet, rien n'est véritablement "échangé", bien que la réciprocité soit pourtant obligatoire; rien non plus ne "circule" simplement puisque ce qui éventuellement revient n'est jamais absolument identique à ce qui est parti; rien enfin n'est réellement "communiqué", non seulement parce que la mise en "commun", fût-elle possible et réalisée en apparence, serait intrinsèquement autre chose, mais aussi parce que ce qui est reçu est, de ce fait, toujours autre chose que ce qui fut donné.

Des situations particulières servent de révélateurs à cet égard. La plus significative concerne la transposition culturelle d'une donnée biologique de base, la distinction entre les sexes. Cette séparation appelle inéluctablement aussi bien leur coopération que leur opposition potentielle (BALANDIER. 1978. 57). Ce ne sont donc pas les femmes qui sont "échangées" - quoique certaines pratiques matrimoniales puissent en laisser croire -, mais la "circulation", l'"échange" et la "communication" des personnes, trois termes inadéquats, qui expriment symboliquement la nécessité d'une coopération interpersonnelle sur la base d'une réciprocité. C'est, par exemple, ce qui permet de com

prendre l'organisation des maisons collectives des Bari de la frontière colombo-vénézuelienne chez lesquels les maisons collectives, unité de vie fondamentale, sont organisées autour d'une famille toujours entourée de deux familles alliées, l'une de l'homme, l'autre de la femme. Cette organisation, dans laquelle la règle joue tant à partir des hommes qu'à partir des femmes, montre que "le privilège de l'homme générateur de l'échange ou de la communication entre groupes, auquel les théories classiques nous ont fâcheusement accoutumés, n'a pas de sens ici" (JAULIN. 1970. 15).

Il en est de même si on s'interroge sur la nature de l'échange linguistique ou sur celle de l'échange économique. Les linguistes savent bien que la signification d'un discours ne se détermine pas une fois pour toutes, a priori en quelque sorte, au départ de règles grammaticales et de définitions lexicales (BOURDIEU. 1982. 15). Une partie du sens des énoncés - partie qu'il est impossible de préciser dans l'abstrait, mais dont l'importance est capitale puisque sans elle ils viendraient à manquer à leur fonction - ne se précise que dans le concret de la "circulation", de l'"échange" ou de la "communication".

C'est d'ailleurs parce qu'il est relativement impossible de préciser le contenu, sinon les modalités, de l'échange anthropologique qu'il peut être porteur de valeur symbolique. C'est également la raison pour laquelle on définit inmanquablement chacune des modalités de l'échange en termes de chacune des deux autres modalités.

En effet, ce qui importe pour que le groupe existe en tant que groupe et qu'il ait la conscience de cette existence et souhaite la maintenir, ce n'est pas la matérialité des échanges, qui excluerait une véritable réciprocité, mais au contraire leur caractère essentiellement symbolique qui appelle en quelque sorte la réciprocité.

Ce sont ces deux caractères, symbolicité et réciprocité, pris simultanément, qui fondent réellement le groupe en sorte que celui-ci ne peut s'y soustraire. Les expé

riences passionnantes des PREMACK qui parvinrent à inculquer à un chimpanzé des rudiments d'un langage humain artificiel le prouvent: c'est dans le contexte d'un échange social entre le singe et son instructeur que l'apprentissage linguistique se révèle possible (1984. 27 - 30). D'ailleurs, la pathologie de l'autisme ne fait que souligner cette impérieuse nécessité, pour autant que cette maladie ne soit pas aussi le résultat de dispositions organiques ou de déficiences physiologiques. La réciprocité s'avère bien une condition indispensable à la symbolicité que suppose le langage.

S'il en est ainsi, comment expliquer la possibilité d'existence de sociétés humaines, les sociétés monastiques, qui s'abstiennent volontairement d'appliquer des règles qui paraissent essentielles à la constitution et à la survie de toute société humaine ?

## 2. Les voeux monastiques.

### 2.1. Monastère et Sainte Règle.

S'interrogeant sur l'opportunité qu'il y aurait à permettre, voire à inciter, des "faibles" à faire des voeux de religion et ainsi leur "fermer la voie du salut" en "les oblige[ant] à faire cette promesse", SEJOURNE (1950. 3272) répond qu'"il y a un aspect social des voeux de religion qui est beaucoup plus important". D'ailleurs, ajoute-t-il, les Pères et les auteurs ascétiques ont "insisté sur ce fait capital que le voeu crée un état officiel dans l'Eglise". Nous verrons plus loin que l'Eglise, depuis le Moyen Age en tout cas, a constamment considéré que les voeux de religion s'articulaient en trois branches, le voeu de chasteté, celui de pauvreté et celui d'obéissance, correspondants exacts, mais inversés, des règles d'échange des personnes, des biens et des paroles.

Saint THOMAS, se penchant sur les éléments essen



tiels de l'état religieux, base de son enseignement sur l'état de perfection, l'envisage comme résultant d'une "vertu spéciale... par laquelle on présente... quelque chose pour le service de Dieu et son culte..., le culte ayant trait à l'excellence de Dieu..., et le service regardant la sujétion de l'homme" (Cité par SEJOURNE. 1950. 3239).

La synthèse que le Moyen Age réalise dans le thomisme se centre ainsi sur l'"état de perfection", état réservé à une élite, auquel on atteint d'abord "par une offrande répétée et en détail de ses actes les uns après les autres, et puis par une donation en bloc de son activité entière" (SEJOURNE. 1950. 3239). C'est donc d'une véritable mancipatio, mot utilisé par Saint THOMAS, au service du Maître, dont il s'agit ou encore d'une aliénation solennelle de la personne, dans sa totalité, au profit de Dieu. La sujétion totale de cet état ne se conçoit évidemment pas dans une vie sociale qui suppose, on l'a rappelé ci-dessus, précisément l'inverse !

La difficulté apparaît d'ailleurs, au sein même de cet état religieux, dans la manière de traiter les ordres actifs et ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard si les questionnements sur ce point surgissent justement au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, siècle du thomisme et aussi siècle où la doctrine de l'état religieux se constitue. A l'usage de ceux qui ne renoncent pas à toute action dans le monde, c'est-à-dire dans la société, Saint THOMAS précise que "les actes de toutes les vertus, en tant qu'on les ordonne au service et honneur de Dieu, deviennent, eux aussi, actes de religion"; ce sont des "actes humains", c'est-à-dire de la société laïque, mais ils se rattachent et concourent à l'état de perfection de par les finalités de la vie de ceux qui les accomplissent, par cela ils échappent à la vie sociale et donc, dirons-nous, aux règles d'échange.

L'état de religion appelle une pédagogie spécifique : les auteurs le décrivent comme une véritable profession. L'acquisition de cet état ne se fait ni en une fois,

ni définitivement, Saint THOMAS stipule à ce sujet qu'"il n'est point requis que toute personne qui est en religion soit parfaite, mais qu'elle tende à la perfection". Les vœux sont une sorte de "technique expérimentale" (SEJOURNE. 1950. 3247) par laquelle l'état religieux doit conduire le croyant à la perfection intérieure ce qui explique, d'une part, la mise en avant de procédés et de techniques, qui ne sont que des moyens parmi lesquels chaque époque, chaque tempérament, choisira, mais, d'autre part également, les apories et les contradictions auxquelles cette recherche conduira fréquemment.

## 2.2. Règles impératives et retrait du monde.

Dès les premiers siècles, la recherche d'un état de perfection suscita une réflexion sur les différences entre cet état et ce qu'on appellera, pour faire bref, un état dans le monde. Les "bons usages" de ce dernier, que Saint BASILE recommandait de conserver, donnèrent lieu, progressivement à des conseils plus structurés et à une règle monastique qui devait, selon l'expression de Saint GREGOIRE, être "discrète et claire".

Pour que l'homme ne puisse plus se soustraire au caractère contraignant de l'état de perfection, une fois celui-ci choisi, Saint THOMAS expose que le croyant doit sacrifier son bien le plus cher, celui dont l'abandon justifiera le reste, à savoir sa propre liberté (Cité par SEJOURNE. 1950. 3273). Le sacrifice de la liberté est la clé de voûte du sacrifice de toute la vie, dans tous ses aspects, en échange de quoi le chrétien se voit assuré d'être à l'abri de toute inquiétude liée à la vie sociale. On a vu, en effet, que la généralisation des échanges, dans la mesure du moins où la réciprocité en est assurée, tresse le tissu social : s'abstenir de participer aux échanges de la vie sociale, c'est donc également s'épargner tout risque quant à une absence de réciprocité...

Néanmoins, dès les premiers siècles, quelques valeurs spécifiquement chrétiennes - du moins par l'ampleur du phénomène et les formes qu'il revêt - apparaissent liées à un mode de vie particulier. Quoique la distinction entre précepte et conseil ne s'imposera à la pensée qu'au milieu du Moyen Age, le célibat volontaire s'accompagnera du combat ou "ascèse" pour la maîtrise de soi et la pureté du coeur, tandis que la vie matérielle communautaire, de Saint PACOME à Saint AUGUSTIN et ensuite, sous la conduite d'un ancien, seront les germes des trois voeux spécifiques dont la formulation sera plus tardive (DUVAL. 1978. 180).

Dès les débuts du christianisme, la pratique de certaines vertus se recommande à ceux dont l'ambition chrétienne se situe au-dessus de la moyenne: par rapport à ceux qui restent dans la vie sociale, le moine doit vivre, d'une façon spécifique, ce qui s'appellera plus tard la chasteté, la pauvreté et l'obéissance. La supériorité du moine s'affirme par le renoncement volontaire à ce qui, pour le laïc, reste légitime (GOBRY. 1985. 53). C'est ainsi qu'il peut atteindre à une rigoureuse perfection, l'état de religion, impossible à atteindre dans l'état appelé séculier et qui est celui de la vie sociale habituelle.

La mise en pratique de l'injonction du CHRIST, "si quelqu'un veut être mon disciple, qu'il renonce à lui-même, qu'il se charge de sa croix et qu'il me suive", s'adresse à tout chrétien. CASSIEN († 435), qui fut abbé de Saint Victor de Marseille, prétendait que le CHRIST appelle tous les hommes à la perfection, mais que, en temps normal, seuls les moines répondent totalement à cet appel. Toujours selon lui, c'était du fait du relâchement des moeurs de la plupart des chrétiens que ceux qui voulaient vivre réellement leur foi se seraient ou retirés dans le désert, ou rassemblés en communautés à l'origine des monastères plus tardifs (DUBOIS. 1978. 205). Ils offraient ainsi un exemple vivant à leurs coreligionnaires et constituèrent progressivement, à travers le Moyen Age et ensuite, une ligne de résistance

contre les attrait du monde.

Dès la fin de l'Antiquité, le thème du désert deviendra d'ailleurs supplétif de la vie en communauté monastique, l'état religieux étant présenté et vécu comme une suppléance du véritable désert (SEJOURNE. 1950. 3241). Comme en écho à la solitude désertique, le voeu de chasteté, qui ne figurera pourtant, comme tel, dans les formules de profession qu'à partir des XI<sup>e</sup> - XII<sup>e</sup> siècles, transformerait, selon Saint BERNARD, l'homme en ange. C'est sans doute le seul des domaines de "lutte" où il est conseillé de ne pas "combattre la tentation - la lutte étant toujours incertaine - mais de fuir l'occasion de la tentation" (MOULIN. 1978. 36). Cette fuite n'est-elle pas symbolique d'une fuite hors de la vie sociale et des échanges qu'elle suppose ?

Ainsi conçue, la chasteté porte en elle-même, dès ici-bas, sa récompense. Selon EVAGRE le Pontique (IV<sup>e</sup> s.), "le lieu de Dieu a pour nom la paix. Or la paix, c'est l'impassibilité de l'âme raisonnable. Ainsi que celui qui désire que Dieu habite en lui délivre avec soin son âme de toutes les passions" (Cité par GOBRY. 1985. 55). Deux composantes se trouvent donc présentes simultanément: une paix qui ressemble à l'immobilité de la mort et à l'absence de tout désir, une réflexion raisonnable et donc libre sur l'engagement vécu.

Le don de la liberté personnelle sera explicité, jusqu'à sa formulation presque définitive chez Saint THOMAS (SEJOURNE. 1950. 3274), tandis que le caractère définitif de l'engagement fait que le religieux consacre toute sa vie et toute sa personne à Dieu, y compris dans ce qu'elle sera et dans ce qu'elle contient de non encore défini. Ce don anticipatif de la vie du moine et de ce qu'elle pourrait devenir préfigure la mort.

Dès le moment où le moine a accompli ce don, il devient comme un cadavre plongé qu'il doit être dans l'amour unique du CHRIST. Ce thème est récurrent et insistant, dès

l'Antiquité, par exemple chez Saint NIL, solitaire du Sinaï: "Vous qui êtes morts et ensevelis avec [le CHRIST] par votre état [de moine], pourquoi vivez-vous encore pour vos passions et vous livrez-vous à des sollicitudes corporelles, qui ne font qu'entretenir vos cupidités ?" (Cité d'après GOBRY. 1985. 59). Le même guide spirituel pousse la comparaison, sur le plan de l'obéissance et de la mort aux désirs personnels, jusqu'à l'image du cadavre: si le supérieur monastique possède les vertus chrétiennes de manière éminente, il demande "des disciples qui renoncent à eux-mêmes et à leurs propres volontés et qui soient plutôt tout semblables à des cadavres, afin que, telle l'âme dans le corps fait ce qu'elle veut sans résistance de sa part, ainsi le maître puisse mettre en oeuvre sa science spirituelle dans ses disciples souples et obéissants" (Cité d'après SEJOURNE. 1950. 3260). On le constate, la métaphore du cadavre, si elle figure bien pour la première fois chez Saint NIL, n'implique pas celle de la rigidité, que du contraire, puisque l'obéissance qui est attendue du moine exige de sa part de la souplesse et de la maléabilité...

Le moine, parce qu'il s'abstient volontairement des relations d'échange qui fondent et entretiennent la vie sociale, est mort à cette dernière. Le célibat imposé ensuite, dans le catholicisme, à l'ensemble du clergé poursuit, sur le plan de la chasteté, la même image. Le célibat est, en effet, constamment présenté, y compris de nos jours, comme si la mort était déjà signifiée et "vécue", si l'on ose dire; le célibat, par rapport à la société humaine, exprime également la solitude en compagnie de Dieu (Cf. par ex. JACQUEMET. 1949. 765 - 766).

2.3. Les invariants: vœu de pauvreté, de chasteté et d'obéissance.

La vie monastique, telle que la connaît l'histoire de l'Occident, est à la fois spécifique et générale. Elle

est spécifique dans ses manifestations concrètes liées à l'évolution générale des sociétés dans lesquelles le monachisme occidental s'est constitué et ensuite développé. Le cheminement par lequel la spiritualité chrétienne a conçu et progressivement construit les exigences proprement monastiques, avec les trois vœux propres à l'état de religion, ne se retrouve, comme tel, nulle part ailleurs. Fait partie intégrante de cette spécificité, sans que nous tentions ici d'en connaître les raisons, la contemporanéité d'une formulation cohérente des trois vœux monastiques et d'une conception de la société comme l'a exprimée le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

D'autre part, la vie monastique occidentale s'inscrit aussi dans des courants beaucoup plus larges et qui incluent des formes parallèles qui s'enracinent dans d'autres cultures et dans d'autres religions. Une typologie du monachisme montre, en effet, des convergences significatives: il est d'abord une manifestation de marginalité volontaire, il est aussi - et l'un n'est évidemment pas sans lien avec l'autre - une forme de société utopique par le modèle social contrastant qu'il offre et qu'il se veut (LECLERCQ. 1982. 505 sq.).

Quelles qu'en soient les modalités, le mouvement monastique vise à la libération de l'individu par rapport aux contraintes sociales jugées (trop) aliénantes. Il est donc refus, non de la culture ambiante, mais de certains conditionnements sociaux. Il garde inévitablement un caractère utopique, d'une part parce que les modalités de l'échange variant continuellement, quoique souvent insensiblement, dans une société déterminée, le processus de libération et de désengagement par rapport à la société ne peut jamais être définitif, d'autre part, et sans doute plus fondamentalement comme nous le verrons plus loin, parce qu'aucune vie collective ne peut se passer absolument de ce qui constitue le fondement même de toute vie sociale, à savoir l'échange symbolique et réciproque.

Comme telle, la libération par rapport aux con

traintes sociales ne peut porter que sur ce qui constitue précisément le tissu sur lequel s'impriment ces contraintes, c'est-à-dire sur les termes de l'échange. Les trois voeux du monachisme occidental constituent donc, dans leur visée, des sortes d'invariants anthropologiques.

Ces invariants comment le monachisme occidental les a-t-il exprimés ? Eliminons tout d'abord la question illusoire d'une antériorité d'une des exigences monastiques par rapport aux deux autres: dans la mesure où les trois voeux correspondent bien aux trois registres possibles des échanges sociaux, cette question ne peut, en effet, recevoir de réponse puisque ce sont les trois types d'échanges qui, conjointement, tressent le tissu social.

Le voeu de pauvreté concerne l'abandon de toutes choses terrestres et la renonciation aux formes de la propriété. Le moine suit en cela le conseil de JESUS: "si tu veux être parfait, vends tout ce que tu possèdes et donne-le aux pauvres" (Mat. xvi. 22). Quels biens ce voeu concerne-t-il ? Encore une fois, c'est au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'on a précisé que le voeu solennel enlève au religieux tout droit de propriété et rend invalide tout exercice de ce droit (Can. 579 - 583). La tradition stipule que "ne sont pas objets du voeu les choses qui ne sont pas appréciables en argent, comme la réputation, des reliques, etc...." (SEJOURNE. 1950. 3258).

Si le moine vise à la dépossession matérielle radicale, ce but ne peut être atteint aisément. C'est pourquoi les Pères du Désert, déjà, craignaient constamment "les ruses de l'esprit de possession" (GOBRY. 1985. 58). Prenons l'exemple du travail, nécessité psychologique et économique, la fabrication d'objets destinés à assurer la survie du moine supposait la propriété, ou du moins l'usage et la libre disposition, d'outils et de matériaux; leur vente faisait entrer, malgré lui, le religieux dans le circuit de l'échange des biens, il en allait d'ailleurs de même lorsque ces objets étaient troqués contre d'autres biens... Com

ment distinguer entre propriété et usage ou disposition ?

On devine les limites et les pièges que ces distinctions, parfois ténues sinon impossibles, soulignent... Sur le plan individuel, une ébauche de solution au problème fut imaginée lorsque, dans les communautés, on laissa au supérieur ou à l'économe, dans le cadre de règles variables dans leurs modalités, le soin de s'occuper des questions relatives à l'exercice du droit de propriété.

La question n'était pas vaine puisque, "certains ascètes, qui s'étaient aménagé une retraite tranquille non loin des lieux habités, prirent toutes leurs dispositions pour mener une vie exempte de soucis, en recevant de pieux séculiers une sorte de rente; certains en arrivèrent à une mentalité de propriétaires plus enracinée que celle de leurs bienfaiteurs, au point qu'ils captaient les héritages: ils avaient oublié jusqu'à la signification de leur sortie du monde" (GOBRY. 1985. 59).

Par le vœu de chasteté, le moine renonce à tout commerce charnel. Il offre son corps, comme le fit le CHRIST. C'est ce qu'affirme Saint PAUL lorsqu'il insiste sur la supériorité de la chasteté sur le mariage: "je dis donc aux célibataires et aux veuves qu'il est bon de rester ainsi comme moi.... Es-tu marié ? Ne cherche pas à rompre tes liens. Es-tu libre ? Ne cherche pas à te marier" (ICor. vii.8, 27 sq.). Supériorité de la chasteté par rapport à l'échange des corps, non pas, sauf chez certains, par mépris platonicien du corps, mais parce que le corps n'appartient pas au chrétien puisqu'il doit le consacrer à Dieu, en tant que victime de louange et de propitiation.

S'il existe, sur ce plan également, des parallèles possibles avec le célibat pratiqué dans le cadre d'autres religions, les différences culturelles font que la chasteté chrétienne apparaît comme quelque chose de spécifique au monde occidental, mais aussi de perpétuellement controversé (POHIER. 1978. 12). D'autre part, il est difficile de distinguer, dans cette manière de traiter les relations du



corps en tant qu'objet d'échange dans la vie sociale, des tendances qui, comme telles, peuvent se retrouver partout dans toutes les cultures, de caractères spécifiquement chrétiens et occidentaux ou encore de traits issus de divers courants philosophiques, gnostiques ou religieux, dont l'influence fut certaine sur le monde occidental. En effet, tant les courants manichéens que les tendances gnostiques ou les philosophies neo-platoniciennes ont prôné un égal mépris de la condition charnelle... Enfin, dans ce domaine aussi, il faut faire la part de courants sinon de modes en balancier en quelque sorte, de même qu'il importe évidemment de distinguer le discours et la réalité : notre époque contemporaine, par exemple, a connu, dans les dernières années une période de libération sexuelle à laquelle succède, semble-t-il, un renouveau social de la chasteté (cf. DE KERORGUEN. 1984. passim et surtout 75 - 85).

Le voeu d'obéissance enfin paraît, lui aussi, avoir été formulé de façon spécifiquement occidentale. Tout d'abord dans l'importance qui lui est traditionnellement accordée en nos régions puisqu'on en fait la première vertu monastique. La différence entre le monde grec et le monde romain est ici significative. En effet, Saint JEROME prescrit au moine divers comportements qui paraissent différents, voire contraires à l'usage grec notamment. L'apprentissage du silence consolide la pratique de l'obéissance, le monastère devient ainsi une armée en campagne où chacun a sa consigne.

Ici aussi, le centralisme occidental et romain accentua-t-il ce qui n'était ailleurs qu'un simple exigence religieuse. Mais écoutons Saint JEROME: "aucun art ne s'apprend sans maître. Chez les abeilles, il y a des reines; chez nous, un empereur, un juge par province..., un évêque en chaque Eglise. Ainsi tu dois vivre dans le monastère sous la discipline d'un seul Père et dans la compagnie de beaucoup de frères: l'un t'apprendra le silence, l'autre la douceur" (Cité par SEJOURNE. 1950. 3260). Remarquons en pas

sant que le voeu d'obéissance est bien aussi de se soumettre au silence envers le supérieur, c'est-à-dire de se soustraire à l'échange des paroles tel qu'il se pratique dans toute vie sociale habituelle.

Bien entendu, tout chrétien a, du fait même de sa foi, l'obligation d'écouter Dieu et de se soumettre à sa volonté. C'est ce qu'on pourrait appeler, selon l'expression de DAUBERCIES (1982. 1451), une obligation d'obéissance théologale ou, plus simplement, obéissance chrétienne puisqu'elle est signe de cohérence par rapport à la foi dans le CHRIST. Dans le contexte qui nous intéresse ici, celui du voeu d'obéissance, l'obéissance n'est plus, pour reprendre une commode distinction théologique, de précepte, mais bien de conseil et est liée à l'état de religion.

Le fondateur de la vie cénobitique, Saint PACOME (286 - 346), insistait sur le rôle de l'obéissance en demandant, particulièrement aux novices, d'écouter et d'exécuter les ordres des supérieurs comme s'ils venaient de Dieu lui-même. Cette exigence entraînait parfois, par son caractère aveugle, des choses choquantes. Ainsi l'obéissance a une double fonction: dans la vie communautaire, elle a un rôle social en permettant l'organisation efficace et sans heurt de la collectivité (DAUBERCIES. 1982. 1452). On notera que cette obéissance-là est la réponse à un ordre, c'est-à-dire à un échange de paroles au sein de la communauté. Dans son autre fonction, l'obéissance est davantage silence et tire son importance de la valeur de la soumission sur le plan de la formation du moine. C'est pourquoi elle est fondamentale aussi dans la formation des solitaires, comme le rappelle GOBRY (1985. 63) à travers l'anecdote de Jean le NAIN, père du désert de Scété, qui, dans sa jeunesse, se soumit durant plus de deux ans aux exigences du vieillard qu'il avait choisi comme maître. Celui-ci, en effet, avait ordonné au jeune homme d'arroser quotidiennement un bâton qu'il avait planté en terre et pour ce faire son disciple devait partir au coucher du soleil pour ne

revenir qu'à l'aube avec l'eau nécessaire. Le manège dura deux ans et ensuite le bâton poussa des feuilles et porta des fruits. On appela l'arbre d'obéissance cet arbre qui donna des fruits du même nom.

Un rapide examen des invariants monastiques que constituent les trois voeux de religion aura montré combien ils trouvent leurs limites naturelles dans le fait qu'ils semblent instituer en règles de vie communautaire l'inverse de ce qui, dans la vie habituelle, fonde la société elle-même.

### 3. Inversion des règles sociales en règles monastiques?

Au-delà de la diversité des règles monastiques, contrairement aussi à l'idéalisation d'une littérature apologétique ou de propagande, à moins qu'elle ne soit simplement naïve, pourrait laisser croire, le moine apparaît bien comme un être "normal" et "quelconque". La lecture des règles le donne d'ailleurs à entendre, à défaut de juger nos contemporains ou leurs prédécesseurs... Selon les termes de LAPIERRE (1982. 19), "les règles sont trop pleines de corrections fraternelles, de lassitude dans les reproches et de modération dans les encouragements pour qu'il soit possible de faire 'comme si' le moine réalisait mieux qu'autrui un idéal: littéralement, un moine parfait ferait exception à sa règle" !

La vie monastique suppose une conversion à un mode différent de relations sociales, elle ne peut, surtout au début, être que l'engagement de se lier autrement que dans le monde. C'est l'inversion par rapport aux règles habituelles des échanges dans toute société que critiquèrent, à plusieurs reprises et de manières diverses, des courants contestataires, principalement lors de la Réforme et à la Révolution Française. Pour la première fois en Occident, les décrets de la Convention (lois du 13 févr. 1790 et du 18 août 1793) proclament illégaux les "voeux monastiques solennels

de l'un et l'autre sexe", la Convention interdit, en conséquence, les Ordres dans lesquels de tels voeux sont pratiqués.

La France paraît occuper, dans cette contestation des modalités de la vie monastique, une position particulière puisqu'en 1882, WALDECK-ROUSSEAU s'oppose aux trois voeux monastiques en se basant sur des dispositions du droit public qui proscrient tout ce qui "constituerait une abnégation des droits de l'individu, une renonciation à l'exercice des facultés naturelles à tous les citoyens" (Cité par PLUS. 1928. 1937). En fait, on ne peut isoler les positions de ceux qui contestent la légitimité de voeux contraignants sur le plan monastique de l'attitude qu'ils adoptent dans d'autres domaines de la vie sociale. Ceci est vrai pour les réformateurs de la Renaissance, comme ce l'est aussi, par exemple, pour des personnalités telles que WALDECK-ROUSSEAU. En effet, ce dernier veut restaurer l'autorité de l'Etat et du pouvoir civil dans tous les domaines; il se bat donc contre "l'alliance du sabre et du goupillon". Il ne faut pas oublier que c'est lui également qui liquida l'affaire DREYFUS en osant s'attaquer au pouvoir militaire.

Pour comprendre la tentative d'inversion des règles sociales que vise la vie monastique traditionnelle à travers les voeux liés à l'état religieux, il importe d'en éclairer le sens par un rapprochement avec la structure sociale médiévale et, d'autre part, avec les structures sociales contemporaines, par exemple celles que voulut mettre en place la Révolution de 1789.

Les travaux de Georges DUBY, surtout Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme (Paris. 1978), ont mis en évidence la progressive organisation du Moyen Age sur le modèle d'une société supposée parfaite. Le mouvement débute au lendemain des terreurs de l'An mil et débouche sur la "Révolution médiévale" (Cité d'après BOISDEFRE. 1985. 544) avec l'émergence des trois ordres indo-européens dumézi

liens, sacerdotal, militaire et féodal.

Les divisions sociales sont présentées comme des catégories immuables, correspondants humains d'une profonde stabilité de l'univers. Ainsi, au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle déjà, ADALBERON de Laon, dans le poème politique dédié au roi ROBERT de France, écrit: "la cité de Dieu que l'on croit une se trouve ... divisée en trois ordres: les uns prient, les autres combattent et les autres enfin travaillent. Ces trois ordres vivent ensemble et ne souffrent pas d'être séparés. Les services de l'un assurent l'ouvrage des deux autres. Chacun à son tour prête son appui à tous" (DUBY. 1984. 61).

Les nouvelles structures sociales, résurgence de l'ancienne tripartition indo-européenne, qui se mettent en place dès le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle occidental, atteignent leur moment d'équilibre et de plus grande cohérence au XIII<sup>e</sup>, pour ensuite, progressivement, se délabrer. Dès le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, en effet, la répartition en trois ordres, voulus par Dieu, se décompose (FOSSIER. 1984. 503) pour déboucher sur les nouvelles structures sociales que connaîtra la Renaissance.

Or, on l'a vu, le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle est aussi celui où la formulation de la théorie des trois voeux monastiques, indissociables l'un de l'autre, trouve sa meilleure expression. De la même manière que l'inversion des règles sociales que proposent les voeux monastiques se révèle profondément paradoxale par rapport aux règles fondamentales de toute vie sociale, fût-elle cénobitique, ainsi aussi, et pour les mêmes raisons, la tripartition fonctionnelle de la société médiévale en trois ordres relève-t-elle d'un imaginaire de la société, comme DUBY, FOSSIER et d'autres l'ont souligné.

Cet imaginaire ne peut procéder, pour s'installer, se maintenir et ainsi recevoir son efficace, que de la conviction, lentement et continuellement imposée, qu'il s'agit-là d'un ordre à la fois naturel et divin. Ce n'est que de cette manière que la notion de "classes" a pu être gommée, durant tant de siècles, au profit de celle d'"ordres"

voulus par Dieu, doctrine sociale, politique et religieuse, qui "assignait à chacun son rôle dans une harmonie présumée consentie" (FOSSIER. Loc. cit.).

La clé de voûte de la construction d'un tel imaginaire collectif est bien entendu l'obéissance. Avant d'être un vœu, l'obéissance sera, pendant des siècles, une vertu, une des principales vertus pour la femme et pour l'enfant, mais aussi pour le soldat et pour le moine. Obéissance dont le fonctionnement est facilité, dans le cas du moine, par l'appartenance habituelle des supérieurs à la noblesse, tandis que nombre de moines ont l'habitude d'obéir, "n'ayant jamais rien fait d'autre, et n'imaginant pas qu'il puisse en être autrement" (MOULIN. 1978. 209). Quelles que soient par ailleurs les plus-values éventuelles des deux autres vœux, pauvreté et chasteté, leur application, dans la vie conventuelle, présuppose évidemment un vœu d'obéissance dont ils renforcent encore le contenu et l'importance.

En effet, si les biens n'appartiennent jamais au moine, mais à la communauté, même si la tradition voit dans cette renonciation au droit de propriété une forme d'abandon au CHRIST (Ex. chez GOBRY. 1985. 60 sq.), même si aussi la renonciation individuelle jointe au travail collectif permet d'assurer le plus souvent le bien-être de tous (AUBERT. 1985. 991), il n'en demeure pas moins que la pratique de la pauvreté monastique renforce l'imaginaire social collectif et rend plus intangible, sinon nécessaire, la structure sociale qu'il suppose et qu'il impose.

On conçoit donc qu'à chaque fois, dans l'histoire de l'Occident, qu'il y eut une avancée des exigences de ce que le droit contemporain appelle l'ordre public, il y ait eu des tensions entre ses partisans d'une part et les défenseurs de la conception traditionnelle de la vie et des vœux monastiques de l'autre.

Ceci éclaire les positions d'un WALDECK-ROUSSEAU, par exemple, concernant les vœux monastiques, jugés contraires à l'ordre public, mais aussi sa volonté de restau

rer le pouvoir de l'Etat, également envers l'armée. En somme, les voeux de l'état religieux, précisément parce qu'ils correspondent aux règles d'échange qui constituent toute vie sociale, ne peuvent se vivre, collectivement et socialement, dans une certaine radicalité, que dans la mesure où la société globale dans laquelle les communautés monastiques s'insèrent fonctionnent, elles aussi, globalement et totalement sur le même modèle. Ce dernier ne peut être qu'imaginaire puisqu'aucune société ne peut vivre réellement dans l'abnégation des règles d'échange. Ceci a deux conséquences : la première est qu'une société semblable réaliserait une véritable inversion des règles de fonctionnement normales de l'échange, la vie monastique devenant la seule référence de la réalité sociale sur laquelle le monde civil, imaginaire lui, doit se calquer, la seconde est que, dès lors, la société monastique ne pourra plus ou difficilement réaliser ce qui, sur le plan spirituel, reste pourtant son objectif.

Inversement, les conceptions mises en avant lors de la Réforme, ensuite à la Révolution Française et depuis de divers côtés, refusent la dimension d'une contrainte exercée par la collectivité sur l'accomplissement de voeux personnels dont la visée est précisément le refus des règles de fonctionnement de toute société. L'évolution contemporaine va ainsi dans le sens d'une individuation plus grande de la vie religieuse et d'un refus de plus en plus net de l'Etat d'intervenir dans ce domaine autrement que pour laisser à chaque citoyen le libre usage de sa vie sociale et donc des possibilités d'échange qu'elle offre.

## BIBLIOGRAPHIE SELECTIVE

- ALES. A. d'-. 1928 Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi catholique. t.IV. Paris.
- AUBERT. Jean-Marie. 1985 Pauvreté. Théologie, dans : MATHON. G. et al. eds. t. 10. 985-1001.
- BALANDIER. Georges. 1978 Groupes (Ethnologie), dans : Encyclopaedia Universalis. t. 8. 55-59. Paris.
- BOISDEFFRE. Pierre de -. 1985. Histoire de la littérature de langue française des années 1930 aux années 1980. t. 2 : Poesie-idées. Paris.
- BOURDIEU. Pierre. 1982 Ce que parler veut dire. L'économie des échanges linguistiques. Paris.
- BOURRICAUD. François. 1978 Conformité et déviance, dans : Encyclopaedia Universalis. t. 4. 869-872. Paris.
- DAUBERCIES. P. 1982 Obéissance, dans : MATHON. G. et al. eds. t. 9. 1450-1463.
- DE KERORGUEN. Yan. 1984 Le plaisir chaste. Paris.
- DUBOIS. Jacques. 1978 Le monachisme chrétien occidental, dans : DUMERY. H. et al., 1978, 206-207.
- DUBY. Georges. 1978 Les Trois Ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme. Paris.
- DUBY. Georges. 1984 Le Moyen Age. t.1: Adolescence de la chrétienté occidentale (980 - 1140). Paris.
- DUMERY. Henry. 1978 Introduction, dans : DUMERY. H. et al., 1978. 205.
- DUMERY. H. et al. 1978 Monachisme, dans : Encyclopaedia Universalis, t. 11, 205-211, Paris.
- FOSSIER. Robert. 1983 Conclusion générale, dans : FOSSIER. ed. 501 - 507.
- FOSSIER. Robert. éd. 1983 Le Moyen Age. t.3: Le temps des crises (1250 - 1520). Paris.
- GOBRY. Yvan. 1985 Les moines en Occident. t.1: De Saint Antoine à Saint Basile. Les origines orientales. Paris.
- JACQUEMET. G. 1949 Célibat des religieux et des clercs, dans : JACQUEMET. G. ed. t. 2. 755-770.
- JACQUEMET. G. éd. 1949 Catholicisme. Hier, aujourd'hui, demain. t. 2. Paris.
- JAULIN. Robert. 1970 La paix blanche. Introduction à l'ethnocide. Paris.
- LACAN. Jacques. 1973 Le séminaire. Livre XI : Les quatre concepts fondamentaux de la psychanalyse. Paris.
- LAPIERRE. Jean-Pie. 1982 Règles des Moines. Pacôme, Augustin, Benoît, François d'Assise, Carmel. Paris.
- LECLERCQ. J. 1982 Monachisme. Typologie, dans : MATHON. G. et al. eds. t. 9. 505-506.



- |                              |      |   |
|------------------------------|------|---|
| LECLERCQ. J.                 | 1982 | Monachisme. Occident chrétien. Du VIII <sup>e</sup> siècle au XIX <sup>e</sup> siècle, dans : MATHON. G. et al. eds. t. 9. 521-529. |
| LEVI-STRAUSS. Claude.        | 1958 | Anthropologie structurale. Paris.   |
| MATHON. G. et al. eds.       | 1982 | Catholicisme. Hier, aujourd'hui, demain. t. 9. Paris.   |
| MOULIN. Léo.                 | 1978 | La vie quotidienne des religieux au Moyen Age : Xe - XVe siècle. Paris.   |
| PLUS. Raoul.                 | 1928 | Voeux, dans : ALES. A. d'-. éd. t. IV. 1924-1943.   |
| POHIER. Jacques.             | 1978 | Célibat religieux. Le christianisme, dans : Encyclopaedia Universalis. t. 4. 12-15. Paris.  |
| PREMACK. David et Ann James. | 1984 | L'esprit de Sarah. Paris.   |
| SEJOURNE. P.                 | 1950 | Voeux de religion, dans : VACANT et al. eds. T. 15, II. 3234-3281.  |
| VACANT. A. et al. eds.       | 1950 | Dictionnaire de théologie catholique. t. 15, II : Trinité-Zwinglianisme. Paris.   |

## ETHNOS UND SPRACHE

Wolfgang Meid

*Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität*

Eigenbestimmung und Fremdbestimmung eines Ethnos sind charakterisiert durch mannigfache Vorurteile, Irrtümer, Wünsche. Es spielen hier hinein Elemente des Irrationalen, die Quelle ständiger Fehler und Mißverständnisse sind. Letztlich handelt es sich um ein Identitätsproblem. Die Substanz des Ethnos ändert sich ständig durch Beimischung außenstehender Elemente, und wenn durch die notgedrungene Akzeptanz einer größeren Masse von Fremdelementen ein Einverleibungs- und Verschweißungsprozeß beginnt, der in einem neuen gemeinsamen Identitätsbegriff resultiert, sprechen wir von Ethnogenese. Ein Ethnos entsteht nicht neu, sondern eine Grundsubstanz war immer schon vorher da. Wie sehr das 'Ursprüngliche' sich im Laufe von Jahrtausenden und Jahrhunderten verdünnt, so daß es am Schluß kaum mehr zu erkennen ist, ist die Frage.

Wie steht es in diesem Sinne z. B. mit der vielfach beschworenen, ebenso oft geleugneten 'österreichischen Nation'? Das heutige Österreich gehört der Sprache nach zum vielgestaltigen deutschen Sprachraum; die Österreicher laborieren jedoch an dem Umstand, daß die sprachlichen, kulturellen und historischen Bande, die sie mit dem großen deutschen Bruder verbinden, durch die politischen Ereignisse der jüngeren Vergangenheit belastet sind, so daß sie ihres Deutsch-Seins nicht recht froh sein können,

vielmehr geneigt sind, es zu verdrängen, wenn nicht gar zu verleugnen und ein neues, nationales Selbstgefühl an seine Stelle treten zu lassen.

Der frühere österreichische Bundeskanzler Dr. Kreisky, bekannt für seine oft verblüffenden Äußerungen, sagte einmal – es sind schon viele Jahre her – in einem Interview, das er in weltmännischer Manier ausgerechnet dem *Playboy* gab – und es ging in dem betreffenden Zusammenhang im tieferen Sinn darum, wie 'deutsch' eigentlich die Österreicher seien –, die Österreicher seien ja eigentlich keine Germanen. Österreich hätte vielmehr eine keltische Urbevölkerung, über die sich der Reihe nach ununterbrochen Völker geschoben hätten: Hunnen, Magyaren, Slaven, Türken, aber „relativ wenig Germanen“. Im Gegensatz zum Vielvölkerstaat der alten Monarchie sei Österreich heute „ein innerlich gefestigter Kleinstaat, der zu sich selbst gefunden hat – etwas Neues“<sup>1</sup>.

Diese Äußerung Kreiskys hatte damals entrüstete Leserbriefe in der Presse zur Folge. Es scheint mir aber – wenn man davon absieht, daß Kreisky das germanische Element etwas heruntergespielt hat, und man auf das rekurriert, was er eigentlich meinte –, daß Kreisky so unrecht eigentlich nicht hatte: die verschiedenen ethnischen Grundsubstanzen, oder sagen wir: die anthropologischen Typusmerkmale der ethnischen Gruppen, die das Gebiet von Österreich früher einmal nicht nur synchron, sondern auch in diachro-

---

<sup>1</sup> *Playboy*, deutsche Ausgabe, 1975, Nr. 8, S. 36.

ner Überlagerung und Durchmischung bevölkerten, sind heute immer noch präsent und für das wache Auge ohne weiteres zu erkennen. Als Sprache freilich ist mit den zuletzt einrückenden Germanen bzw. Baiern (die ja auch schon alles andere als reinrassige Germanen waren) und mit der weiteren politischen Entwicklung die deutsche Sprache dominant geworden. Sind aber die Österreicher deswegen Deutsche? bzw. Germanen? Nun, lange Zeit waren sie es, nach ihrer eigenen sowie nach anderer Auffassung; aber die politischen Ereignisse 1938-1945 und der Neubeginn danach als selbstständiger Staat haben in weiten Kreisen Österreichs zu der bekannten Allergie gegen den Begriff 'deutsch' geführt, der die seltsamsten Blüten getrieben hat, bis zur bewußten Ignorierung der Sprachbezeichnung für die Zwecke des Schulunterrichts mit seiner anonymen 'Unterrichtssprache'.

Diese Art von Schizophrenie ist aber heute weit verbreitet; sie gibt zu allerlei Vorurteilen Anlaß und wird von politischen Demagogen weidlich ausgenutzt. Ein wichtiges Merkmal des Ethnos ist freilich nun einmal die Sprache – aber sie reicht offenbar nicht aus zu seiner Definition. (In der Antike hat man sie für die ethnographische Beschreibung so gut wie überhaupt nicht herangezogen). Alles wäre ideal, wenn Nation = Sprache zu setzen wäre und alle Sprecher der betreffenden Sprache – und nur sie – in einem Staatsgebiet vereint wären.

Dies ist aber evidenterweise nicht der Fall. Es gibt Staaten, in denen mehrere ethnische Gruppen vereint sind und in denen mehrere Sprachen gesprochen werden (Schweiz, Belgien, Großbritannien), und es gibt Nationen, wie die deutsche, die das Gebiet von

zwei Staaten (Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Österreich) einnimmt<sup>2</sup> und an einem dritten (der Schweiz) mehrheitlich partizipiert (von minderheitlicher Beteiligung an anderen Staaten nicht zu reden). Die Dominanz gewisser Großsprachen, ihre Ausbreitung gewissermaßen zu Weltsprachen und damit analog die Ausbildung von Großkulturräumen, erschwert die Situation der ethnischen Gruppen, die das Unglück haben, als Sprecher einer Minderheitensprache auf dem Territorium der Sprecher einer Großsprache leben zu müssen. Die Majorität, die ja staatstragend ist, stilisiert ihre Sprache zur Nationalsprache hoch, in dem Sinne, daß nunmehr – ganz gegen die natürliche Bedeutung von Nation – 'national' im Sinne des politischen Gebildes gebraucht wird. Im Sinne dieser propagandistischen Staatstheorie konstituieren z. B. alle Bewohner des politischen Gebildes Italien die italienische Nation; und dies, obwohl die Italiener, historisch bedingt, sich selbst eher in regional- bzw. stammesmäßigen Identitäten verstehen (als Lombarden, Veneter, Römer, Neapolitaner, Sizilianer usw.), aber im Sinne der staatstragenden Mythologie sind sie Italiener, und so fallen darunter auch die Südtiroler, die von rechts wegen daher Italiener sind (und international ja auch so firmieren) und logischerweise auch italienisch sprechen müßten. 'Nation' ist aber ein Begriff der gemeinsamen Abstammung, die daher auch eine bestimmte Sprache (oder Mundart) impliziert, nicht aber ein Begriff der Kohabitation ver-

---

<sup>2</sup> Bis zur Eingliederung der früheren DDR in die BRD waren es sogar drei Staaten.

schiedener Populationen. Daher ist er, angewendet als 'Staatsnation' auf die Kohabitation oder Koexistenz verschiedener Populationen in einem politischen Gebilde, eine ideologische Verfälschung, weil er die Dominanz der Majoritätssprache und die Herabstufung oder gar Leugnung der Minderheitensprache legitimiert.

Nun kann aus solcher erzwungener oder notwendiger Koexistenz die Genese eines neuen Ethnos erfolgen, unter dem Identitätsmerkmal vereinheitlichter Sprache. Von nun an generiert sich das neue Gebilde als 'Nation' weiter – so disparat seine Ursprünge auch gewesen sein mögen. Volle Homogenität erwächst jedoch nie; Erinnerungen an die Herkunft, anthropologische Merkmale bleiben und charakterisieren dann bestimmte Bevölkerungsschichten (Adel, Unterschicht, landsmannschaftliche Merkmale). Man kann eigentlich in jeder Gegend mindestens zwei, oft mehrere verschiedene Menschentypen beobachten.

'Nation', das, als was sich ein Volk mehrheitlich fühlt, was es sein möchte, ist weniger eine Sache der Realität (die reale Abstammung liegt ja nach einigen Generationen im Dunkeln) als des Mythos (in dem Sinne, daß z. B. jemand lieber ein 'Germane' sein möchte als etwas anderes, auch wenn er bei weitem nicht dem Idealbild eines Germanen entspricht). Die Rassenmythologie der Nazis ist hierfür Illustration genug (wer würde schon Himmler für einen Germanen gehalten haben?). Diese Art von Mythologie wird von den Herrschenden und den ihr dienenden 'Historikern' fabriziert und – wie im ganzen Mittelalter – mittels verfälschter oder fiktiver Genealogien in dem gewünschten Sinne legitimiert.

Ich sagte, daß Sprache ein wichtiges Kriterium sei, jedoch nicht das einzige. Die Iren sprechen mehrheitlich Englisch, sind deswegen jedoch keine Engländer – ganz im Gegenteil. Auch einen Schotten darf man nicht ungestraft als Engländer bezeichnen<sup>3</sup>. Die verschiedenen Nationalitäten lassen sich in 'Großbritannien' mittels des Terminus 'britisch' überbrücken, aber dieser ist bei den Briten selbst nicht beliebt, die eher 'national' – als Engländer, Schotten, Waliser – fühlen. Die 'Nation' ist von Hause aus ein kleinstaatliches, nicht großstaatliches Gebilde; eigentlich überhaupt kein festes politisches Gebilde im Sinne einer Staatsmacht und eines staatlichen Territoriums. Dies sind ja alles moderne Begriffe; bei nomadischer oder halbnomadischer Existenz gab es wohl einen Clan, aber kein festes Territorium, vielmehr konnte ein Territorium Raum für verschiedene, lokal bewegliche Clans bieten. Diese verschiedenen Clans konnten eine Sprache, oder Mundart einer Sprache sprechen. Das heißt, es war ein Bewußtsein gemeinsamer Abstammung vorhanden, das man mit anderen Gruppen teilte. Gemeinsame Sprache war dafür ein Merkmal, Traditionen in dieser Sprache, gleichartige Rechts- und Gesellschaftsformen, gemeinsame Religion waren weitere, identitätsstiftende Merkmale. Die Griechen haben sich – bei aller dialektaler Verschiedenheit und allen Stammesrivalitäten zum Trotz – als *ein* Volk empfunden,

---

<sup>3</sup> Ich beziehe mich auf den populären deutschen Sprachgebrauch, der Britannien global als 'England' bezeichnet, mit der logischen Konsequenz, daß die Bewohner alle 'Engländer' sind.

mit einer Sprache, einer gemeinsamen Religion (der olympischen), einer bestimmten Lebens- und Denkweise. Als mit dem Hellenismus das Griechentum sich ausbreitete, war das Bekenntnis zur Sprache und zur griechischen Lebensweise das Merkmal der Zugehörigkeit und die Bedingung der Akzeptanz.

Der Linguist hat es in erster Linie mit Sprachen zu tun und erst in zweiter Linie mit den Sprechern solcher Sprachen. Da eine Sprache eine Sprachgemeinschaft impliziert, liegt der Schluß von einer Sprache, die man für irgendeine prähistorische Zeit dingfest machen zu können glaubt, auf ein Volk als Träger dieser Sprache nahe. Dieser Schluß auf *die* Indogermanen, *die* Illyrier, *die* Kelten, *die* Germanen hat zu berechtigter Kritik geführt ('die Pseudovölker der Linguistik'). Die Sprache ist ursprünglich an eine Nation gebunden; soweit ist der Vergleich richtig; aber beide Wesenheiten sind dem Wandel unterworfen, und diese Wandlungen stehen nicht notwendigerweise miteinander in kausalem Zusammenhang. Wenn zwar linear eine Deszendenz festzustellen ist von indogermanisch über germanisch über deutsch zu bairisch, so wird zwar auch im bairischen Ethnos eine Spur des indogermanischen Ethnos noch vorhanden sein; rein genetisch kann aber die Hauptmasse dieses Ethnos sich auf anderen Wegen konstituiert haben, und wenn die Franzosen, ursprüngliche Gallier, noch viel ursprünglicher nichtindogermanische Menschen der westeuropäischen Megalithkultur, heute eine Fortsetzersprache des Lateinischen sprechen, so ist es klar, daß Sprache und Ethnos nicht auf jeder Stufe parallel gesetzt werden dürfen. Die Iren konstituieren ein eigenes (dem Selbstverständnis nach keltisches) Ethnos, sprechen



aber Englisch, die Sprache ihres Erbfeindes. Immerhin sprechen sie diese Sprache mit bestimmten eigenen Merkmalen, so daß auch dieses Anglo-Irisch (besser Hiberno-Englisch) nun als eigentümliches Merkmal anzuerkennen ist, das einen Iren von einem Engländer abhebt. Aber dieses Merkmal wirkt nur kleinräumig in der Konfrontation. Global gesehen sprechen die Iren englisch.

Was konstituiert sie somit als Iren zum Unterschied von Engländern?

Es ist die Summe anderer unterscheidender Merkmale (deren jedes einzelne natürlich nicht zur Definition ausreicht):

- 1) andere Abstammung (des Kerns der Bevölkerung)<sup>4</sup>
- 2) andere Sitten, Gebräuche und Wertvorstellungen
- 3) andere Religion (Konfession)
- 4) andere kulturelle Überlieferungen und deren Formen.

Der Punkt 3) andere Religion war in heidnischer Zeit natürlich voll gegeben; aber auch in christlicher Zeit gab es typisch irische Merkmale, und heute ist der Gegensatz überwiegend einer von katholisch versus protestantisch.

Wenn man nun davon ausgeht, daß Sprache zwar eine Hauptkonstituente des Ethnos ist, daß die Sprache eigentlich aber nur den Zweck hat, die Kommunikation innerhalb des Stammes zu gewährlei-

---

<sup>4</sup> Es versteht sich, daß im irischen Ethnos seit dem Mittelalter verschiedene Fremdelemente integriert sind (germanische Wikinger, Anglo-Normannen, Schotten, Waliser und sogar Engländer), daß das eigentlich irische Element jedoch dominierend geblieben ist.

sten und die Traditionen dieses Stammes zu überliefern und mitteilbar zu machen, daß somit diese Inhalte wichtiger sind als das Instrument, dann kann zur Not auch eine andere Sprache als die angestammte diese Funktion übernehmen – nicht ohne einen gewissen Identitätsverlust freilich. Auch andere unterscheidende Merkmale, wie Religion, können wegfallen.

Man kann also für eine ethnische Kultur eine Matrix aufstellen mit bestimmten konstitutiven Merkmalen des Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühls, wie im besonderen:

- 1) gemeinsame Abstammung
- 2) angestammte Sprache
- 3) Überlieferung (Literatur) in dieser Sprache
- 4) sonstige Stammestraktionen: Sitten, Gebräuche, Wertvorstellungen, Recht
- 5) Religion: besondere Götter, Riten, Kultformen
- 6) eigenes Territorium.

Die Inhalte der Punkte 3, 4, 5 können dabei Berührungen aufweisen oder letztlich ein Komplex sein. Wesentlich aber ist, daß dieser Komplex bzw. die Kombination seiner Inhalte merkmalshaft ist.

Im Idealfall sind alle 6 Punkte gegeben; dann bereitet die Identifizierung eines Ethnos keine Schwierigkeiten – sowohl von innen als von außen her ist Identität gegeben. Fällt eines der Merkmale aus, dann erhalten andere ein stärkeres Gewicht. Der Ausfall von 2) Sprache, der besonders identitätsstörend wirkt, muß durch stärkere Betonung von 1, 4, 5, 6 oder zumindest mehrere dieser Faktoren kompensiert werden. Im Falle einer sich durch Verschmelzung heterogener Elemente anbahnenden neuen Ethnogenese

müssen die ursprünglichen 'Fremden' auf Merkmale ihrer eigenen Kultur verzichten und sich zu den gemeinschaftsbildenden Werten ihres Gastvolkes bekennen, bzw. beide ethnischen Komponenten müssen eine Art von 'Kompromiß' ausarbeiten. Auf diese Weise ist es möglich, daß bis zur Heranbildung eines neuen Identitätsgefühls Elemente der alten Identität herabgestuft oder vernachlässigt werden. Auf diese Weise kann auch auf die angestammte Sprache verzichtet werden, ohne daß die ethnische Identität ganz verloren geht. Diese kann sich auf besondere Weise neu konstituieren, und bringt dann auch wieder besondere Merkmale der Sprache hervor. Man sollte daher die Sprache nicht als immer und jeder Zeit entscheidenden Faktor ansehen. Die Sprache verkörpert zwar wesentliche Inhalte des ethnischen Bewußtsein, ist zum anderen aber auch ein pragmatisches Instrument. Wenn es um das Überleben geht, hat die Pragmatik den Vorzug. Die spezifischen 'Inhalte' können letztlich auch in eine andere Sprache eingebracht werden — freilich nicht ohne einen gewissen Verlust an Originalität. Aber dies gehört zu den Kompromissen, die das Leben in kritischen Situationen fordert. Eine lebendige Sprache, die in vollem Einklang mit den anderen identitätsstiftenden Merkmalen steht, ist jedoch nur schwer zu unterdrücken. Der Wegfall identitätsstörender Zwänge stellt, wie sich dramatisch im zerfallenden Machtkomplex des kommunistischen Imperiums zeigt, nationale Identitäten sofort wieder her und setzt auch die Sprache wieder in ihr Recht ein. Das ungestüme Wiedererwachen der sich auf ihre sprachliche Identität besinnenden Nationalitäten zeigt eindringlich, daß Sprache, wo sie wirklich lebt, das Identitätsmerkmal *par excellence* ist und daher nicht zu leicht genommen werden darf.



PERSPECTIVES ON INDO-EUROPEAN  
LANGUAGE, CULTURE  
AND RELIGION

STUDIES IN HONOR OF EDGAR C. POLOMÉ

Volume II



PERSPECTIVES ON INDO-EUROPEAN  
LANGUAGE, CULTURE  
AND RELIGION

STUDIES IN HONOR OF EDGAR C. POLOMÉ

Volume II

Journal of Indo-European Studies  
Monograph Number Nine

6861 Elm Street, Suite 4H  
McLean, Virginia 22101

ISBN: 0-941694-39-9

Copyright, Institute for the Study of Man 1992

**Institute for the Study of Man**

6861 Elm Street, Suite 4H

McLean, Virginia 22101

*Tel: 703-442-8010    Fax: 703-847-9524*



## CONTENTS

<b>NORTHWEST INDO-EUROPEAN VOCABULARY AND SUBSTRATE PHONOLOGY</b> By Joe Salmons .....	265
<b>THE PROBLEM OF EXISTENCE OF THE LITERARY LANGUAGE IN ANGLO-SAXON BRITAIN</b> By Viktorija N. Jarceva .....	280
<b>ON <i>THE WANDERER</i> AND <i>THE SEAFARER</i> ONCE AGAIN, BUT FROM A NUMEROLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW</b> By Riccardo Ambrosini .....	295
<b>TWINS AND TWINS IN THE LEGEND OF THE FOUNDING OF ROME</b> By Dominique Briquel .....	315
<b>REFLECTIONS ON AN INDO-EUROPEAN HEALING TRADITION</b> By Kenneth G. Zysk .....	321
<b>'CONTINENTAL OLD ENGLISH' AND S-PLURALS IN OLD AND MIDDLE DUTCH</b> By Hans F. Nielsen .....	337
<b>ON LANGUAGE GENESIS: THE CASE OF AFRIKAANS</b> By Stefan Zimmer .....	347
<b>LES ENJEUX D'UNE EXEGESE (LE MYTHE DIOSCURIQUE INDO-EUROPÉEN)</b> By Daniel Dubuisson .....	360
<b>BOIRE DE L'EAU</b> By Françoise Bader .....	380

<b>SUR LA CONSTRUCTION D'ÁSGARDR</b>	
By Régis Boyer .....	406
<b>DER WOLF IM 'HELMBRECHT'</b>	
By Norbert Oettenger .....	427
<b>WAS HABEN DIE GERMANEN UNTER EINER</b>	
<b>BRAUT VERSTANDEN?</b>	
By Elmar Seebold .....	444
<b>ZUR VORGESCHICHTE DES KELTISCHEN UN GERMANISCHEN</b>	
By Karl Horst Schmidt .....	457
<b>THE GERMANIC HYPERMETRIC LINE IN INDO-EUROPEAN</b>	
<b>PERSPECTIVE</b>	
By Seiichi Suzuki .....	480
<b>ANCIENT LORE: ORAL TRADITION IN MEDIEVAL SCANDINAVIA</b>	
By Peter Buchholz .....	502
<b>INDEX TO FESTSCHRIFT VOLUMES I AND II .....</b>	<b>511</b>

It is with pleasure that the Institute for the Study of Man publishes this second volume in the two volume *festschrift* in honor of our dear friend and colleague, Professor Edgar C. Polomé, who celebrated his seventieth birthday on July 31, 1990. It is particularly appropriate that these papers appear as volumes in *The Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph Series*, since it was eighteen years ago, in the year 1973, that Edgar, Professor Marija Gimbutas and the undersigned launched *The Journal of Indo-European Studies*, an enterprise to which he has given so generously of his time, experience and talent. We wish him many more long years of happiness and productive scholarship.

*Roger Pearson*



# NORTHWEST INDO-EUROPEAN VOCABULARY AND SUBSTRATE PHONOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

Joe Salmons  
*Purdue University*

## 0. Introduction

Edgar Polomé, in a number of important recent contributions to the study of Indo-European culture and language, has developed a detailed set of criteria for identifying traces of unattested substrates in prehistoric language contact settings. This article uses those criteria and others to look at some phonological characteristics of probable substrate vocabulary in northwestern Europe. These features are, first, problematic /a ~ o/ vocalism, second, violations of the Indo-European root structure constraint forbidding the co-occurrence of two plain voiced stops within a CVC root (following, at least for the moment, the traditional reconstruction of Indo-European obstruents), and third, the presence of numerous \*b's, especially in word-initial position. Such possible substrate features, discussed in several recent works, reach beyond the usual domain of lexical borrowing into the realm of (minimal) structural interference in phonology in Indo-European and should yield some clues as to the nature of the otherwise unattested substrate language(s).<sup>2</sup> While such proposals are attractive, it is imperative to explore any and all possible alternative analyses here, because attributing linguistic innovations to an unattested substrate is even more speculative than most work with proto-languages. Since my goal is to attempt to draw a balance sheet for this question rather than to resolve the issue, in this paper I propose new arguments supporting the substrate hypothesis, and at the same time I raise some arguments that could potentially undercut it.

## 1. Criteria for determining substrate traces

Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 350) observe that knowledge of both or all languages involved in a substrate setting is necessary before structural influence can be determined. That is, in order to suggest that a particular structural pattern was taken over from a substrate, we must have evidence that the substrate possessed the particular pattern in question. Thomason and Kaufman also stress, however, that knowledge of a substrate language can be direct or indirect, and it is only an especially tenuous kind of indirect evidence that we have for the questions at hand. A number of proposals tracing syntactic patterns atypical for Indo-European (particularly in Insular Celtic) and major phonological changes (such as the Germanic Sound Shift) back to substrates would appear to violate that guideline. Such hypotheses are

so speculative and indeed improbable that I leave them aside entirely for this discussion.<sup>3</sup> Substrate influence in northwestern Indo-European (Germanic, Celtic, and often Italic and/or Baltic and Slavic) is now generally seen as being limited to lexical and perhaps minimal structural influence.

The problem of substrate in Indo-European, particularly in the northwestern Indo-European daughter languages, becomes a particularly intriguing one because, on the one hand, significant percentages of core vocabulary do not yield satisfactory Indo-European etymologies and, on the other hand, so little is known about the pre-Indo-European language(s) of the area that research is forced to remain extremely speculative. As a result of the proclivity to speculate, substrate explanations carry a bad reputation among many historical linguists (see Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 111-112 and elsewhere). Some scholars have even attempted to deny any role to substratal influence in languages like Germanic. For example, Neumann (1971) finds instead that patient etymological work will eventually reveal Indo-European forms for most of the items in question. The truly skeptical position here would be that we cannot know about substrate language traces, rather than claiming that they did not exist. Denying the existence (or influence) of substrate languages where archeology shows clear pre-Indo-European habitation is, logically, as speculative as positing substrate influence.<sup>4</sup> Still, substrate explanations—to the extent that they represent explanations in any strict sense of the word—do remain the vaguest and least supportable arguments in a case where the substrate language is essentially not (directly) attested. For this reason, all other avenues must be exhausted before we reach for a substrate explanation. Substrate explanation for structural features is probable only to the extent that other explanations do not work.

We do not have direct knowledge of Northern European and much research has, therefore, concentrated on identifying lexical items from the substrate.<sup>5</sup> It is generally accepted that lexical borrowing represents the lowest-level language contact phenomenon, and that it precedes all other language-contact change. Lexical evidence therefore represents in some sense the safest evidence we can have in this obscure area of investigation. In the case of northern Indo-European that evidence is entirely indirect, i.e. attested only by its traces in other languages. However, through such lexical evidence, it may also be possible to gain some insight into phonological and morphological characteristics of the lost substrate language.

The fact that knowledge of the substrate language(s) comes only through lexical survivals in the superstrate language raises a potential circularity, since discrepancies are used as a diagnostic tool, but then also used to determine the nature of the substrate. Campanile (1976) shows a way to overcome this potential problem, explicitly stating that we must have other solid indications that particular vocabulary is substratal, and by extension presumably any phonological or morphological aberrancies we might want to attribute to the structure of the substrate. That is, items which belong to (cross-linguistically)

typical substrate domains (e.g. flora and fauna, geographical formations), which show clear regional distribution, and so forth, have often been seen as substrate items irrespective of their phonology. When items that share the just-mentioned characteristics also share particular distinctively non-Indo-European phonological and/or morphological patterns, these features might be attributed to the substrate.<sup>6</sup>

This problem has been aggravated by the near-total lack of criteria for determining substrate influence in a surviving language, something which, as noted above, has begun to change. In recent years, such work on substrate has become a topic of considerable debate among scholars in Germanic and the other northwestern Indo-European dialects (cf. the contributions by Gyseling, Kylstra, Markey, Polomé, among others in the bibliography). In particular though, Edgar Polomé has sought to establish explicit criteria to guide this discussion, summarized here following Polomé 1989: 54-55:

- a) Is it culturally plausible; does it reflect likely substrate semantic domains and/or basic vocabulary?
- b) Does it lack a clear Indo-European etymology?
- c) Is it a borrowing from neighbors or a *Wanderwort*?
- d) Does it show discrepant phonological or morphological features vis-à-vis Indo-European?

While he does not explicitly address the relative importance of the individual criteria, Polomé's criteria can presumably be arranged in ascending order of power for determining possible substrate status. For example, items simply lacking a clear Indo-European etymology appear to be the weakest candidates for substrate origin. The most powerful criterion, i.e. the one most likely to point to non-Indo-European origin, is perhaps the last, at least if it is taken in conjunction with Hamp's suggestion (in press) that evidence for substrate features cannot rest on an isolated lexical item, but must rather be based on a coherent pattern, parallel to our working assumptions about the regularity of sound change.

## 2. Substrate evidence in northwestern Europe

In view of, among other things, the substantial number of lexical items and structural features found in northern Europe but not in other Indo-European areas (e.g., Markey 1988: 8), it has been argued that northern Europe appears to have been less thoroughly Indo-Europeanized than many other parts of the present-day Indo-European territory. The result has been a long and well-known tradition of substrate hypotheses in the study of northern or northwestern Indo-European dialects. This includes, to give one prominent example, speculation about substrate influence on Celtic syntax by Rhys, Morris Jones, and Pokorny; a tradition that has been carried on more recently by Heinrich Wagner and others. Other recent work focuses more on Germanic, including the "northwest block" proposed by Hachmann, Kossack and Kuhn (1962), widely criticized but also defended by

Kuhn (1977) and treated in some depth and ultimately positively by Meid (1986, 1987).<sup>7</sup>

It is natural, given what we know about language-contact change, that any substratal influence would manifest itself first and most clearly in the lexicon, as already noted. Indeed, a careful survey of the relevant vocabulary leads Markey to conclude that approximately 28% of the core vocabulary of Germanic is of non-Indo-European origin (1988: 23 and elsewhere).<sup>8</sup> Likewise for Celtic, Campanile (1976: 138) finds, coincidentally, that 28% of his sample of uncompounded Old Cornish words are of unknown origin, after subtracting Indo-European items and loans from Germanic and Romance. The most plausible work on Northern European substrate focuses on such vocabulary and is the topic in the following discussion, in which I briefly examine several phonological peculiarities found in probable substrate vocabulary of the area.

Before turning to that discussion, however, a word is in order about the presumed language-contact setting between early northwestern Indo-European speakers and the pre-Indo-European inhabitants of the area. As Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 113) note, borrowing of any kind presupposes the maintenance of the substrate language "for a considerable period of time". Maintenance of the substrate would certainly be consistent with the widely accepted understanding of the Indo-European arrival in northern or northwestern Europe, where successive waves are thought to have come from the southeast.<sup>9</sup> Meid (1987: 92) and many other scholars believe that the Indo-European and the indigenous non-Indo-European must have lived together for some time before the shift to the new language was complete. Substantial borrowing, at least in some semantic fields, would then be thoroughly expected.

### 3. Some "phonological discrepancies" in northwestern IE vocabulary

At least three notable phonological features exist in northern Europe which appear to be very unlikely inheritances from Indo-European: loss of distinction between /a ~ o/, CVC roots of the type \*deg, and the presence of \*b, especially in word initial position. In the rest of this article, I will deal in some depth with possible arguments and counter-arguments about the status of the first feature and more briefly sketch some potential problems with the second and third features.

3.1 The first specific phonological aberrancy vis-à-vis Indo-European is the well-known substrate hypothesis, developed by Hamp (1975, 1982, 1984 and elsewhere), for the origin of /a ~ o/ confusion or collapse within the northwesternmost dialects of Indo-European. Hamp considers a number of words with problematic /a ~ o/ vocalism to be probable substrate items. Several indicators point in this direction, some made explicit by Hamp and others only implicit. These lexical items, in addition to shared phonological characteristics atypical of Indo-European, belong largely to domains susceptible to substrate influence,



such as the environment and geographical formations (*apple*, *seaweed*, *sea*, *lake*) or to culture-specific features that might survive language shift (*ale*). These items are furthermore all limited geographically to the European northwest.

Hamp has suggested that /a ~ o/ distinction was probably lost in the northwestern Indo-European dialects under contact with a Northern European population whose language(s) did not possess any distinction between these two vowels. Hamp's examples (found in a number of his articles on the subject, many of them also treated in Markey 1988) include the following:

* <i>ɔ</i> blu 'apple'	Slavic, Celtic, Italic, possibly Baltic
loch, etc. 'lake'	Celtic, Italic
*mari/mori 'sea'	Germanic, Celtic, Italic
	(cf. also Nehring 1959)
*badjos 'bay' (color)	Celtic, Italic

Hamp speculates that a number of other items share this substrate origin, based on semantics, areal distribution and membership in the class of u-stems—cf. also Markey (1988: 16-17) and Hamp (in press) for additional discussion of this last point. Hamp gives these Germanic items:

sql	'seaweed'
lyng	'heather' (perhaps also Slavic lǫgu 'woods, swamp')
ql	'ale'

A number of specific wrinkles in Hamp's etymologies have been raised in the literature and should be noted here, if only in passing. Adams (1985) disagrees particularly with the Baltic etymologies involved in the word for 'apple', something of little direct concern to us here. Polomé (1954) has argued that Scandinavian *ql* may have an Indo-European etymology, namely by way of connection with Old Norse *alu* and Hittite *alwanza* with further Indo-European cognates meaning something along the lines of 'struck by a spell'.

Still, even if the list were reduced by two or three items, other items could be added, such as *brāca*, which shows the appropriately limited distribution (Germanic, Celtic, and probably loaned into Latin), refers to a cultural item that might have been borrowed, etc. Such an etymology would also eliminate problems with the relative chronology of developments in that word and others (cf. Polomé 1983: 292). At any rate, this paper does not seek to etymologize, but rather to work on the broader level of Hamp's *patterns* of lexical evidence. With the other problematic /a ~ o/ etymologies proposed and/or treated by Campanile (1976) and others, there can be little doubt that such a pattern exists.<sup>10</sup>

It is interesting and important to note that much of this vocabulary is clearly regional beyond Indo-European, notably in Finno-Ugric, illustrated here with Finnish examples:

*alup	>	olut	'ale'
*brāca	>	ruoke	'breeches'
*mari/mori	>	meri	'sea'

Note that this does not necessarily constitute a violation of Polomé's criterion (c) against using probable *Wanderwörter* or borrowings, since the borrowing appears to have gone from the northwestern Indo-European dialects into Finno-Ugric.<sup>11</sup>

The mirror-image-parallel losses of /a ~ o/ distinction in Germanic, Baltic and Slavic are well-known. Hamp argues that the /ɔ/ was interpreted in Latin as /a/ and in Celtic, depending on environment, as /a/ or /o/. Campanile (1976: 134) leaves matters vaguer, speaking only of "alternation" between the two vowels. (Campanile also brings in Greek examples with a ~ o, which will be left aside for the present.)

Basically, Hamp proposes that the lexical items given above and the just-mentioned broader tendency for a ~ o to collapse in some of these same dialects together represent the acquisition of a system like that in A (below) by speakers of a language with a vowel system like that in B. This would have taken place as speakers of the Northern European substrate imposed their basic vowel system on the (dialectal northwest) Indo-European system:

A		B	
i	u	i	u
e	o	e	ɔ
a			

Markey (1988: 17) endorses this point of view, saying that speakers of a B-like language might easily have neutralized an /a ~ o/ contrast like that in A. The usual handbook examples of loss of vowel distinctions with language-contact change tend to be quite different from this system. One finds loss of distinctive length, loss of tense/lax distinctions, loss of highly marked items such as front rounded vowels—these can be found in Thomason and Kaufman 1988 and/or Weinreich 1968. It appears less common, if still thoroughly possible, to lose height distinctions in language contact, although Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 92) cite the apparent loss of /e, o/ in Brahui under extreme contact (their category 5, heavy structural borrowing). A fairly close parallel might be the English of some German-American communities, where /æ/ is raised to a mid vowel, although in my experience this is usually limited to German-dominant bilinguals and not characteristic of communities in the last stages of language death.

At this point, a brief excursus on vowel systems may be helpful. Markey (1988) notes that Hamp's proposal posits a very marked vowel system, at least in a cross-linguistic context.<sup>12</sup> A quick survey based on Ruhlen (1975), Maddieson (1984) and a few other sources indeed indicates that only a few languages show systems close to the proposed one. I find only one, that one not exactly like the system proposed by

Hamp, but probably sufficiently similar to draw the comparison, namely as a truly rectangular four-vowel system, i.e. a four-vowel system at two heights and front/back:<sup>13</sup>

Arapaho (long and short)

i	u
e	o

/ɔ/ shows up rarely in four-vowel systems and Disner (1984: 141) sees it as generally limited to systems with five or more vowels. The truly relevant feature of Hamp's system is not, however, the precise symmetry or even the precise phonetics of the vowel system, but rather the lack of a distinction between /a/ and /o/.<sup>14</sup> Dozens of languages show four-vowel systems without /a ~ o/ distinction. This appears most commonly with an /a ~ u/ contrast for back vowels, as in the system of Cavineña, Cocopa, and numerous other languages:

i	u
e	
	a

It is also quite possible to have /o/ without /a/, as in Evenki, which has a schwa in addition to four cardinal vowels:

i	u
ə	o
æ	

An /o/ without /a/ system might fit better with other evidence. For example, such a system would leave wide room for allophonic variation, something Lehmann already attributes to /o/ in the proto-language (1952: 10). The marked status of Hamp's particular proposal then is problematic only if the exact phonetics are adopted, while the substance of the argument remains untouched by relatively minor adjustment of the vowel system. Hamp, when he originally proposed this (1982a: 163), specifically described the vowel in question as "not cardinal [a], but a low back (perhaps somewhat rounded) vowel. To represent this relation compactly let us write ɔ." Certainly, Campanile's less clearly defined suggestion remains unaltered by this change.

While arguments for a substrate without /a ~ o/ distinction are strong, claims of substrate origin without an attested substrate must serve as a last resort, as noted at the outset. Therefore, a number of other competing possibilities must be acknowledged. Three play a role in the literature on Indo-European:

- 1) Arguments about allophonic variation in the non-high back vowels
- 2) /a ~ o/ distinction or lack thereof as a dialectal phenomenon in Indo-European

3) Attempts to posit systems without any low vowel for the proto-language.

In the following paragraphs, I do not want to claim that any of these possibilities could by itself adequately explain the distribution of /a ~ o/ across Indo-European, but rather simply to suggest that the lack of clarity about the nature of the distinction in Indo-European might prove sufficient to call into question the need to resort to substrate origin. That is, the status of /a ~ o/ problems in the northwestern Indo-European dialects might be understood as scarcely constituting a significant phonological aberrancy vis-à-vis Indo-European.

The three views noted can actually be understood as points along a continuum from denying the existence of a distinction to slightly adjusting the realization of /o/ to help handle /a ~ o/ problems.<sup>15</sup> As just noted, Lehmann (1952) suggests wide allophonic variation for /o/ in the proto-language. If /a/ and /o/ were not maximally distinguished in Indo-European, a collapse in several dialects might be more likely. However, to pursue an argument about the precise position of Indo-European /o/ here would imply belief in more realistic phonetic reconstruction than is plausible for the depth involved for Indo-European.

It has been repeatedly suggested that Indo-European only dialectally possessed /a ~ o/ distinction to begin with. Palmer (1954: 30) finds "confusion" of a and o—he includes Albanian and the later developments of Indo-Iranian here—"regarded as an important 'isogloss' for grouping the IE. dialects". Note also that absence of this distinction occurs in some varieties of Indo-European considered in some recent work to be particularly archaic, especially Anatolian and Germanic. This "confusion" also shows a widely scattered geographical distribution. Another possible explanation (if not necessarily a particularly plausible one) would be drift, something which might dovetail with the proposed variation in realization of /o/. Such a hypothesis might be able to account for the broad geographical distribution of /a ~ o/ distinction.

Adrados (1987: 104) sees the positing of a phoneme /a/ as problematic for the proto-language, following of course a long tradition of reconstructing minimal vowel systems for PIE (cf. also Rosenkranz (1978: 119-120) from an Anatolian perspective). Most recently, Lubotsky (1989, building to a certain extent on foundations laid by Kuryłowicz) proposes a two-vowel system for PIE, arguing that the positive evidence for a low vowel in Proto-Indo-European comes from Tocharian and the "southern" daughter languages, Greek, Armenian, Celtic and Italic. Even within that group of daughter languages, he argues, a-vocalism proves doubtful in Latin and Armenian. Moreover, he maintains that Tocharian vocalism remains too poorly understood to base reconstructions on. This leaves solid evidence from only one dialect, Greek, for reconstructing this phoneme. Lubotsky is surely correct that the number of etymologies showing /a/ for the proto-language is relatively small. At the same time, a number of problems

with these arguments can be raised. First, the dialects listed hardly seem to make a natural grouping in Indo-European areal terms. Celtic (even if we take it to be a *southern* Indo-European dialect) and Tocharian represent the geographical extremes of the Indo-European territory and might more easily be seen as relict areas than as sharing such an innovation. Second, this argument requires a jump from frequent occurrence of secondary /a/ in Italic and Celtic and the "notoriously" problematic a-vocalism of Latin to the elimination of /a ~ o/ distinction in "Italo-Celtic", a move which would seem to demand more detailed support.

The evidence for variation in back, non-high vowels and a distinction between low and mid is then regarded as problematic for Indo-European from a number of widely differing perspectives. Without adopting the extreme and unproven position of denying the distinction in the proto-language, the problems show that resort to substrate origin for loss of /a ~ o/ distinction may not prove necessary.

Still, the variety of possible explanations available here does not eliminate the often-made case for substrate-induced confusion of these two vowels in the northwestern area (again, unless one takes Lubotsky's position). This is true especially in light of recent emphasis by historical linguists on the polycasuality or multiple motivation of language change—something that the recipient of this volume has always stressed in his teaching and research. It is possible that instability of the /a ~ o/ distinction in Indo-European, or in its northwestern daughter languages, led to vowel merger in these varieties under contact with another group not possessing the same distinction. Under such circumstances, the newly arrived Indo-Europeans might even have lost the distinction themselves—as opposed to a failure to make the distinction in a new language by the indigenous population. Such a scenario might fit with a higher ratio of Indo-Europeans to indigenous people(s), while still yielding a context in which the linguistic change could have taken place.<sup>16</sup>

3.2 With this more detailed example laid out, let us now turn briefly to two other "discrepancies" found in a number of northwestern Indo-European items of possible substrate origin.

A commonly cited northwestern discrepancy vis-à-vis the rest of Indo-European is the presence of numerous roots of the form \*deg-, i.e. CVC roots containing two plain voiced stops, something treated by Hamp (in press) and others. Some of these items and a number of others also show \*b, including initially, something at best rare in Indo-European.<sup>17</sup>

- \*badjos 'bay' (color, of horses) Celtic, Latin
- \*dub- 'drop' Gmc
- \*dud- 'shake' Gmc
- \*gedu- 'meat, cut' Celtic, Gmc<sup>18</sup>

Additional items with \*b include *ship*, etc. < \*skibu-. Some items prove difficult on even other grounds; e.g. *plow*, which, as Markey (1988: 24) notes, shows the improbable initial cluster of \*bl-.

Moreover, many occurrences of \*b have been repeatedly identified with specific domains, particularly vulgar or insulting words.<sup>19</sup> This identification of the voiced bilabial stop with semantically related items has been traditionally understood as reflecting its "marginal status" within the inventory. But within the context of language contact, this sounds suspiciously like borrowing, since it is cross-linguistically extremely common for a language to borrow in certain restricted semantic fields and, given an established pattern of borrowing, for some sounds to be restricted to loaned items (consider /ʒ/ in initial position in German and English). In fact, the particular semantic field at hand shows a tendency in some contact settings to survive in cases of language shift, e.g. the retention of taboo vocabulary from the immigrant language in some American immigrant communities.<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, within the glottalic theory, the rarity of \*b and the violations of the root structure constraint become much more powerful, since they are now clearly phonetically motivated. The resort to substrate origin is less compelling in the filling in of a virtual accidental gap (as these are in traditional views of the PIE obstruent system) than in a case where clear articulatory phonetic and/or phonological motivation is present.

While these last two points might indirectly help to underpin the substrate hypothesis at hand, we must again consider some potentially significant counter-arguments. Both the roots of the type \*deg- and the \*b's in the northwestern dialects could be explained quite simply as new vocabulary acquired after these Indo-European dialects had lost glottalized consonants. That is, once the glottalic series (or more specifically an implosive series—normally voiced glottalics) had become a plain voiced series, the motivation for the gaps is lost and any lexical innovation—adstratal borrowing or even internal innovations, not just substratal borrowing—might show these previously prohibited forms. Again, simple possible alternative explanations to the substrate hypothesis seem to present themselves.

#### 4. Summary and Conclusion

The substrate hypothesis on the origin of at least much of the vocabulary treated here appears strong, given a number of indicators. Some of the lexical items show very striking divergence from what have been established as normal Indo-European phonological patterns. The conjunction of two very clear phonological discrepancies within a number of items (that is, both features sometimes found in the same item), would seem to provide far greater support for substrate origin than either one of the features alone would have (or have had) the features shown completely different lexical distributions. The items in question are already probable substrate items (e.g. semantic fields likely to show substrate influence), something which could easily extend to the semantics of \*b-initial words.

The three features discussed here would represent the introduction of new linguistic options, in one case phonemic loss, in a second a co-occurrence possibility, and in a third the importation of a new obstruent, filling a gap in the inventory. Such changes are probably the minimal possible form of structural borrowing (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 74). This would make them far more plausible substrate features than general sound changes, i.e. these changes normally require less intense language contact in attested settings than true structural borrowing.

However, serious problems still remain with a substrate hypothesis even for this vocabulary. Other (non-substrate) explanations remain plausible at crucial points, including the /a ~ o/ confusion in the northwestern dialects. In particular, parallels to the loss of /a ~ o/ distinction are found in other parts of the Indo-European territory and a broader areal pattern might also help account for these developments without reference to an unknown substrate. Particularly within a glottalic view of Proto-Indo-European obstruents, the roots containing \*b or two plain voiced stops could simply be fit into a very plausible relative chronology of dialectal Indo-European developments.

All this is certainly not intended as a critique of substrate hypotheses, but rather as an exploration of some of the pitfalls of substrate work in this difficult setting. The northwestern European substrate language, Northern European, probably did possess a four-vowel system without distinction between mid and low back vowels. While /ɔ/ is perhaps not the ideal candidate for the back non-high slot in such a four-vowel system on typological grounds, other four-vowel systems could fulfill the same function. But even with the strict application of criteria like those developed by Polomé, considerable uncertainty remains.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>I would like to thank the following people for a variety of comments on earlier versions of this manuscript and discussions of this and related topics: Julie Bellquist, Bridget Drinka, Monica Macaulay, and Fred Schwink, as well as Greg Humpa and Dan Nutz. All the usual disclaimers apply.

<sup>2</sup>As Markey points out (1988: 15), we do have numerous attestations of at least some of the pre-Indo-European languages in Europe—Basque, Etruscan, Pictish, and so forth. But we either have yet to decipher inscriptions or there has been no evidence to equate Northern European with any of those.

<sup>3</sup>In Salmons (in press) I argue for initial stress accent as an areal feature of prehistoric northwestern Europe, including Finno-Ugric and Indo-European languages. This feature was presumably shared by, and could possibly have originated with, the pre-Indo-European substrate language(s) of the area, but those *areal* arguments are quite different from the substrate arguments under discussion.

<sup>4</sup>Campanile (1976: 138) suggests that we should not be overly bothered by the lack of direct attestation of substrates, since Indo-European itself is not directly attested. While the comparison is interesting, Indo-European is quite well attested

"indirectly", to use the term of Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 350). In the case of Northern European, we lack the massive body of comparative reconstruction based on well-attested daughter-languages that we possess for Indo-European.

<sup>5</sup>I use "Northern European" here (following Hamp and Markey) rather than "Old European" or "Alteuropäisch" because the first term is geographically more restricted to the specific areas I am concerned with here.

<sup>6</sup>Consider parallels to the Greek *-nt* suffix here, long considered by many to characterize pre-Indo-European elements. See for example Thumb (1932: 6-7).

<sup>7</sup>The most interesting aspect of that work for our purposes here is the use of phonological discrepancies, found also in Gysseling (1987) and Polomé (1989), something which will be treated indirectly below.

<sup>8</sup>Such figures are not at all in conflict with Polomé's conclusion that the Germanic lexicon is conservative with regard to Indo-European, since we are dealing here with innovations that did not necessarily displace inherited items, and indeed may not have been likely to in the case of flora, fauna, etc.

<sup>9</sup>Note that this does not constitute an endorsement of the standard view, but rather merely establishes that some substratal influence in Indo-European would be predicted by that view.

<sup>10</sup>Since the focus is on patterns of data and not dependent on any given etymology, I avoid trying to do etymologies throughout this paper, using instead reliable sources, such as Polomé, Hamp, and Campanile.

<sup>11</sup>As Markey has noted, the generally accepted reconstruction of two back, non-high vowels for early Finno-Ugric essentially precludes considering this family as a possible substrate here, though it might be somewhat more plausible in some other contexts. See Posti (1953/1954) on Finno-Ugric or Janhunen (1982: 24-25) on Proto-Uralic.

<sup>12</sup>The same point might, of course, be made about some proposals for early Germanic vocalism, e.g. the long vowel system found in Antonsen (1972: 139-140) and Fromm (1986: 219).

<sup>13</sup>Markey gives Tonkawa as an example, but Maddieson (1984) shows it having a five-vowel system. Ruhlen lists Iraqi Arabic as having four short vowels including /æ/ and /o/, but his source (Erwin 1963: 19-21) clearly describes the two vowels in question as "low central" and "mid back rounded", i.e. /a/ and /o/. Several other four-vowel systems are reported in some sources to be rectangular two-level systems, but turn out not to be in light of more recent work. All this reflects the ongoing difficulties inherent in broad cross-linguistic typological work, for at least certain purposes. Another relevant point is that from a phonological rather than phonetic point of view "rectangular" might be far more loosely defined, cf. below.

<sup>14</sup>Of course, those who take a relatively "abstractionist" position in the debate over the reliability of reconstructed linguistic forms will have fewer problems with this than those who take a strictly "realist" position.

<sup>15</sup>I leave aside completely the numerous attempts to reduce the Indo-European system to one vowel.

<sup>16</sup>Another issue that might be worth mentioning if not pursuing here is that of chronology. An original /a ~ o/ distinction and its loss in, for example, Germanic, would have to match up with substrate contact. That conflicts with evidence—especially, early Latin-Germanic items, such as the name of the river Danube—that the collapse took place around the beginning of our era (cf. Ramat 1981: 9-11). Most sources date substrate contact far earlier than this of course (but see Meid 1987), forcing the assumption of a change emerging centuries after contact. However, problems with /a ~ o/ in Italic as well as Germanic perhaps make the 'Danube'-type evidence questionable.



<sup>17</sup>As with the /a ~ o/ problems above, we find such items loaned into Finno-Ugric: *dæg* > Finnish *takaan*, for example.

<sup>18</sup>Voyles (1989) lists a dozen such items from Pokorny (that is, items with two plain voiced stops), but these are virtually all extremely problematic Indo-European etymologies, including items Pokorny marked with "?" or "??", and several items which are not actually CVC roots at all, but instead roots with enlargements. These items are discussed at more length in Salmons (in preparation).

<sup>19</sup>See Johansson (1900), Joseph (1985), Wescott (1988), all of whom appear to have found this tendency independently of one another and none of whom put this evidence to the use I propose here.

<sup>20</sup>In my own fieldwork with German dialects in Texas and Indiana, taboo vocabulary and insults often constitute the last bits of German that are known and used by younger generations.

## References

- Adams, Douglas Q.  
 1985 The Indo-European word for "apple" again. *Indogermanische Forschungen*. 90: 79-82.
- Adrados, Francisco R.  
 1987 Ideas on the Typology of Proto-Indo-European. *JIES* 15 (1-2): 97-120.
- Antonsen, Elmer H.  
 1972 The Proto-Germanic syllabics (vowels). *Toward a Grammar of Proto-Germanic*, eds. Frans van Coetsem and Herbert L. Kufner. Tübingen: Niemeyer. 117-140.
- Campanile, Enrico  
 1976 Indo-European and Non-Indo-European Elements in the Celtic Dialects. *JIES* 4: 131-138.
- Disner, Sandra Ferrari  
 1984 Insights on vowel spacing. In Maddieson 1984. 136-155.
- Erwin, Wallace M.  
 1963 *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. Arabic Series, 4.
- Fromm, Hans  
 1986 Germanisch-finnische Lehnforschung und germanische Sprachgeschichte. *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht*, ed. Heinrich Beck. Berlin: de Gruyter. 213-230.
- Gysseling, Maurits  
 1987 Substratwörter in den germanischen Sprachen. *NOWELE* 10: 47-62.
- Hachmann, Rolf, George Kossack, and Hans Kuhn  
 1962 *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*. Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz.
- Hamp, Eric P.  
 1975 'Cut' and 'meat' in Germanic. *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* 30: 49-51.  
 1982a The North European word for 'apple'. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 39: 158-66.  
 1982b Western Indo-European notes. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 87: 76-81.

- 1988 Northwest Indo-European 'spoon'. *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwartz*, ed. Yoël Arbeitman. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters. 501-504.
- In press The Pre-Indo-European language of northern (central) Europe. *Papers from the Bellagio Conference*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Karoma.
- Janhunen, Juhana  
1982 On the structure of Proto-Uralic. *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*. 44: 23-42.
- Johansson, Karl F.  
1900 Anlautendes Indogermanisches b-. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 36: 342-390.
- Joseph, Brian D.  
1985 Proto-Indo-European consonantism: methodological and further concerns. *Papers from the 6th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, ed. Jacek Fisiak. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 313-22.
- Kuhn, Hans  
1977 Kracht es im Nordwestblock? Zur Kritik an meiner Namenforschung. *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* 106(4): 321-346.
- Kylstra, Andries D.  
1984 Das älteste Germanisch im Lichte der germanisch-finnischen Lehnwortforschung. *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 21: 1-7.
- Lehmann, Winfred P.  
1952 *Proto-Indo-European Phonology* Austin: University of Texas Press.  
1970 A shift in the syntactic type of early North Germanic and its phonological effects. *The Nordic Languages and General Linguistics*, ed. John Weinstock. Austin: University of Texas Press. 286-305.
- Lubotsky, Alexander  
1989 Against a Proto-Indo-European phoneme \*a. *The New Sound of Indo-European: Essays in Phonological Reconstruction*, ed. Theo Vennemann. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 53-66.
- Maddieson, Ian  
1984 *Patterns of Sound*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Markey, Thomas L.  
1988 The Celto-Germanic 'Dog/Wolf'-champion and the integration of Pre/Non-IE ideals. *NOWELE* 11: 3-30.  
In press The impact of non-Indo-European on Indo-European in the socioeconomic sphere: Western/Atlantic Europe. *Proceedings of the IREX conference on comparative linguistics*.
- Meid, Wolfgang  
1986 Hans Kuhns "Nordwestblock" Hypothese: zur Problematik der Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten. *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht*, ed. Heinrich Beck. Berlin: de Gruyter. 183-212.  
1987 Zum 'Germanen'-Problem. *NOWELE* 9: 91-97.
- Nehring, Alfons  
1959 Idg. \*mari, \*mori. *Festschrift für Franz Rolf Schröder*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 122-138.
- Neumann, Günter  
1971 *Substrate im Germanischen?* Göttingen: Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. 4.
- Palmer, Leonard R.  
1954 *The Latin Language*. The Great Languages. London: Faber & Faber.

- Polomé, Edgar C.  
 1954 Notes sur le vocabulaire religieux du germanique. I. Runique *alu*. *La Nouvelle Clío* 5: 40-55.  
 1983 Celto-Germanic isoglosses (revisited). *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 11: 281-298.  
 1985 Methodological Aspects of Glotto- and Ethnogenesis of the Germanic Peoples. *Entstehung von Sprachen und Völkern. Glotto- und ethnogenetische Aspekte europäischer Sprachen*. Akten des 6. Symposions über Sprachkontakt in Europa, Mannheim 1984, ed. P. Sture Ureland. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 45-70.  
 1986 The Non-Indo-European Component of the Germanic Lexicon. *o-o-pe-ro-si: Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Annemarie Etter. Berlin: de Gruyter. 661-672.  
 1987 Who are the Germanic people? *Proto-Indo-European: The Archaeology of a Linguistic Problem. Studies in Honor of Marija Gimbutas*, eds. Susan N. Skomal and Edgar C. Polomé. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man. 216-44.  
 1989 Substrate lexicon in Germanic. *NOWELE* 14: 53-73.
- Posti, Lauri  
 1953/1954 From Pre-Finnic to late Proto-Finnic. *Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen* 31: 1-91.
- Ramat, Paolo  
 1981 *Einführung in das Germanische*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Rosenkranz, Bernhard  
 1978 *Vergleichende Untersuchungen der altanatolischen Sprachen. Trends in Linguistics, State-of-the-Art Reports*, 8. The Hague: Mouton.
- Ruhlen, Merritt  
 1975 *A Guide to the Languages of the World*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Universals Project.
- Salmons, Joe  
 In press *Accentual Change and Language Contact: comparative survey and a case study of early northern Europe*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.  
 In preparation *The Glottalic Theory: Survey and Synthesis*.
- Thomason, Sarah Grey, and Terrence Kaufman  
 1988 *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Thumb, Albert.  
 1932 *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*. 2nd edition by E. Kieckers. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Tops, Guy A. J.  
 1973 Indo-European a, o > Germanic a; Indo-European ā, ō > Germanic ō. *Orbis* 21(1): 191-218.
- Vennemann, Theo  
 1984 Bemerkung zum frühgermanischen Wortschatz. *Festschrift für Klaus Matzel*, eds. H.-W. Eroms et al. Heidelberg: Winter. 105-119.
- Voyles, Joseph  
 1989 Bifurcational Germanic and glottonic Indo-European: a critique. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* 111(1): 16-34.
- Weinreich, Uriel  
 1968 *Languages in Contact*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Wescott, Roger W.  
 1988 Derogatory use of the marginal phoneme /b/ in Proto-Indo-European. *JIES* 16(3-4): 365-369.

## THE PROBLEM OF EXISTENCE OF THE LITERARY LANGUAGE IN ANGLO-SAXON BRITAIN

Viktorija N. Jarceva

In modern linguistic science the study of the formation of literary language and its historical relation with territorial dialects has been grounded on the factual data of various languages. The national language is a historical category and forms out of territorial dialects as the nation takes shape. Generally at the root of the national literary language lies the dialect of a large city - the economic, political and cultural centre of the country - this dialect stemming from a mingled origin in course of time oversteps the narrow dialectal confines. As the national language progresses, with the development and consolidation of literary styles, dialectal relationship assumes a new aspect. Frequently, the national literary language is based on a dialectal foundation other than that of old literary works, assimilating but certain particular elements of the latter. The alliance of territorial and social factors in this case is very important.

The substitution of the dialectal basis for the form of language which in course of time becomes the literary standard, occurs gradually and is to be seen, in the main, during the early period of the formation of the national language. It does not, naturally, follow that in the new literary style the struggle between the elements originating from various dialects comes to an end; rather it intensifies, but as time wears on the appreciation and evaluation of the competing phonetic and grammatical forms modify. For instance until the middle of the thirteenth century the London dialect exhibited markedly southern dialectal forms which, however, were gradually driven out by East-Midland elements during the second half of the thirteenth and especially in the fourteenth centuries. By the time when the London dialect had made headway as the basis of literary English, the discarded southern forms were taken as obsolete, turning thereby into peculiar archaisms. The recognition of forms, genetically pertaining to the southern dialect, as "old", and those coming from the East-Midland dialects as "new", is associated with the alteration in the status of the London dialect itself among the other territorial dialects of England. When London dialect was one of the many territorial dialects, each enjoying equal rights, the features that affiliated it with one surrounding dialect or another, were regarded in the same terms as the ties between any other local dialects. However, since the time when the London dialect acquires a wide application in business, state and literary convention throughout England, the balance of dialects upsets, and the English of London and its surroundings comes forth as the source of some general standard as contrasted to all the other dialects, the local varieties of which begin to compare henceforth with one constant value - the London English.

According to the opinion of Ekwall the change of the dialectal traits in the language of London in XIV century was the result of a strong infiltration of the population from the central regions of England. It was not simply the question of a certain amount of people using local dialect different from that of London. From the statistics reflecting the social rank of citizens of London who originated from Midland districts Ekwall comes to the conclusion that the language of these citizens held social prestige owing to their prominent positions in business, administration and state

affairs. So a local dialect merged into a social dialect and influenced the trend of development of the national language (Ekwall 1956).

Notwithstanding the variety of historical conditions pertaining to each country, certain general laws of the development of the literary languages can be stated. It is just the similarity and some general trends in the history of the literary languages that made possible their comparative study. Prof. B. Havránek put a strong point of the supradialectal character of the literary language. "Comparative research in standard languages must be based on the general character of the standard language manifested in its specific structure, mainly in its complex stylistic stratification, making it adequate to its multifarious tasks, and in the specific nature of its standard norm. This specific nature is based in the supradialectal validity of the standard and reflected in the degree to which the existence of the norm is realized by the speakers, even if consciousness of this existence is often merely potential; for the same reason, the very existence of the norm of the standard may be realized just as potentially" (Havránek 1964, 59).

Of course, the very term "literary language" calls for an historical approach. As very correctly pointed out by V. Vinogradov, "...distinctions are conditioned, first and foremost, by differences in the social and cultural functions of the literary language in various periods of a people's history. However they also depend on the concrete historical features in the development of a literary language in connection with the individual features in the history of the people in question..." (Vinogradov 1958, 25).

A national language at a definite historical stage in the development of a people's language includes the literary language in its written and colloquial oral forms. The literary language is linked through complex and changing relationships with non-literary variants of the spoken language (dialects, semi-dialects, various forms of popular speech and so on), which it transforms and adapts to the general national norms. In the period during which a particular nation is emerging as such, the literary language gradually accumulates a number of qualitative features that distinguish it from preceding historical periods.

In the conditions of the stabilisation of literary norms, particular urgency attaches to the question of variants of the literary norm, i.e., the permissible limits of departures from the accepted norm. This problem, which is new in linguistics, is posed, on the one hand, on the historical plane (what is permissible as variant during one period of the history of a literary language may disappear in the course of its further development) and, on the other hand, on the plane of the genre and stylistic varieties of a literary language. These problems are a special case in those countries where two literary languages, i.e., two literary norms exist as in Norway, for instance. Here one can clearly see the close links between the history of the literary language and that of society, the influence of the historical conditions of a given people's life on the specific character in the formation of a literary language in its written and spoken varieties.

Mention has already been made of the historical mutability of the concept of "literary norm" and of the importance of an adopted norm being realised as a specific quality in a literary language in the epoch of a nation's formation. During the existence of a nation, the literary language usually operates in the capacity of vector of a nationwide norm; in these conditions it is in fact

called upon to represent the language unity of a given people and to perform a nationwide function. In analysing the history of the English language it would be efficient to distinguish two problems which are mutually related but nevertheless quite different: 1) the history of the development of the English language structure at the level of the vocabulary, phonology, morphology and syntax; and 2) the history of the development of literary language proper. Changes in the structure of language manifest themselves in literary language and are realised in written literary documents.

It may seem that the history of literary language had better orientate itself on the textological analysis of the preserved written documents. However philologists are extremely careful in formulating general conclusions, because in many cases the manuscripts passed through various schools of scribes with the result of bearing marks of different dialects.

The question of the origin of Old English dialects, of the correlation between them and their subsequent development is of great significance for understanding the history of the literary language in its oldest period. The preserved English literature of the eighth-eleventh centuries represents a variety of its genres: epos, lyrics, business prose in the form of laws, charters, and testaments, chronicles, religious prose in the shape of canonical texts of the Gospels and sermons addressed to believers, rudiments of scientific prose, most frequently in the form of translations from Latin - all this creates as it were possibilities for analysing the functioning and potentials of English. However the researcher has to overcome a lot of obstacles in his/her work. It is known that most of the Old English monuments are preserved in the records of the more late period than that when they were created, and that the records made by Wessex scribes bear an imprint of the Wessex dialect. For the majority of territorial divisions of Old England it is difficult to decide whether regional literary variants had existed which were contrasted with the use of the living every-day spoken language or (as usually assert histories of English) supradialectal literary koine began shaping only in the ninth century in Wessex. Some external historical data would rather speak in favour of the latter. However the final decision of the subject is hampered because the researcher lacks the possibility of contrasting the Wessex dialect as such to the written monuments of Wessex on one and the same chronological axis.

The ascertainment of the status of dialects is important for solving the problem of the Old English literary language because in the conditions of the existence of strong regional dialects the possibility of shaping an uniform literary standard is disputable.

The origin of and correlation between Old English dialects remain the subject of discussions among historians of English. There have been preserved very few texts with a distinct dialectal location, on the other hand, in the texts pertaining to later period the original dialectal features could be obscured by the corrections introduced by scribes. H.C.Wyld notes: "most of the important O.E. documents which survive are written in a form in which the W.S. elements greatly predominate, but they often show a mixture of dialectal elements from other sources. This as in the case of the poetry, is generally the result of the texts having been done into W.Saxon from another dialect, in which process some of the original features have been allowed to remain unaltered. Poetical texts not infrequently bear traces of having passed through several dialects, all of which have left their mark, as in Beowulf, in the form we possess". (Wyld 1963, 54).

It is natural that the origin of dialects is determined by certain historical events taking place in Old England. Historians considered the emergence of various territorial-state unities and their development as a result of the migration of Old Germanic tribes from the continent to Great Britain. The evidence of this migration is taken mainly from two sources: the Wales historical version impressed in *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* and ascribed to Gildas, a native of England, who wrote it shortly before 548; and a historical version which is partly reflected in such Old English poetical works as *Widsith*, *Beowulf*, *The Fight at Finnsburg*. The text of *Anglo Saxon Chronicles* (five entries between 449 and 473) contains an entry on the conquest of Great Britain by Old Germanic tribes (Blair, 1979, 13-16). Apart from the above cited sources mention should be made about the events taking place in Great Britain in the fifth century which are described in works of ancient authors and of authors, natives of Gaul.

There are many publications which are rather contradictory in their nature, on the question whether Old English dialects are the historical continuation of dialectal differences of Germanic (West-Germanic) tribes migrated to Great Britain from the continent in the fifth-sixth centuries, or those dialects developed and isolated in England *per se*. Most Angleanists consider that in spite of the differences which likely existed between dialects of Germanic tribes migrating to Great Britain, the distinct dialectal boundaries emerged only after they had been secured in certain territories in appropriate Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The proportion of inherited and "acquired" differences is various in the assessments of researchers. K. Brunner writes: "Gewisse grundlegende Unterschiede bestanden sicherlich zwischen der Sprache der Sachsen, Angeln und Juten schon in der alten Heimat. In England wurden sie in den örtlich und staatlich getrennten gebieten allmählich starker, einerseits durch Ausgleich inner halb der neuen Siedlungsgebiete, andererseits durch die in den Kleingruppen einsetzende Sonderentwicklung. Bei den Angeln entwickelte sich so eine schärfere Mundartgrenze an der seit 679 feststehenden politischen zwischen dem mercischen und nordhumbriischen Gebiet; sie entspricht im großen und ganzen den grenzen der alten Stammesbistümer Lichfield und York (Brunner 1950, 38).

Difficulties in solving the problem of the source of Old English dialects arise due to a number of reasons. First, it is due to lack of early documents (written records) of the language of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes. The most early monuments date back to the period many centuries later the time of Germanic tribes' migration to Great Britain. It is known still less about their dialectal differences on the continent, and the major part of structural aspects of those differences are based on reconstruction.

A. Baugh remarked that "it is impossible to say how much the speech of the Angles differed from that of the Saxons or that of the Jutes. The differences were certainly slight. Even after these dialects have been subjected to several centuries of geographical and political separation in England the differences were not great. (Baugh 1957, 58).

Second, some features distinguishing one Old English dialect from another seem to be the result of one and the same processes which revealed themselves at different times in certain Old English dialects or embraced them partially.

At the close of the prehistoric period of OE an extensive group of changes occurred, whereby the short front vowels, *æ*, *e*, *i* were diphthongized to *ea*, *eo*, *io* when a back vowel stood in the

following syllable. In Anglian they take place before all consonants, but in W-S these changes take place only when the consonant intervening between the vowel affected, and the back vowel which causes the change, is a labial or liquid. The confusion of the unaccented back vowels began before 900 and was completed in Kentish and Northumbrian in the course of the tenth century, rather later in West-Saxon. It was followed in the eleventh century by confusion of all unaccented vowels. (Campbell 1959, 85 and 161).

Undoubtedly the migration of Germanic tribes continued during centuries. During that process itself and especially after the migration to Great Britain the interaction between closely related tribal dialects of Old Germans could be intensive because of the contacts of their bearers. This can be proved by the formation of the Mercian Kingdom and the Mercian dialect. By the year 600, on the territory of Great Britain (with the exception of areas occupied by the Celts) to the south of Humber there were formed ten independent kingdoms. Temporal unions and lasting wars which resulted in the hegemony of now this kingdom and now that one, continuously changed the country's political map.

"Northumbria was beginning to fall into isolation, and in the south an uneasy balance of power between a number of independent kingdoms gave no promise of the great advance toward the unity of England which was made before the eighth century was over. The Mercian kingdom, from which this advance began, was not so much a state as a group of peoples held together by an illustrious dynasty" (Stenton 1962, 201).

The presence of isoglosses connecting the Mercian dialect with the Northumbrian dialect, and on the other hand, with the Wessex one corroborates Stenton's opinion.

Present-day English historians assess very critically Bede's assertion of the connection between Germanic migrants and Old English peoples of that period. "Recent work in related studies suggests that this famous analysis over-emphasizes the distinction between the various peoples of whom the English nation was composed. It is dangerous, for example to assume that the features which distinguish one Old English dialect from another go back to the age of the migration. The study of English place names has not yet established any fundamental distinctions between the local nomenclature of Anglian, Saxon, and Jutish territory. As evidence for the continental origins of the English people the differences between the heathen cultures of Anglian and Saxon England, though real, are less significant than the resemblances" (Stenton 1962, 9-10).

It is necessary to take into account the correlation between the dialectal features inherited from the epoch of Old Germanic tribes and those specific traits which appeared as a result of isolation of the Old English territories. The shift of territorial boundaries of neighbouring dialects and the spread of language innovations beyond their origin facilitate the process of dialectal convergence.

The innovation characterising the territorial-dialectal and socio-dialectal variability of the shaping literary language is of special importance. The past has its imprint on the present: it is no accident that the age-old contrasting of the north of Great Britain to its south in relation of language goes back to the most early phases of the shaping of Old English dialects, which is corroborated by the historical facts of settling the territories situated to the south and to the north of Humber.



"The most important fact in the history of the earliest English kingdoms is the clear distinction which was maintained for more than two centuries between the peoples established respectively north and south of the Humber. It is reflected in the language of many formal documents written by men for whom the titles of kings and the names of peoples represented at least an approximation to political facts. As early as the year 672 the different English peoples beyond the Humber are collectively described in a solemn record as *Nordanhymbroborum gens* - the nation of the Northumbrians. No formal document ever speaks of the Southumbrians, but the Anglian, Saxon, and Jutish peoples who lived between the Humber and the Channel are often brought together in early charters as the *Sutangli*, or southern English" (Stenton 1962, 32).

Present-day historians believe that: 1) Germanic tribes migrated partially and during long time from the continent to Great Britain; 2) Kent was likely settled by various groups from several Germanic tribes. De Camp tried to radically revise the traditional point of view on the correlation between the Old English and Old Germanic dialects, drawing not only ethnohistorical factors, but social ones as well. The traditional view he contrasted to a hypotheses declaring that the origin of English dialects rests not on pre-migration distributions, but on certain social, economic and cultural conditions which emerged after the migration had finished. This does not mean that continental Germanic dialects played no role in the genesis of the dialects of the Old English period (in particular, De Camp attached great importance to the Frisian dialect). But De Camp's opinion that it is impossible to explain the features distinguishing one Old English dialect from another as ascending to the migration period is adhered by many historians (Chadwick, 1907, 64-69; Blair, 1979, II). The question is how the relations between the dialects on the territory of Great Britain shaped and transformed.

The emergence of regional literary standards is theoretically admissible which lately went out due to unfavourable historical conditions in the given region. A very stable (though temporal) opposition of the literary languages of the north and south of England tells in favour of the latter. "Movements towards Unity" (Blair, 1979, 49) was frequently a result of domination of more powerful kingdoms over the weaker neighbours. The Northumbrian domination in the seventh century was followed by the Mercian one in the eighth century and later, in the ninth century, Wessex, in its turn, became the centre of cultural, political and business life of the country. This event reflected in linguistic modifications of certain dialects. The dialectal isoglosses of the ninth and tenth centuries demonstrate the spread of the Wessex *æ* (genetically ascending to West Germanic *a*) beyond the limits of the Wessex territory proper. De Camp writes: "According to my hypothesis, the southeast Midland area had adopted many of the Kentish-Frisian innovations, but this new West-Saxon influence moving from the southwest, tended to reintroduce the older conservative forms, relatively uninfluenced by earlier Kentish-Frisian developments,... a wedge of conservative West-Saxon was driven into the dialect pattern of eastern England separating the lateral areas of Kentish-Frisian influence in the North west and Southwest. Thus the dialectal principle that lateral areas are usually conservative still holds here, innovation in the East, intruding into an area in which the earlier innovations had become standard. This eastward diffusion of West-Saxon resulted from east Midland imitation of West-Saxon, which by the tenth century become recognized as the

standard language of England (De Camp 1958, 242). In a series of articles investigating the language of the eighth-century Mercian Corpus Gloss Kuhn discovered that forms with *æ* outnumber those with *e* by a ratio 5:1. Kuhn explains this phenomenon indicating that the sound change was not yet completed (the traditional point of view being that it is a result of dialect mixture). With regard to inconsistent use of *e* and *æ* in Farman's Mercian glosses Kuhn refers to the eagerness with which the tenth-century Mercian scribes tried to imitate West Saxon (Kuhn 1939, 1945).

The phonetic replacement of *e* by *æ* in the zone of previous domination of *e* can be explained by the influence taking place in the sphere of the shaping literary koine which was typical of the Wessex forms of speech. Similar phenomena should be strictly distinguished from the dispersion of dialectal markers creating the so-called "linguistic continuity" or "linguistic space extension".

It is quite possible that in the areas situated beyond the Wessex territory the Wessex form gained the upper hand in the competition between two phonetic variants. In analysing written documents from various dialectal zones possessing Wessex forms, the researcher has to decide whether it is an influence of the shaping literary koine (on the Wessex base) of the Old English period (the 9th-10th centuries), or it is a result of the scribes' activities.

Does it mean that the above described facts that the forms with *e* were used in living speech in the given region? or both variants were used (*fæder/feder*, *wæter/weter*)? or those speaking used *e*, and in manuscripts scribes wrote now *e* and now *æ*? Naturally, the contradictory data engender contradictory interpretations among linguists. Nobody doubts the role of the Wessex form in the written language, but some Anglianists (for instance H.C. Wyld) believe that in that period there was no significant gap between the oral and written language (if only in some cultural centres).

Despite all the above described difficulties in their chronological and dialectal assessment the preserved documents of the Old English written language remain, however, the only sound material for understanding the functioning of the English language in various communicative spheres of the Old English epoch. If "Anglo-Saxon Chronicles" may be an example of Old English original prose, the numerous prosaic works which are translations from Latin occupy a special place in heritage of the O.E. epoch. Their thematic variety is rich: purely religious-didactic prose (e.g. *Cura Pastoralis*), works bearing philosophical character (e.g. Boetius), historical narrations (Orosius). Their language should be analysed with due account of two factors seemingly excluding each other.

On the one hand, the translation presents a servile imitation of the original, and, on the other, it borders on a free narration. In some instances it depends not only on the translator's talent and his knowledge of Latin, but also on the type of the translated document. Works of religious character, like the Gospels, follow the original text more precisely than the translations of the work like, for example, Orosius which was a kind of code of the contemporary knowledge of world history and geography. Of course the relations of the interacting languages depend on the historical conditions of their contact. No wonder that historians and philologists paid much attention to the extralinguistic factors in the historical development of the languages of different nations.

Writings on the history of the English language have always set great store by foreign influences. In addition to the usual cultural and historical relations in the life of the English people, the nation has experienced events that have favoured the large-scale

settlement of foreign inhabitants in Britain and created thereby, for at least certain periods in its history, zonal or social bilingualism.

The specific trait of the English language lay in the fact that the forms and causes of bilingualism altered, while at times three languages - English, French and Latin - were in use in the various spheres of communication.

With reference to vocabulary the relationship of languages can be diverse. Of the three possibilities available - the driving out of the native word by the foreign loan, the gradual extinction of the borrowed word, the differentiation of the meanings of competing synonyms - it is precisely the last that leads to the semantic development and enrichment of the vocabulary introducing semantic reforms in it.

The problem of the influence of the language upon another in the sphere of syntax is much more involved for solution than the problem of direct lexical borrowings or semantic translation loans. The "motivation" of syntactical structures and the fact that words in combinations, the more so in sentences, possess a lesser degree of "coupling" than the morphemes of words, gave the linguists an occasion to regard the syntax as a penetrated sphere and exaggerate the assets of foreign influences on the syntactical structure of the language.

The adoption of foreign words and of foreign syntactic patterns is often intensified by

- 1) the large number of translations from various languages during which it is at times much easier to take over the word from the original than look for its equivalent in the native language;
- 2) the existence in the language of an appreciable number of formerly borrowed roots, already assimilated by the given language which might, to a certain measure, favour new, kindred etymological borrowings.

The analysis of the language of translations can be used for determining the trend in developing the literary language, since the translator has to use all possible lexical and grammatical resources of the native language for identical translation of the text. Therefore philologists paid much attention to the activities of translation schools (especially schools at the King Alfred court). King Alfred's personal contribution to shaping translation types and his authorship caused long disputes.

The writings of prominent authors can naturally contain subjective appreciations of the standard and properties of the literary language of their times, their attitude to the measures aimed at enriching and improving the language, and their views on the problems of linguistics construction. Those issues assume greater prominence during the formation of the national language and its literary criteria. The problem of qualities of literary language, i.e. of its possibilities to convey ideas in any stylistic forms, is raised primarily by

- 1) translators from other languages who were after adequate translations;
  - 2) poets, theoreticians and verse critics, looking for new forms of versification which, to a certain measure, would imitate the genres of classical poetry;
  - 3) authors engaged in serious (science, philosophical prose). Such authors were especially in need of terminological vocabulary.
- The concept of a standard criterion is one of the most significant notions in the period of stabilizing the literary language. New types of evaluation grow up, one form of the language or another

is appreciated as "correct" or "incorrect", or as "literary" or "nonliterary".

The assumption that King Alfred was the translator of Orosius was founded mainly on the opinion of William of Malmesbury (the 10th century) who, describing in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* King Alfred's activity as a translator into Old English, included in the list of his translations besides "Consolation of Philosophy" (by Boethius) and "Pastoral Care" (by Gregory the Great) also "Historiarum adversus paganos libri" by Orosius.

Rather long ago philologists have come to the conclusion that the translation of Bede had not been made by King Alfred (see Whitelock, 1962). In order to finish with the issue of the author-translator it should be noted that in 1951 J. Raith came to conclusion that the translations of Orosius and Boethius (the latter one as is known, with the preface naming King Alfred as the translator) could not be done by one and the same person (Raith, 1951). Raith based his conclusion on the high frequency of compound verbal forms of the preterit in the translation of the Orosius text, especially for such verbs as O.E. *winnan*, *feohtan*, *hergian*. Naturally this verbal combination possessing a definite aspect market did not have a structural equivalent in the Latin original.

However disputes about the authorship have not abated. For instance, Wrenn discusses the style of Orosius in the translation of King Alfred (Wrenn, 1967, 55), and Stenton writes that the authenticity of the translation of Orosius is beyond any doubt (Stenton, 1962, 70). Without belittling the outstanding role of King Alfred in the history of culture of the Old English period one should take into account that his name has been surrounded with legends. It is the general activity of the school of translation at the King Alfred court, its traditions and the role of its translations in shaping the written language that are important for the history of the literary language (or it would be better to call it the literary koine).

Bately asserts that the translations of Orosius and Boethius had been made by two different translators individually or they might be made in co-authorship (Bately, 1970, 450). The comparison of the mentioned texts with the Latin originals and the tendency to reproduce one and the same Latin words with the help of lexemes have induced her to such conclusion. Thus for the notion "gem" the text of Orosius uses *gimstan*, and of Boethius - *gimm*; for "adultery" with Orosius it is *geliger*, *geligernes*, *forlipes*; with Boethius - *unrihtæmed*;

"wish" - Orosius - *gewilnung*; Boethius - *wilnung*;  
 "hate" - Orosius - *hete*, *nid*; Boethius - *feoung*;  
 "abundance" - Orosius - *genihtsumnes*; Boethius - *genyht*;  
 "capital" - Orosius - *heafodburh*; Boethius - *heahburh*;  
 "refuge" - Orosius - *gener*; Boethius - *fridstowe*,  
 (Bately, 1970, 442).

It would be interesting to know that the concept "capital" is used in both works in relation to Constantinople:  
 Boethius - *Constantinopolim*, *þær is Greca heahburg* ✓  
*heora cynestol* (Bo, 7, 20),  
 Orosius - *Constantinopolim...is...nu þæt hehste cynesetl* ✓  
*heaford ealles eastrices* (Or. 116, 13). The Latin original of Orosius: *Constantinopolis...gloriosissimi nunc imperii sedes et totius caput Orientis est* (Bately, 1970, 443). The factual material of Bately's article shows that Latin *philosophus* in Boethius' text is translated by the O.E. lexeme *udwita* (i.g. *anes udwitan* - Bo, 45, 5, in Latin original *philosophi*), the translator

of Orosius used the borrowed word (e.g. *Paminunde... ðæm gelæredestan filosofhe* - Or, 110, 21). Bately notes that in the text of Orosius "udwita" the native language is never used and in Boetius' text we never meet "more scientific" philosophus (Bately, 1970, 440).

The frequency of using one and the same lexemes plays no less role in comparing translations with the originals. Bately shows that the notion "guilt" in the text of Orosius and in the translation of Boetius is conveyed with the help of the Old English *gylt*, but in the text of Boetius we meet this lexeme only once and it has no derivative adjective (*scyld* is usually used with derivative adjectives *scyldig* and *unscyldig*), while in the text of Orosius *gylt* is normative with the derivative adjective *ungyltig*. As for *scyld*, there is neither the word itself, nor its derivatives in the Orosius text (Bately, 1970, 443).

In her further exposition Bately transfers the method of comparing lexemes in the original and its translation to the texts undoubtedly belonging to King Alfred, such as "Soliloquia" of Saint Augustine, (at the end of the only preserved manuscript there is a reference to King Alfred as the translator of this work) and also "Introduction" to the Laws - prosaic translation of the first fifty psalms in the Paris Psalter and *Cura Pastoralis* (though the share of King Alfred's participation in these texts is assessed differently by various philologists), she comes to the conclusion that from the point of view of translation form Orosius occupies an isolated place among the group of the mentioned monuments as well as in regard to Boetius with whom the above mentioned texts are comparable on a number of markers. (Bately, 1970, 459).

The material of philological studies similar to the article analysed here makes it possible to put a number of questions transcending the frames of problems of pure translation. Among the preserved documents of the Old English and Middle English periods translated texts occupy a considerable place and they should be taken into account. However their division into genres and their impact on the development of the literary language were different in various periods of the history of English. It is necessary to ascertain: 1) to what extent the translations made mainly in Wessex could have an influence on regulating and if only on codifying (in a measure) the literary usage of the language, in particular on its "alienation" from the regional Wessex dialect; 2) whether the Old English vocabulary had been enriched at the expense of direct borrowing from the original texts (i.e. whether borrowed words entered the language through the written texts) or translations stimulated expanding the semantic loan translation (*calque*); 3) the degree of influence of the translations on the language's grammar system, its semantic and structural organisation; and the principal question: what has remained from all mentioned above and what proved to be unstable.

It is known that Old English verse has preserved in rather latest manuscripts. This does not contradict the fact that, like with other peoples, verse appeared in England before the written language, i.e. before the Anglo-Saxons adopted Christianity and in connection with this introduced the Latin language. At the same time the time of origin of various poetical works could not be precisely dated. We are interested now rather in the character of their linguistic expression than in their historico-literary membership. Leaving aside the very form of Old English prosody, it should be noted that with regard to syntactical structures, the vocabulary, types of word-formation and combination of words verse

can be contrasted to prosaic texts of the O.E. period, and it is not only the matter of genre.

The subject of dialectal belonging of the preserved samples of O.E. verse remained for a long time a problem of acute discussions. The solution of the problem is very important because in essence it is reduced to recognition or unrecognition of the fact of existing the literary language in the O.E. period. Summing up all discussions it should be noted that in the late 19th century the opinion dominated that poetical works had been created in various kingdoms of Great Britain and later, after the fall of Northumbria and conquest of Northumbria and regions of Eastern England by Scandinavians, they concentrated in later editing (wording) in Wessex. That was a concept in general outline according to which in England there was no general literary language in the pre-national period, and the Wessex dialect had reached the level of a literary pattern owing to political advantages of Wessex. It followed from this same concept that the Northumbrian and the Mercian forms found in the manuscripts presented those forms which had not been replaced by Wessex parallels (when the origin of the given work was ascribed to northern or central regions).

Since the mid-20th century the approach to the problem under consideration has changed. The analysis of the language material showed ever more clearly that apparently in the ninth-tenth centuries there existed some kind of literary koine which was general for the whole country and was supported by authoritative centres of the written language of Winchester and Wooster. Historians of English are rather unanimous in acknowledging the existence in the ninth-tenth centuries of its literary form perfected on the base of the Wessex dialect, but this language's link with the every-day spoken language and with the Wessex territorial dialect proper has remained an object of discussions. The comparison of various O.E. written texts (chronicles, business-like prose of the type of laws and testaments, religious-didactic and philosophic literature, epos and lyrics) shows rather their variety of genres than their connection with the then living language of English population. It is apparent that ready-made codified formulas dominated in the language of Old English laws, while sermons (Aelfric, Wulfstan) and probably works of other clergy (which have not preserved in the manuscripts) because of the very essence of their communicative purpose and to be understandable to wide masses of parishioners. However the level of the reflection of the living language in epic texts gave occasion to contradictory opinions. It is impossible to illustrate what distinguished the literary language in its linguistic forms (except the so-called variety of dialects) from the Wessex territorial language proper.

From our standpoint the literary language existed in the O.E. period (namely in the 9th-10th centuries), the evidence of which we see in: 1) common basic language markers for all genres of O.E. texts; 2) usage of the language of this type in translations from Latin; 3) existence of tradition in the centres of culture and written language; 4) merging of many dialectal forms which are different in their origin in written monuments reflecting what may be called common ("neutral") style of the language (see, for example, the problem of Mercian elements in the text "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle"). However the literary koine shaped in Wessex in the 9th-10th centuries should not be identified with the literary language formed in the epoch of Shakespeare. The difference lies rather in the very character of functioning the literary language and spheres of its usage than simply in purely language markers. Ninth-tenth century

verse is characterised by a certain variety of genres and their division and by lack of strict literary and language standards.

Campbell writes "A lack of dialectal uniformity also characterizes the bulk of the extant Old English verse. This verse is mostly preserved in copies dating from c.1000, and while these, are predominately late West Saxon they are extremely rich in dialectal forms of various kind. Although most of these non-West-Saxon can be classified as phonologically or morphologically proper to one dialect or another it is seldom possible to declare with confidence that a given poem was originally in a particular dialect, or even that it was non-West-Saxon ... There seems to have been in fact, a "general OE poetic dialect", mixed in vocabulary, phonology, and inflexion, and an originally dialectally pure poem, which achieved general popularity, would in transmission become approximated to this poetic dialect, while news poems would be written down from the beginning with considerable indifference to dialectal consistency" (Campbell, 1959, 10).

The genre and stylistic distribution of the certified texts with due account of specificity of certain levels of the language structure has to be considered for the Old English epic like for any other period of the language development. The choice of the vocabulary may be determined by the subject outline of the work, but the choice of this or that word from the synonymous row is a recognition of the style and sometimes of the tradition typical of the given genre. The violation of the usual syntactical model for attaining greater expressiveness may become rather stable for a certain type of narration. Quantitative markers, i.e. frequency of certain elements of the language structure can be rather symptomatic in characterising genre and stylistic divisions of the literary language. Regretably, the texts preserved from the Old English period have not almost been analysed in the manner described above and some data can be obtained only from descriptions orientated on purely empirical verification of the facts.

The language of a monument of oral epic creative work which was fixed in the written form much later than it had emerged is full not only of old traditional formulae typical of the language of verse but also of purely linguistic archaisms. At the same time language in its historical development while preserving archaic patterns and lexemes in the above mentioned formulas, introduces into verse those linguistic innovations which are typical of the general line of transformations in the given language. Consequently, considering old epos a peculiar "store of archaisms" it cannot be separated, in regard to the language aspect, from the general linguistic situation of the given epic. According to some elements of certain language levels epos can differ qualitatively from prose, and according to other elements those differences pertain to the quantity line - the frequency of using certain elements in different genres and styles.

Undoubtedly the vocabulary and its structural, semantic and functional organisation were the most distinctive features of verse in comparison with prose. The abundance of compound words which are not used in prose and a lot of synonymous words are very well known and have been the subject of numerous works. It should be noted that frequently tautological synonymous groups were not only stylistically lawful device, but also allowed the poet to keep up the alliterational structure of the verse.

The difference in the language of verse and that of prose reveals itself sometimes not in the composition of the used words, but in different distribution of derivational variants.



Sometimes the delimitation of synonyms can be observed, though these synonyms could be connected, i.e. relate to one and the same etymological element. The verb *gefeon* to rejoice is frequently used in verse and only as an exception there can be met *fægnian*-to be glad which is typical of prose. The noun *scrud* can be met in verse only as a second element of compound words, for example, *beadu-scrud* "shirt of mail" in *Beowulf* (line 453); isolated noun *scrud*, and a derivative weak verb of the first class *scrydan* are used only in prose.

Consequently, rather complex interrelations are revealed in contrasting the vocabulary of verse and that of prose. The common centre is formed by a solid fund of building words and the neutral vocabulary conveying ordinary notions. The centre is followed by the area of morphological and word-forming variants, etymological duplicates and similar formations which are distributed completely between verse and prose or are distributed with different frequency of their use. All of this is followed by a group of lexemes exclusively characteristic of the poetical language.

Differences in the lexical content of the works of various genres depend not only on the theme of a work but also on the communicative aim. However, while enriching itself with the semantic development of lexemes and neologisms, including borrowed elements, the nucleus of the vocabulary of the language ensures the continuity of various periods in the history of every language.

Differences in assessing the correlation of various genres in regard to language means which are frequently used depend on the fact that the concept "literary language" is associated with the concept "language of literature". In his review of the works on the literary language Vittorio Coletti singles out "poetic" language as a special language of higher literary graduation (Coletti, 1978). Coletti believes that: 1) there are different functions in the language use; 2) between the poetical language and the scientific one the opposition is more distinctly expressed than between the "standard" language (in Coletti's terminology) and the poetical language. Besides "the poetical" use of language should be distinguished from the use of language in verse and literature and finally it is necessary to decide why the language in general use has become (or has not become) the literary one.

Along some correct observations Coletti's studies suffer, in our opinion, from an essential shortcoming. In spite of the evident differences between the Old English language of verse and the language of prosaic works, all these differences are inside the shaping literary language of the given epoch and they are connected, to a considerable degree, with specific features of the given genre's structure. Only one question is debatable: is it rightful to speak of the literary language in 9th-10th century Great Britain? As we see it, one of the signs - departure from purely local, territorial dialects and a regulated character of lexical and syntactical parameters make it possible to assert that as early as the Old English language possessed a kind of language which was used as a means of literary narration. The degree of its perfection could be different, depending on the historical depth of a genre or tradition and on the mode of language expression which was used for the given genre.

In summing up it is pertinent to note that while in the aspect of the subject, genre and style belonging Old English epos and a few samples of lyrical poetry are different, from the linguistic point of view there is no strong boundary between them, as well



there is no decisive difference between later poems inspired by Christianity and ancient epic works. There are certain distinctions in the semantics of certain lexemes, in compound words which are semantic loan translations of new notions, but as the structure is concerned the models of word formation and combination of words are similar for all kinds of poetical works and the degree of their frequency is similar in comparison with the vocabulary of prose. This circumstance makes it possible, to our mind, to compare in general what could be called a block of the poetical vocabulary with a block of the vocabulary of prose with due account that the nucleus of the neutral vocabulary remains common to all kinds of Old English literary monuments. At the same time metaphoric phrases, multistage simile of the kenning type, steady epithets and similar elements of poetical works of various genres can have their own peculiarities, both structural and functional. However this field relates rather to the competence of historical stylistics than to the history of the literary language.

At a definite historical stage in the evolution of the language of the given nation, national language comprises the literary style in both speech and writing. This literary language is in complicated and modifying relationship with the extraliterary variants of speech (dialects, semi-dialects, various aspects and forms of popular speech etc.).

When viewed in the light of persistency of its standard forms, literary language may, at various historical levels of its development, hold different positions with respect to the extraliterary variants of popular speech.

The subsequent evolution of West Saxon dialect and especially its role in the consolidation of main traits of the dialect of London is important for the stabilization of literary norms in its written as well in its oral forms. Analyzing several early documents of the metropolis Wyld suggested that there existed no visible difference between spoken and written language as concerns its dialectal attribution. However from the point of view of their stylistic properties the written language and the oral speech might have some distinctive features.

Giving the analysis (of William the Conqueror's Charter (1066) Wyld remarks: "The form is to all intents and purposes Old English, and, like most other documents written in the eleventh century is no doubt very archaic from the point of view of the English then spoken. It is the conventional Late Old English of the Scribes, showing it is true, some signs of departure from that of the classical period, but still giving no true picture of the changes which time must already have wrought in uttered speech. As regards dialect, the charter is certainly Southern English, and such forms as *yrf* (nume) and *weron* (Sthn. 2a) are characteristic of what we are accustomed to call West Saxon" (Wyld 1956, 49). Deciding that the written dialect of London in the eleventh century was southern in character Wyld was not sure "whether the actual speech of the metropolis at this period is represented by this charter. It is largely a question of probabilities but it is highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that this document - apart from chronological inconsistencies with the spoken language...does represent the type of dialect which was actually spoken in London when it was written" (Wyld 1956, 50). It is well known that in the course of time London dialect was invaded by East Midland elements, so that it is possible to speak of a shift of the dialect base of the English literary language. Moreover a considerable part of M.E. texts exhibit a great diversity in their phonological and morphological features which is easily

explained by the fact that the speech of a given region is not off from that of surrounding areas by strict barriers and may be influenced by the linguistic environment. Owing to these conditions it is possible to expect that the intervening elements appeared first of all in the spoken language and only afterwards could have their application in the literary style.

#### References

- Bately J.M. 1970. King Alfred and the Old English Translation of Orosius. *Anglia*, Bd.88, H.4.
- Baugh, Albert C. 1957. A History of the English Language. 2nd edition. New-York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.
- Blair, Peter Hunter, 1979. An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England. 2nd edition. Cambridge University Press.
- Brunner Karl. 1950. Die Englische Sprache, ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung. I Band. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer.
- Campbell A. 1959. Old English Grammar. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Chadwick H.M. 1907. The Origin of the English Nation, Cambridge.
- De Camp, David. 1958. The Genesis of the Old English Dialects. A New Hypothesis. *Language*, 34. 232-44.
- Ekwall E. 1956. Studies on the Population of Medieval London. Stockholm-Lund.
- Hawranek, Bohuslav. 1964. On Comparative structural Studies of slavic Standard languages in: *Travaux linguistiques de Prague*, I, l'école de Prague d'aujourd'hui. 59-66.
- Kuhn Sherman, 1939. The Dialect of the Corpus Glossary. *PMLA* 54. 1-19.
- Kuhn Sherman. 1945. E and AE in Farman's Mercian Glossary. *PMLA* 60. 631-69.
- Raith J, 1951. Untersuchungen zum englischen Aspekt. München.
- Stenton Sir, Frank M. 1962. Anglo-Saxon England. 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Vinogradov V. 1958. Fundamental Problemes in the Study of the Formation and Development of the Old Russian Literary Language. The Forth International Congress of Slavists. Moscow: Nauka (in Russian).
- Whitelock Dorothy. 1962. The Old English Bede. Publications of the British Academy, vol. 48.
- Wrenn C.L. 1967. A study of Old English Literature. London.
- Wyld, Henry Cecil. 1963. A Short History of English. 3d edition London: John Murray.
- Wyld, Henry Cecil, 1956. A History of Modern Colloquial English. 3d edition. New York: Barnes Noble, Inc.

## ON THE WANDERER AND THE SEAFARER ONCE AGAIN, BUT FROM A NUMEROLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW

Riccardo Ambrosini  
*University of Pisa*

0. An analysis of the Old English *Wanderer* based on its content and the numerical distribution of its lines and parts, in short, on the *dispositio numerica* which, in accordance with the compositional technique characteristic of important literary works in Old and Middle English<sup>1</sup>, it may reasonably be posited as having, indicates that the essential part of this poem, whose generally sad tone suggests that it should be termed an 'elegy'<sup>2</sup>, consists in reality of 100 lines. This would then make it possible for the poem to fall naturally into two equal halves of 50 lines, thus providing some objective confirmation for the view that it actually should consist of two parts, one of which should be said by the wanderer himself<sup>3</sup> and the other by a wise man. Indeed, on this hypothesis there would appear to be a striking correspondence between the proposed division and the number of lines; as for the problem of eliminating the superfluous lines, there will in fact be no difficulty, since we will concur with certain reservations that have been expressed about the transmission of the poem, particularly regarding the authenticity of a number of lines from the beginning and end, which are present in the Exeter Book and consequently in our editions<sup>4</sup>.

0.1. Similar numerological considerations may be applied, as I hope to show in this paper (which, incidentally, I am pleased to dedicate to E. Polomé), to the other elegy which appears together with (though not immediately alongside) *The Wanderer* in the Exeter Book, and which is usually taken together with it for purposes of editing and commenting, *The Seafarer*<sup>5</sup>. That this technique should be applicable in this case as well should cause no surprise - especially after the discovery of the remarkable measures of Caedmon's hymn - nor indeed occasion any scepticism. The similarity between the two works extends to aspects of content, distribution of themes and dimensions, though it may well be the case that certain phases in the re-elaboration of *The Wanderer* were more complex than those of *The Seafarer*.

In view of this and in order to achieve as much clarity as possible in the exposition, I shall first examine both poems separately and then finally put together for comparison in my conclusion, where I hope to show that an exclusively unitarian reading of both is clearly inadequate. Indeed, the unitarian reading, however prevalent it may be today<sup>6</sup>, would mean interpreting the poems exclusively in Christian terms and considering the narrative parts of them - which in my view are the more interesting ones, and which, as such, have by no means been underestimated in current criticism - as merely

allegorical, and consequently as an imaginative elaboration of those principles of faith and those doctrinary texts which were more important in England between the IX and X Century, i.e. those of Augustine and Boethius <sup>7</sup>.

Doubts have of course been expressed in the past about the original size of both poems. Thus it has been claimed that the opening and closing lines of *The Wanderer* were added by a sort of 'editor', whose ideas about the poem were probably not different from those of whoever it was - another editor, a more general one perhaps - that was responsible for inserting it into the anthology known as the Exeter Book. As is often the case when a critical observation is not corroborated by sufficient objective investigation, this view has now been totally rejected in favour of other, less complicated ones, which at least have the advantage of excluding complex problems of chronology concerning the various constituent parts, and which attempt to explain in exclusively religious-doctrinary terms the images and descriptions which in reality demand interpretation of a far more literal, not to say ingenuous, sort.

But it is one thing to claim that a definite process of unification has taken place, and to attribute this to the same hand that was responsible for the transmission of these works in their final shape, and quite another to argue, on the basis of the texts themselves and their compositional structures (in particular their numerical structures), that they should very probably be regarded as 'works in progress', which, in the course of time, had fresh light cast upon them by changing values and thus underwent a process of re-evaluation. From this point of view, both poems, no less than others of the Anglo-Saxon period, constitute examples of a literary process which is typical of the oldest Indo-Europeans literatures that have come down to us: the probable 're-use' of previous works resulting in an ostensibly stratified structure which may account for apparent ambiguities of poetry <sup>8</sup>.

1. There have been various opinions about the original number of lines in *The Wanderer* but so far nobody has assumed that it might consist of 100 lines, i.e. of a number that is significant not only by virtue of its common symbolic value, but also because it would allow us to assume that the balance between the constituent parts is completely intentional. Indeed, a number like 100, which has an unmistakable element of completeness about it, makes positing a division into parts much easier than might be the case with other numbers. The simplest of the possible divisions in such a case would result in two series of 50 lines, which is what is being suggested for the poem under consideration. But, quite apart from the question of whether we are right to posit such a division, the fact is that what we have in *The Wanderer* is a description of an (actual or imaginative/symbolic) fault condition followed by another description centering on a meditated and intimate reflection on human unhappiness:

this extends over the same number of lines as the first one. The poem thus effects a sort of transition from the representation of an individual condition to the final acceptance of the fact, for which there is much historical evidence, that this condition is entirely predictable. In this way, wandering is placed in the context of possible experience and receives a 'reading' and, at the same time, a 'consolation' in accordance with the cultural models current in Alfred's times. The first 50 lines do indeed contain the lyric and subjective description of the hopeless wandering of a wanderer-pilgrim, - not of a person who is a wanderer and nothing more, since such a wandering may also be the fruit of a free choice, as it was in the case of certain 7th Century English kings, suitably celebrated by Bede<sup>9</sup>. The second set of 50 lines places this individual suffering amongst the various conditions that inevitably afflict the human race: if it is true that everything tends toward some end; then nothing is able to escape this inexorable cycle of reality, and in human life generally, both physical and metaphorical storms are more common and frequent than serenity and peace. Thus the former part concentrates on the individual perception of suffering, and, despite the Anglo-Saxon taste for riddle, can hardly be read in exclusively allegorical terms. The latter part, by reversing this perspective, makes this specific, individual suffering into an element of a condition that may be defined, if perhaps not universal or cosmic, at least as typical of human destiny. The sensations of cold, pain and continuous danger in the waves of the storm - which call forth emotions of solitude, regret and despair so overwhelming as to make all memories of the past appear to the wanderer as hallucinations<sup>10</sup> - should in all probability be considered to derive from *Beowulf*, and this for two reasons: first because they directly recall the lines in *Beowulf* where the famous swim of the hero is described, and second because they indirectly recall hall life, at the court and in the rewarding presence of the lord. But these references may simply be examples of a literary topos, and the main aim would then be the representation of a particular period in the history of England when the destruction of this type of life and the ideology underpinning it (as the fashion for 'wanderings', i.e. apostolical missions, became more widespread<sup>11</sup>) forced people who had up until that time been engaged in military pursuits<sup>12</sup> to take the road of exile and try their luck in uncharted waters, in search of new lands, rather as Norwegian noblemen were to do in the second half of the 10th Century. On the other hand, it may once again be simply a question of a literary topos, if exile of this type is, as it has often been assumed to be, a symbol of spiritual error (though of course we shouldn't forget the ambiguity inherent in the verb 'err!'), the error in question being that of excessive attachment to material goods, unenlightened by reason or faith.

1.1. But such descriptions of cold and anxiety become in turn constituent elements of human history, as is described in the lines which

I would like to consider the original 11 concluding ones (viz lines 97-107). These seem to echo pessimistically lines 49-57, which I would suggest, on the basis of the division being proposed here, are probably the close of the 50 line first part. There would appear, therefore, to be equality of length but inequality of points of view; thus the *pars destruens*, of necessity the first one, should have the same extension as what is ostensibly the *construens* one, the reply (or *responsio*) of this imaginative amoebean song<sup>13</sup>. Numerical structure seems therefore to be independent of specific content, and thus to be beyond considerations of subjectivity and objectivity, experience of suffering and teaching of wisdom.

1.2. The part that may be defined *construens* opens with a generalisation which presents its character and in particular the character of the interlocutor (if in fact we are dealing with an interlocutor and not with the wanderer himself who undertakes a sort of criticism of his own lament). He is said to be 'wise in his mind', *snottor on mōde* at v.111 - a line that has surely been added - and the expression used may refer not only to his qualities as interlocutor but also to his spiritual as a pilgrim, as might perhaps be suggested by the well known title *Pilgrim's Progress* and by the very concept of wisdom acquired through suffering and difficulties (an obvious example of which is the Ulysses myth in Greek epic poetry<sup>14</sup>).

The interlocutor (or, if one prefers, the repentent and wise wanderer) says, in the first sentence he utters, that he is able to conceive of 'this world' only in the saddest terms, when he considers 'on the whole' how so many earls met such sudden deaths, and when he observes the progressive desolation of 'this earth' in a spirit which one may define (without exaggeration, I think) as eschatological, perhaps even apocalyptic. This is certainly entirely consistent with the spirit present in the pessimistic (or, better still, catastrophic) vision common to Germanic mythology and certain Germanic literary works.

2. Let us, however, return to the question of the length of the poem. The exclusion (or, to put it in the terminology of classical philology, the athetization) of the first 7 lines will certainly encounter no serious objections. Indeed the theme of 'the solitary one' (*an-haga*), of his 'sad spiritual condition' (*mod-cearig*), of his 'exile' (*wræc-last*) through 'cold seas' (*hrim-cealde sæ* and *lagu-lad*), of the unavoidable 'destiny' (*wyrd*), and of request-expectation of 'Lord's grace' - which are all presented in the first 5 lines - together constitute a sort of preface or introductory summary to be delivered by the wanderer, though this will inevitably involve him in a certain amount of repetition. He is presented with the epithet *eard-stapa* that gave the poem the name by which it is well known today. But, about the *eard-stapa*<sup>15</sup> we are told only that 'so said he', according to the well-known formula by which, in the Anglo-Saxon

topic tradition no less than in other such traditions, a given character is assigned (ritually, so to speak) a given elocutive part <sup>16</sup>.

Clearly the lines which I am defining as signallers of character are to be considered an addition; in this respect, *The Wanderer* is reminiscent of the Greek epic tradition, where in fact such passages have generally been rejected by Alexandrian philological tradition and where this judgement appears confirmed by certain linguistic peculiarities as well. In *The Wanderer* these lines constitute an element that is extraneous to the overall structure, indeed to the very conception, of the poem, which is a lyric and not a narrative one.

2.1. Other considerations contribute to the exclusion of the initial lines. Line 5 closes with a complex allusion to destiny as 'settled in truth' or 'inexorable' <sup>17</sup>. Destiny is also the subject (in a more explicit way) of lines 100 and 107, where the latter may indeed be the last line in the 100 line version. At line 100 one reads *wyrd seo mære*, usually translated 'glorious destiny'. But why 'glorious'? Because of a death un battle? Or in this description of destiny (which could be accepted as a traditional-minded Germanic man, but not by a Christianised one) simply a trait of irony? Actually, other ironic features are hard to find in the poem. Perhaps by suggestion of *Ruin* 24 (where *wyrd* alliterates with the same verb as in *The Wanderer* 107, which doesn't exclude an older common source) Pope wonders whether *mære* means here 'glorious' or 'mighty' <sup>18</sup>. In both passages it is certainly significant that the attribute structure 'Name + Article + Adjective' gives the expression a solemn tone, as if it were a personification, through the similarity with onomastic formulas such as *Karl der Grosse* <sup>19</sup>.

At line 107 we find *wyrda gesceaft* 'the work of fates', as if it were a 'creation' - or, in *Cædmonian* terms, a *frumsceaft* - which is different yet from that of 'Creator of men', *ielda scieppend*, as one reads at v.85, whose previous half ends with the assonance between the two elements of the compound *eard-geard* 'the yard of earth' (viz. 'the earth') <sup>20</sup>, which is a further *variatio* of *middan-geard* - the well known *kenning* occurring (perhaps not by chance) both at v. 62 and in *Cædmon's* hymn. The word *Meotod* too ('the measurer/ the destiny/the Lord') occurs at v.2 both of the hymn and of *The Wanderer* in an identical (Gen + N) syntactic construction and with the same alliteration, though the concepts expressed are different: in *Cædmon*, *meotodes meahte*, and, in *The Wanderer*, *meotodes mildse*: the biblical 'power (or more similarly, might) of the Lord' is here transformed into 'mildness, grace of the Lord' by which the wanderer is consoled, because he - as the last line, v.115, says - surely an addition - 'seeks mercy (ar, as in the first line, intentionally yet), comfort for himself from the Father in heavens' <sup>21</sup>.

2.2. Several critics have doubted the authenticity of lines 111-115, on the grounds both of hypermetry and of their content. In my opinion, doubts of this sort may be justified also by the repetition of "So spoke he", which doesn't even allow us to be sure whether the character

who speaks from line 57 to line 110 is the same as the one who speaks in lines 1-5 and, perhaps, in 8-57.

However, assuming that we should consider line 8 the opening one, the poem then proceeds without raising any problems as far as line 57 (for 50 lines!), irrespective of whether it is to be accounted a monologue which occupies the whole extent of the poem, or simply as the first part of a dialogue, whose latter part would then begin at line 58 and conclude at line 107; this obviously rests on the assumption that it is a dialogue and not two consecutive monologues which are in fact independent of each other. It should be remembered, however, that another division into sub-parts is possible; this involves assuming that the first part of *The Wanderer* extended from 35 to 57 (23 lines in all), which would reflect the dimensions that one may also find in the (supposed) second half of the poem and display further numerical symbolic value.

3. The possibility of an analogous division in the second half is a more complex question, quite apart from the possibility that the lines from 58 onwards are an addition. I shall return to this latter question later; for the moment I wish to consider the suggestion that lines 111-115 are an addition. I have already spoken about their hypermetry, but perhaps it would be as well to point out that v.112 is of 20 syllables, vv.113 and 115 of 17 and v.114 of 10. Moreover the clause on *heofonum* of v.115 reminds the reader the clause of 107, where *under heofonum* 'the world under heavens' presents in a different - perhaps complementary - light the content of the previous line, which is closed by a *kenning* of 'earth', *eorþan rice*, which may be understood literally too, in order to contrapose 'the realm of earth' to the 'realm of heavens'. By virtue of a clever *variatio* 'earth' is further referred to, in line 110, as *eorþan-gesteall* 'foundation of earth': it is another *kenning* which may also to some extent be understood literally, because this line may refer (in eschatological and apocalyptic terms again, I would suggest<sup>22</sup>) to the 'becoming empty' of the 'foundation' offered by the earth - not only in a horizontal sense and in regard to the possible depopulation of earth's surface, but also in a vertical sense, as with the vision of the sinking and vanishing of such a foundation into the void.

It is therefore to be assumed that the meaning of the adjective which we translate today as 'empty' is different at v.110

eall þis eorþan gesteall      idel weordep

(where, apart from the rhyme *eall-gesteall*<sup>23</sup>, it is to consider that *weordep* should probably be considered to have future meaning, as if in a prophecy about the end of the world) and at v.87

eald enta geweorc      idlu stodon

'the old work of giants stood empty' which refers to the ruins of Roman buildings long since abandoned after the demise of that civilisation<sup>24</sup>.



3.1. Line 108-9, which are clearly to be regarded as recitative and not narrative in character, also appear suspect because of the insistent use of alliterations and rhymes. The lines in question are:

her biþ feoh læne,                      her biþ freond læne,  
her biþ mann læne,                      her biþ mæg læne,

with columnal disposition of the words and with at least two alliterations in each line, if *biþ* and *her* are considered non-alliterating. It may be assumed, however, that *her*, which occurs at the beginning of the four short lines, recalls in a certain way lines 92-93, whose four *cola* begin with *hwær* and which have often been noticed by the critics on account of the fact that they clearly reproduce biblical questions about where the world ended or where it is ending up, *vanitas vanitatum* <sup>25</sup>. As far as rhymes are concerned, they occur insistently in these two lines only: they are also so monotonously ingenuous and have the look of a litany, so that it would appear that they cannot be explained away as stylistic or cultural affectations, which is clearly the right explanation in cases of intentional affectation in scaldic poetry <sup>26</sup>.

3.2. A cautious man, as the 'wise in mind' further remarks, can easily deduce what the final condition of 'all the riches of this world' will be, by simply contemplating the ruins both of the Roman Empire (lines 85-87, where the subordinate clause of the central line,

op-pæt burg-wara                      breahmta lease,

should be understood as meaning 'until [scil. 'the old work of giants stood empty', see 3. above] deprived of the revel of the town-dwellers', with an allusion to noisy forum life), and of the Germanic hall, attempts to defend which were in vain despite all the courage of the mighty warriors who 'have fallen in their pride by the wall', because their endeavours were simply thwarted by the destiny; the scene here might recall, on the one hand, *The Battle of Finnesburh* and anticipate, on the other, *The Battle of Maldon*. Of the two sets of ruins, the latter is undoubtedly seen by the wanderer and arouses feelings of nostalgia in him, since he is in a position of total exile from the hall and has given up all hope of coming back to hall life, since that way of life had died out by then.

4. In my opinion, these reflections and calculations contribute to explaining the relationship between the original and the present dimensions of the poem, and help to fit each part into numeric schemes possessing what we may reasonably suppose to be symbolic value. To begin with what is perhaps the older part, the first monologue, it is of course highly significant that it is composed of 50 lines. This number of lines (whether as 5 x 10 or as 5 x 5 x 2 or also 5<sup>2</sup> x 2) uses a multiple of 5, whose symbolic importance has recently been pointed out in an analysis of the well-known Middle English poem *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Apart from this, the number

5 is connected with the figure of the pentangle and thus represents completeness (and perfection, too), since it is the first and essential number between the square and the circle, or in other words "5 is a circular number because of pentangle and the arithmetic fact that in multiplication it repeats itself in the last digit" <sup>27</sup>. It is certainly not a matter of chance that Caedmon's Hymn is composed of 4 + 5 lines. The formula  $5 \times 5 \times 2$  can further specify that 5 multiplies itself, by occurring therefore 2 times.

As to interior subdivision (see 2.2. above), the number 23 is composed of two constituent numbers whose sum is 5; similarly, 27, which represents the difference between 50 and 23, is composed of numbers, the difference between which is again 5: but 27 is also  $3^3$ , a cube of a perfect number, resulting from  $(5 - 2)$ . Therefore it is possible to recognize in the compositional structure of the poem the presence of the first three prime number, viz. 2, 3, and 5 - if not more simply just of 2 and 3. The use of these measures and their combinations is to be attributed generally to the numerological taste of the time, and it is not even denied by the measures of the lines that - as we have seen - may be considered to be an addition. Indeed, it is a commonly held opinion that 5 lines have been added both at the beginning (vv.1-5) and at the end (vv.111-115). The latter ones are characterised by metrical uniformity (amongst themselves) and by metrical differences which distinguish them from the remainder of the poem. Finally, the two didascalic lines 6-7 and the three lines 108-110 involve the numbers 2 and 3 once again, in the shape of the number 23 (representing the difference between 50 and 27) and of their sum, 5. It is as if the poet who reworked the poem had decided not to abandon the numerical values he found in what we are assuming was the original structure.

4.1. One problem, however remains open: how to explain the far higher literary value (at least in our estimation) of the first part. Linked to this is the suggestion made by certain critics that the whole of the second part, not just its beginning and end, is an addition. As far as *The Wanderer* is concerned this question is perhaps not of very great relevance since the quality of lines 58-107 is in the end reasonable enough; but it certainly arises with the other poem, *The Seafarer*, which is always treated as a pair with the former one. Its first part displays uncommon representational effectiveness and is free from later interpolations, whilst the second part is much less effective (or at least appears to be, on a cursory reading). Certainly, its themes, which are redolent of a sort of simplistic moralism, suggest a different mentality from the one that may be perceived in the first part, and so appear to belong to a different period.

5. Just like *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* too appears to be reducible to a total length of 100 lines. Indeed, it is somewhat easier to demonstrate the existence of such a structure in this case than

in the former one. In fact, all we need to do is account for 2 out of the 102 lines that our existing texts present before the closing lines, whose spurious character has been generally recognised by the critics. What is more problematic with this poem is the positing of further divisions into smaller sections. There are several reasons for this.

First of all, it must be remembered that there is no agreement amongst the editors as to whether the poem is a monologue or a dialogue, or, in the latter case, as to who its characters might be.

5.1. If it is monologue, and if, as we shall attempt to show, it can be reduced to 100 lines, there is no excessive difficulty in assuming that lines 1-52 (which it is quite possible to reduce to 100, cf. 5.2. below) constitute the original nucleus of the poem. This would then be divisible thematically into a sad representation of sea travels (1-33a) and a reflective passage justifying the journey itself by presenting it as the result of a type of 'longing' (*langung*, v.47a) felt by the men who like sea travelling (*se-þe on lagu fundað*, v.47b). The lines which close what we are taking, then, to be the first part (which is generally considered to be the older of the two), in fact assert that 'all these things' urge men to travel, so that they long for 'faring far on the ways of the flood' (vv.50-52).

The successive 50 lines (maintaining the assumption that we are dealing with a monologue) shift the theme of the poem from the seafaring itself to the wandering of a man in the world; they place particular emphasis on the transience of earthly goods. However, among the most important lines of this part of *The Seafarer* are the ones where it is sadly acknowledged that 'kings, or emperors, or givers of gold, are not as of yore', because the [ viz. happy ] days have departed' (vv.80-83). 'The delights have departed' (v.85b), 'weaklings live on and possess this world' (v.86). Death and decline dominate everyone: 'Old age comes on him; his face grows pale; ... he knows that his former friends, the sons of princes, have been delivered to the earth' (vv.91-93)<sup>28</sup>: in such a condition, a man 'can neither taste sweetness, nor feel pain, nor stir a hand'<sup>29</sup>, nor ponder in thought' (vv.95-96): now, indeed, 'life [ but lit. 'flesh covering' ] leaves him' (vv.93-94). It is no use following the Germanic custom of burying the dead man together with the material possessions he had when he was alive: 'Though he will strew the grave with gold, bury his brothers with various treasures beside dead kingsmen' (vv.97-98), all this will be of no help: 'in the face of God's tremendous might' (v.101b), on the contrary, because his soul is full of sin, the possession of gold can only harm him.

The initial monologue (lines 1-52) appears, then, to be followed by another one (lines 52-102), by no means suggestive, but inferior (as regards images and scenes) to the first part, 'which stands among the finest sea-poetry' in Old English<sup>30</sup>.

5.1.1. If what we are dealing with is in fact a dialogue, then there are two possibilities:

- a) The first 50 lines contain a dialogue which is divided between lines 1-33a and 33b-52, that is to say in two sections, one of 31.5 lines and the other of 18.5 lines, as we shall see later. The former are delivered by a seafarer who some critics assume is an old man, the latter by a man (perhaps another seafarer) who is about to undertake some travelling by sea (and who therefore may be assumed to be younger than the other, though perhaps not young in an absolute sense). So there is a sort of apparent contrast, which in fact exists solely at the level of the characters, and does not represent a real difference in the set of ideas underlying the poem; in this way, seafaring as a severe test of human endurance is opposed to the continuous longing that men feel for it. The effect of this is in fact to reduce its harshness, since what these lines in the end convey is that man is simply unable to resist the attraction of this life despite the dangers it presents.
- b) Even this contrast dissolves in the ensuing 50 lines; of these, the first 5 could once again be assigned to an old (?) seafarer, and all the remaining ones to a young (?) man who intends to imitate him, though he differs from him by virtue of his philosophical-moral training, which leads him to deeper reflections on human fate and history.

The second 50 lines are characterised by:

- a) consoling and sententiously edifying reflections: 'The best of fame after death for every man' is 'the praise of living men who shall speak of him after he is gone' (vv.72-73) <sup>31</sup>;
- b) mostly in vv.74-80, a tone that, from being referentially and lexically 'Germanic' ('Let him work on earth with good deeds against the malice of fiends', *wip feonda nip*, vv. 74-75) becomes overtly Christian: v.76 '(Let him work) with bold deeds against devil' (with the obvious latinism *deofle*), 'so that the children of men' (*ielda bearn*, which remembers the Northumbrian version of Caedmon's hymn and, as a consequence, the words of Bible) may later exalt him after [viz. his death] ' and 'his praise live afterwards among the angels [where *englum* is another latinism] for ever and ever, [and let him have] the splendour of eternal life, delight amid hosts', which should be understood as 'the celestial ones' (i.e., the angels) though *dugub* means in the first place 'military band' and, especially, 'company of noble warriors' - given the customary adaption of Germanic epic terminology to a religious-Christian context.

In any case, the distribution of themes may surprise the reader: thus, from matters similar to those which appear in lines 16-52 and are prolonged as far as line 71, one passes to edifying and deeply religious lines (from 72 to 79), to the memory of remote happiness and of a past splendour (vv.80-90) and, at the close, to disconsolate (but, at the same time, consoling) reflections on decline, old age, death, and, finally, the doom of God, in face of which human goods are worthless.

5.1.2. The structure of the second 50 lines appears, then, to be varied and complex. These lines do, however, form a reply to first 50, whether they are to be understood literally as a seafarer's lament, albeit somewhat contradicted by the final *responsio* (s. 5.1.1. above), or whether - and this is preferred today - they are to be considered a metaphor for pilgrimage, which, though fraught with hardship and difficulties on the earth, will later be rewarded by celestial life among crowds of angels, since the men concerned, in winning their final victory over evil, will have participated in working 'bold deeds against the devil'.

5.1.3. The justification for the connection between the two parts appears complex too, if one supposes, as it is possible to do in view of its essential autonomy, that the first one ends at line 52.

Without any doubt the content of lines 53-57, which may be divided into two groups of the same length, 53-55a and 55b-57 (this last line having two alliterations), clashes with what has been emphatically presented in the previous lines. The bad omens which are conveyed by the cuckoo's song reduce the seafarer once again to despair. As is in an attempt to avoid something taboo, the cuckoo is referred to on the first occasion by its name, *geac* (52a), but later by a *kenning*, 'the harbinger of summer' (53a)<sup>32</sup>: despite the approaching season of good weather, the seafarer will nevertheless experience dangers, storms and suffering. This is exactly what a young man doesn't even imagine - as is remarked in the two closing lines of the previous part - if so far he has been happy and has to discover 'what those endure who must widely pace the paths of exile'.

But the difficulties arising from this connection decrease if these lines are considered as a *propositio ex integro* (though in reduced or summarising form) of the previous theme. Lines 58-66 are therefore fundamental for the interpretation of the second part, since, after presenting once again - and by means of a well-chosen image - the theme of the irrepressible longing for seafaring/wandering ('my mind is with the sea-flood over the whale's domain, ... over the face of the earth'), they present once again the image of an 'alone bird' (to be interpreted literally since it actually represents a seabird). This, instead of inducing thoughts of rest, 'resistlessly urges the hearth to the whale-way over the stretch of seas'.

At this point, however, the moral-religious intent prevails over the moral-allegorical one, and longing for wanderine in the name of God shows itself openly: 'the joys of the Lord are warmer for me' - and the seafarer had spoken about cold hailstones - 'than this dead fleeting life on earth' (vv.64b-66a)<sup>33</sup>.

5.1.4. Though these reflections on the structure of the second part suggest the possibility of an allegorical interpretation of the first one as well, the question is too complex to present a clearly defined choice. In my opinion, the possibility of a 're-use' cannot be totally excluded. This would involve a reflection on the first part, which was heathen and Germanic in character, in moralizing and Christian terms: it would

be analogous to the 're-use' of heathen words from the epic tradition which were reactivated in terms of Christian values <sup>34</sup>. It may be assumed that in a given phase of composition the first part began to be reconceived in terms of the second one. Clearly this assumption doesn't exclude the first part had an autonomous existence.

But let us return to numerical evaluations.

5.2. The first part of *The Seafarer* seems therefore to consist of lines 1-52. These may easily be reduced to 50, given the uncertainty regarding vv. 15, 16, 25, and 41.

Of line 16 only half is extant; its alliteration seems to be founded on - and to continue that of the previous line,  
                                 winter wunode                      wreccan lastum,  
 which is in turn marked with a cross in some editions.

Line 25 recalls in its first half,  
                                 urig fedra,  
 the corresponding one of the previous line,  
                                 isig fedra,  
 and has no alliteration, continuing as  
                                 nænig hleo-maga.

Line 41 not only has 16 syllables, a number considerably higher than the average for the lines of the first part, but also two possible alliterations in its columnal distribution: a pattern of this type is not found in the rest of the poem, except in the longest lines of its tail-end obviously (vv. 103, 106, 107, 108, 109). In order for it to be clear what this alliterative characteristic might be, I quote line 41,

                                ne on his dædum        to þæs deor ,  
                                 ne him his dryhten    to þæs hold.

To sum up, then: it is not easy to reconstruct the exact origins of lines 15, 16, and 25, but they seem to originate from a re-elaboration of two lines only. Line 41 would appear to be the work of another hand entirely. With the elimination of these lines, the first part is brought down to 50 lines. That this was the original number of lines would appear to be confirmed by the fact that the second part begins at line 53 and ends at 102 <sup>35</sup>.

5.2.1. It appears much less likely that further subdivisions can be posited, but the first part may be divided into two groups, each of 25 lines (from 1 to 26 and from 27 to 52 in our editions, taking in the account the lines which were rejected above). The same may be said, though with less certainty, in the case of the second part, if we suppose that the first 25 lines (53-77) are followed by another group of 25, which would thus begin at 78 (where two alliterations are possible),

                                and his lof sibban        libban mid englum.

It goes without saying that other (at least probable) double alliterations are found in the poem: v. 11,

                                hat'ymb heortan;        hungor innan slat,

v. 12,

                                mere-werges mod.        þæt se mann ne wat.

And in the second part (what is more important here since we are talking about line 78), v.57,

pe þa wræc-lastas      widost lecgap,

and 90,

swa nu manna gehwelc      geond middan-geard.

Lastly, line 70 is an example of total alliteration,

adl opþe ieldu      opþe ecg-hete.

Even if there is no serious difficulty from the numerological point of view, there are serious contrasts of mood between the second part of *The Seafarer* and the first part, or rather both sections of the first part. Indeed, the second part is in certain respects more devout than the corresponding part of *The Wanderer* and also more intense in certain descriptions of nature, especially of the sea.

On the other hand, the first part of *The Seafarer* has also been considered - though this is something of an exaggeration in my view <sup>36</sup> - one of the oldest works of Old English literature, and has been dated back to the 5th Century, perhaps before the Germanisation of England. I would prefer to suggest, however, that the first parts of both poems are in fact re-elaborations of lament-like poems, which, significantly, are composed of 50 lines. These have undergone subsequent re-elaboration in a consolatory tone, which has served to change the individual lament into a universal vision of suffering, showing its coexistence, in *The Wanderer*, with a concept of destiny that is distinctly pre-Christian, or at any rate less Christianised than in *The Seafarer*. Thus the second parts of the two poems are in some sense to be understood as replies to what we are hypothesising were previously existing works: they took the complexive, final form of a sort of 'contrasto', if not of a dispute in the theoretical or theological sense, and reflected the originals also in length: hence the choice of 50 lines to follow the 50 of the originals, thus making for a total of 100. This total was once again intentional in that it is a number whose function as a symbol of perfect completeness is clear enough: the cantos of the *Divine Comedy* number exactly 100, as do the tales of the *Decameron*, rather as if this number were an indication of universality of knowledge and experience.

5.4. Assuming then that 50 was the original number of lines in both laments (or 'lai', to use the Romance term) <sup>37</sup>, and thus that the parts under discussion are indeed additions, it becomes clear that symmetry may in this way be achieved (indeed the symmetry is not difficult to discover!) but at the cost of removing the exceeding lines, in order to preserve the flavour of 'contrasto' which was typical of what we are assuming was an intermediate phase in the elaboration of both poems.

The first 50 lines, which were probably the original ones, may thus be dated back to an older time, maybe to 7th Century or to an age when heptarchy or, at any rate, some sort of centralising power was constituted. This clearly had the effect of reducing the autonomy of the individual begns groups. Exile was the unavoidable consequence of this, probably

in a not inconsiderable number of cases. Thus it seems likely that we are dealing with real exile, imposed on political grounds, and not simply with the sort of symbolic exile that might be represented in Christian terms by life on earth. To formulate this rather better, a real exile may be the basis for spiritual exile; indeed, a number of critics consider the latter to be the real referent of the poetic *significans*, basing their argument on the Augustinian passages where, without any sense of strain, the poet manages to achieve what is undoubtedly an impressive degree of metaphorising inventiveness (though, it must be admitted, this is hardly rare in medieval poetry). In conclusion, then, I don't think that an 'ingenuous' reading of both poems can simply be rejected - obviously on the assumed basis of their original length -, even though the 'allegoric' one (or the 'unitarian' one) undoubtedly reflects the intentions of whoever decided to include them in the Exeter Book.

5.5. The second 50 lines, on the other hand, may more plausibly be dated to coincide with the spreading of consolatory ideologies, of a particularly Christian (ad not at all Boethian) nature. This means dating to the age of Alfred's kingdom. Further elaborations result in the form that the poems assume in our editions; they are to be attributed to one or more hands and display a deeply Christianising intent. Thus *The Wanderer* received its preface and tail-end, and *The Seafarer* its extremely pious ending. These changes clearly took place in about the middle of the 10th Century<sup>38</sup>.

6. It would appear, then, that numerical analysis is not simply an end in itself, but rather a useful means of conjecturing the function, scope and information value of the different parts of the work, the probable date of their composition, and the various changes in the interpretations given to (not to say *imposed to*) the poems. It does this by examining the corresponding changes in the length of the texts; in the case in question these changes involve a progressive distancing from the original form with its clear dependence on epic models - particularly on *Beowulf*<sup>39</sup>.

In a perspective of this sort the initial 'lament' may also be a development from an older genre (as indeed it is in the majority of literatures known to us); the genre in question is the epic poetry (this may be seen the case in Greek literature also, if one bears in mind the relationship between the linguistic form of Homeric epos and that of Archilochus's lyrics, for example). It transforms them on the surface, essentially by exchanging third-person narration (or a pattern of dialogues integrated into such a narration, on the model of Homer's *Iliad*<sup>40</sup>) for first person speech, with its inherent element of subjectivity. This choice of first person speech not only allows self-narration, but, by means of individual representation, makes it possible for ideas and feelings to be represented in a more open and transparent way than in the epic register, which ostensibly objectivises reality, while in fact concealing the real intent behind this apparent objectivisation.

Naturally, lyric poetry (as in the first parts of the poems we have been discussing) eventually had to make way for further developments and revisions in the way of conceiving and presenting the 'truth'; thus, lit-



tle by little, *The Wanderer* gained its 115 lines and *The Seafarer* its 117 (though in this case the exact number is more difficult to establish). 7. I have tried, then, to identify the various stages in the development of both poems and I venture to hope that this attempt may turn out to be something more than just another instalment in the seemingly endless debate on *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*. One question, however, remains open: when should we say that numerical structuring achieved the status of a sort of customary behaviour (not to say, of norm) in the Germanic poetry? Clearly, if we in fact find it in the narrative and formal structure of *Beowulf* and in the metric-syllabic structure of Caedmon's hymn, not to mention in Middle English and Middle High German literature, there would not appear to be much justification for continuing to consider it a simple borrowing from Christian culture. Indeed, despite all the apparent evidence and plausible argumentation in favour of the latter position, numerical structure does in fact appear to belong among the essential features of Germanic poetry. This should accordingly be born in mind by critics, linguists and historians dealing with the works (and particularly, with the more relevant works) from that poetic tradition<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Eckhard (1980), where *Beowulf*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Canterbury Tales*, but also Old Saxon *Heliand*, Middle High Germany *Nibelungenlied* and Old French *Chanson de Roland*, etc. are examined from this point of view. As to OE *Andreas* see Stevick (1975).

<sup>2</sup> Such a definition may be extended to other Old English poems, as *Woman's Lament*, *Husband's Message*, *Ruin*, *Deor*, and is to be understood as "a relatively reflective or dramatic poem embodying a contrasting pattern of loss and consolation, ostensibly based upon a specific personal experience or observation, and expressing an attitude towards that experience" (Greenfield 1966: 147 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Pope (1966:79-80) thinks that considering the poem as a monologue "is a perfectly possible way to read" it.

<sup>4</sup> See Pope (1966), Leslie (1966), Dunning & Bliss (1969); among the translations cf. Gordon (1926, 1962), Bradley (1982); in Italian, Sanesi (1975).

<sup>5</sup> There is "a wide agreement that these poems are Christian in theme and unified in structure." (Dunning & Bliss 1969:78); and see Lumiansky (1950). Notoriously Caedmon's hymn has 4+5=9 ll. and 40+41=81 syllables.

<sup>6</sup> Stanley (1962:55) asserts that "we, accepting them [i.e., *Wanderer* and *Seafarer*] wholly, admire in them the obliqueness of approach in which and by means of which they are unities". Similarly Dunning & Bliss (1969:80-1) say that "the poem presents the development of the

*eard-stapa*, through meditation as *an-haga* on his lot, from *modcearig* to *snottor on mode*, who realizes that the only true consolation is to be sought from our Father in Heaven". It is therefore the *snottor on mode* "who is speaking throughout, as the opening line of poem indicates, but in most of the poem he is recalling a time before he attained his present wisdom".

<sup>7</sup> Dunning & Bliss (l.c.) think that the familiarity of the poet of *Wanderer* with Boethius' thought doesn't require he had read necessarily *De consolazione philosophiae* either in Latin or in Alfred's translation.

<sup>8</sup> See Ambrosini (1981).

<sup>9</sup> See Tugene (1984-5).

<sup>10</sup> See Salomon (1960).

<sup>11</sup> The object of "peregrinatio pro Deo" was "to cultivate the humility" according Dunning & Bliss (1969:79 n.4).

<sup>12</sup> *Wanderer* is "an admirable example of specifically Christian ideas expressed wholly in heroic terms", for "it would have been extremely difficult to pose a Latin Christian commonplace into Old English verses without achieving 'heroic overtones'" (Dunning & Bliss 1969:97).

<sup>13</sup> It should be remembered that, though Old English "elegies" (as *Deor*, *Woman's Lament*, *Husband's Message*, *Ruin*) have no symmetry between *propositio* and *responsio*, they are composed of about 50 lines each one.

<sup>14</sup> Pope (1966: 79-80) prefers "to think that the *eardstapa* and the *snottor on mode* are different chiefly because the characterization becomes more sharper if the poem is read in that way", though he recognizes that "total meaning as a sequence of ideas and emotions is very little altered".

<sup>15</sup> Lit. "the walker of earth", preferably as "one who walks, who wanders from land to land".

<sup>16</sup> See Ambrosini (1970).

<sup>17</sup> But see Brooks (1968).

<sup>18</sup> Pope (1966: 181).

<sup>19</sup> On this structure in Germanic languages generally, see Ramat (1986: 103-4, 220-1). On the emphatic function of article in Classical Greek, see Ambrosini (1987).

<sup>20</sup> See R.K. Gordon's (1926-1962:20) and Bradley's translations (1982: 324).

<sup>21</sup> "The work of fates" seems therefore to clash with the "mildness of God", for their work reverses [but according Gordon (1926-1962:72) "changes" ] the world under the heavens" (v.107).

<sup>22</sup> For a similar concept see *Seafarer* 103, translated [ "very persuasively" in Pope's opinion (1966:90) ] by J.L.Gordon (1960) "Great is the terrible power of God, before which the earth will turn aside" and to compare with *Apocalypsis* 20 11 "a cuius conspectu fugit terra".

<sup>23</sup> "Eall is a key word in the poem" according Greenfield (1966:149-50).

<sup>24</sup> In Bradley's (1982:40) mind *Ruin* "may be thought to articulate an historic scene of Anglo-Saxon inferiority to the admired and emulated Romans", though "the ruined city of earth, like its reciprocal, the ineffability of God, is a scriptural and patristic topos".

<sup>25</sup> According to Leslie (1966:30) *Ruin* and *Wanderer* "are not close enough to require the supposition that one poet influenced the other, but are explicable on the grounds of the similarity of the subject matter of ... impersonal elegiac passages".

<sup>26</sup> See Koch (1984) and specially her Introduction.

<sup>27</sup> Peck (1980:61).

<sup>28</sup> As to Goth. *filhan* "to commit", "to hide", and "to bury", see Ambrosini (1969).

<sup>29</sup> See *Wanderer* 4a *hreran mid handum*.

<sup>30</sup> Bradley (1982:321).

<sup>31</sup> The same concept in Simonides' epitaph in honour of the dead by Thermopylae.

<sup>32</sup> "The cuckoo ... is a signal for departure on a voyage", because "the conceptions of the cuckoo as herald of summer, and summer as a season of calm seas for voyaging, have been conflated" in Anglo-Saxon literature, no less than in Old Irish literature. The cuckoo is also the subject and the solution of a *riddle*, a typical Anglo-Saxon composition. Cf. Leslie 1966:61.

<sup>33</sup> According to Dunning & Bliss (1969:85) "natural phenomena in Old English poetry are evoked by and are intended to denote a state of mind. All through *The Wanderer*, winter and cold and the sea denote misery and fear".

<sup>34</sup> This "diachronic" interpretation differs from the "synchronic" one preferred by "unitarian" critics because in that conception the former part of *The wanderer* is nothing other than a recollection of a remote past and, at the same time, a proof of the caducity of life. But why, then, should the "wise in mind" reach the "terrifying realization of the final dissolution of all created things" (Dunning & Bliss (1969:16))? On the contrary, it seems to be a confirmation of their opinion that *The Wanderer*, like *Beowulf* and *The Battle of Maldon*, reflects an acceptan-

ce of the Germanic aristocratic way of life by a Christian" (1969:96).

<sup>35</sup> V.103 "serves well as the first line of the epilogue, making a solemn pronouncement on a theme glancily mentioned by the previous speaker" (Pope (1966:90)).

<sup>36</sup> According to Sanesi (1975:xlili) "la prima parte, cioè la parte ritenuta originale, risale ad un periodo molto antico, anteriore all'invasione (V secolo), e farebbe de *Il Navigatore* uno dei primissimi esempi della poesia anglo-sassone".

<sup>37</sup> Its it simply a chance matter that (as noted above) *Woman's Lament* and *Husband's Message* have a similar number of lines, resp. 53 and 54?

<sup>38</sup> Thus, as to the similarity between the referents of 11.12-17, 25-30 and 55-57 of *The Seafarer*, "rather than an unchanging contrast between a *peregrinus* and a wordling all three times, the contrast changes significantly from the first and second to the third" (Vickrey (1989:154)). Not by chance an actual similarity is observable only between the referents belonging to the first part (11.12-27 and 25-30).

<sup>40</sup> See Ambrosini (1970) quoted above.

<sup>41</sup> In Hart's opinion (1980:202-3), in the numerological research "two areas of larger relevance stand out, partially interrelated: the historical and the aesthetic" and "even the present rudimentary state of our knowledge about specific works suggests that the ... use of numerical structuring by some of the foremost authors ... of our Western heritage will alter our picture of such humanistic issues as (Western) man's sense of self, sense of world, and sense of beauty". Though "the historical evidence that poets experimented with number as one principle of poetic shape does not by itself prove that number has aesthetic value", however "it shows that in their quest for principles of beauty some of our major poets thought that number had aesthetic value". On the other hand, we can not "ignore the aesthetic implications of the discovery that premeditated number-based designs inform work of poetry".

#### REFERENCES

Ambrosini, R.

- 1969     A proposito della concretezza in analisi semantica. In *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani*, I, Brescia : 47-66.
- 1970     Dialogo e narrazione in inni *rg*-vedici e nell'eopos omerico. In *Lingua scritta e lingua parlata*, Convegno di studi 9-11 novembre 1967, Palermo. *Bollettino del Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani*, 11 : 51-87.

- 1981 Pervji gimn RigVedu i mnimaja mnogoznacnost' poëticeskich tekstov. In *Voprosy Jazykoznanja*, 1:90-97.
- 1987 Problemi di senso nell'uso dell'articolo nella tragedia greca. In *Linguistica e Letteratura*, XII, 1-2: 9-31.
- Bradley, S.A.J.  
1982 *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*. London, Melbourne & Toronto.
- Brooks, G.L.  
Rev. of Leslie (1966), *The Modern Language Review*, lxiii: 157-9.
- Dunning, T.P. and A.J. Bliss  
1966 *The Wanderer*. London.
- Eckhardt, C.D. (ed.)  
1980 *Essays in Numerical Criticism of Medieval Literature*. Lewisburg and London.
- Gordon, J.L.,  
1960 *The Seafarer*, London.
- Gordon, R.K.  
1926 ff. *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, London (rev. 1954; repr. 1962).
- Greenfield, S.B.  
1966 *The Old English Elegies, Continuations and Beginnings*. Ed. by E.G. Stanley, London: 147-172.
- Hart, Th.E.  
1980 *Tectonic Methodology and an Application to Beowulf*. In Eckhardt (1980:185-210).
- Koch, L.  
1984 *Gli Scaldi. Poesia cortese d'epoca vichinga*. Torino.
- Leslie, R.F.  
1966 *The Wanderer*. London.
- Lumiansky, R.M.  
1950 *The Dramatic Structure of the Old English Wanderer*. *Neophilologus*, xxxiv: 104-12.
- Peck, R.A.  
1980 *Number as Cosmic Language*. In Eckhardt (1980:15-64).
- Pope, J.C.  
1966 *Seven Old English Poems*. Indianapolis - New York.
- Ramat, P.  
1986 *Introduzione alla linguistica germanica*, Bologna.
- Salomon, V.  
1960 'The Wanderer' and 'The Seafarer', and the Old English Conception of the Soul, *The Modern Language Review*, lv: 1-0.
- Sanesi, R.  
1975 *Poemi anglosassoni, V-X secolo*. Milano.
- Stanley, E.G.  
1962 Rev. of Gordon (1960), *Medium Aevum*, xxxi: 55.

Stevick, R.D.

- 1975   Arithmetical Design af the Old English 'Andreas'. In Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essasys in Appreciation for John C. McGallard (Nicholson, L.E. and D.W. Frese ed.). South Bend Ind.:99-115.

Tugene, G.

- 1984-5    Rois Moines et Rois Pasteurs dans l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de Bède. *Romania Barbarica* , 8:111-47.

Vickrey, J.F.

- 1989    *The Seafarer* 12-17, 25-30, 55-57: Dives and the Fictive Speaker , *Studia Neophilologica*, 61: 145-156.

## TWINS AND TWINS IN THE LEGEND OF THE FOUNDING OF ROME

Dominique Briquel

One of the most famous examples of legends concerning twin heroes is that of Romulus and Remus, the two brothers who appear in the story of the founding of Rome.

Yet these are not the only twins to appear in this legend. Certain traces of traditions reveal the existence of another couple of brothers, whom one might regard as belonging typologically to the same family of twin heroes or twin gods. It would seem that the shepherd Faustulus, who took the children after they had been thrown into the Tiber and suckled by the she-wolf and who provided for them during their upbringing, did, in fact, have a brother, according to the brief allusions in the accounts of Denys of Halicarnassus (1) and Plutarch (2). The name of this brother - as stated also by Denys (3) - is probably Faustinus. He is thus a double of Faustulus, these two names being linked, in all probability, with that of the wild forest god Faunus (4). The rôle of Faustinus is parallel to that of Faustulus : he, too, is a shepherd, he, too, according to Plutarch, provides for the children during their upbringing and disappears once the city has been founded (5).

Little attention has yet been paid to this rather scarcely attested tradition (6). P.Grimal, for example, considered it as a latter day invention, a duplication of the figure of Faustulus (7).

However, such reservations do not seem justified to us, and we are more inclined to see in this tradition traces of original and authentic elements of the legend.

It seems to us altogether appropriate that, in a Latin legend concerning founder heroes, there should be twins in a position of responsibility for the children's upbringing, having links with the pastoral world in which this upbringing takes place. The same characteristic is to be found in the legend which is possibly the clearest to us among these of the foundation of the cities of Latium, that of Praeneste (8).

With Praeneste as with Rome, we have a founder who, having been exposed, is brought up by shepherds (9). Moreover, he is born of fire and regarded as the son of Vulcan, thus corresponding to the original form of the Roman legend, known to Promathion (10). But here there is only one founder, Caeculus. Yet, once again, there is a couple of brothers, who are shepherds and who, according to the most reliable version of the tradition (11), undertake to rear the young hero. These are the brothers Digidii or Lepidii, whom other sources term simply *divi* or *divini fratres* (12). Uncertainty as to the name or even the absence of any explicit definition

of these brothers as twins, cannot prevent one from recognizing, as, for instance, did G.Dumézil, an important aspect of Latin mythology, that is to say the presence of divine or semi divine beings, whose character is both pastoral and protective, whom one may, yet again, place in the category of twin heroes and twin gods (13).

The observation is of importance for purposes of comparison. In the framework of studies concerning the concepts of twin gods and of "dioscurism" (14), both D.Ward and G.Dumézil have stressed that this type of divine representation, which overflows prodigiously into the Indo-European world, existed among the Indo-Europeans in its own right (15). One may, furthermore, as Dumézil did, apply this type of analysis, to a certain extent, to the twin founders of Rome (16). We have, ourselves, pursued this line of thought in a number of articles (17).

Yet, in the case of Romulus and Remus, such a comparison is not altogether relevant, in that it proves insufficient to explain the legend fully. Thus, it is the case that twins in universal mythology as, more specifically, in Indo-European parallels, are characterized by a certain inequality. Traditionnaly, one is the son of a god, the other of a humane father, one is immortal, the other mortal. Yet elsewhere such inequality is never seen to obtain the extreme proportions of the Roman example, that is to say, the elimination of one brother by the other, according, as it were, to the schema of Cain and Abel. Strictly speaking, at Rome, one is no longer dealing with a couple of founder twins, such as those which appear, to a certain extent, in the Greek account of the founding of Thebes (18). Here we have a single founder, Romulus, who has eliminated his brother. Thus we may consider the couple Romulus/Remus in a new perspective, which is no longer that of twin heroes or twin gods. One may link them to a different mythological or legendary schema, one which dramatizes the rivalry between a group of brothers, one of whom alone is predestinated to achieve great exploits, whilst the others are eliminated.

This schema is well known at Rome, through the example of the third of three Horatioes, who triumphs over the Curiaces, after the death of his brothers. This is part of a warrior mythology, which has been well analysed by G.Dumézil (19). Yet this motif exists in legends concerning children who have been exposed. In a Germanic context, we have the example of Aistulf and Laiamicho, who are "elected" from a group of brothers (5 or 9), because they have been able to take up the king's sword (20).

Thus, one might consider that the legend of the two brothers at Rome, in which one founds the city while the other is eliminated, corresponds above all to this type of legendary motif (21). Analogies with the motif of twin heroes must needs have been mere embellishments, as it were, of the original.

The facts which we have noted with regard to the brother of Faustulus would tend to point in the same direction. If there is really a couple of twins who are both protectors and educators, and thus of truly



divine character, to be sought in the legend, it would be most likely to be found at this level, at Rome as in Praeneste. These limited facts are the precious testimony of the original state of things.

Clearly, this couple of divine or semi divine shepherds did not have, at Rome, the vitality which they had at Praeneste. But it must be remembered that Roman theology comprised a couple of gods, the Pales (22), who were linked to the cattle which they protected. It is precisely their feast day, the *Parilia*, which is traditionnaly recognized as the anniversary of the founding of Rome.

This may be yet another sign that a couple of shepherd gods interpose themselves in the legend, as the protectors and educators of the human twins, and especially of the founder hero, Romulus. But the Pales can no longer truly play this rôle at Rome : even if traces of an alternative situation exist (23), the fact remains that these are feminine deities

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ampolo-Manfredini, 1988

- C.Ampolo, M.Manfredini, Le vite di Teseo e di Romolo di Plutarco, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, s.l

Binder, 1964

- G.Binder, Die Aufsetzung des Königskindes Kyros und Romulus, Meisenheim, A.Hain

Brelich, 1956

- A.Brelich, Tre variazioni romane sul tema delle origini, Rome, Ateneo

Briquel, 1977

- D.Briquel, Perspectives comparatives sur la tradition relative à la disparition de Romulus, *Latomus* 36, p.255-82

Briquel, 1980

- D.Briquel, Rémus élu et réprouvé, in Recherches sur les religions de l'antiquité classique, ed. by R.Bloch, Paris-Geneva, Droz, p.267-300

Briquel, 1981

- D.Briquel, En deça de l'épopée, un thème légendaire indo-européen : caractère trifonctionnel et liaison avec le feu dans la geste des rois iraniens et latins, in L'épopée gréco-latine et ses prolongements européens, Calliope II, Tours, *Caesarodunum*, 16 bis, p.7-31

Briquel, 1983

- D.Briquel, Les enfances de Romulus et Rémus, in Mélanges offerts à R.Schilling, Paris, Belles-Lettres, p.55-66

Briquel, 1986

- D.Briquel, Les différentes versions de la disparition de Romulus, in *La mythologie, clef de lecture du monde classique, hommages à R.Chevallier*, Tours, *Caesarodunum*, 21 bis, I, p.15-37

Briquel-Adam, 1982

- D.Briquel, R.Adam, Le miroir prédestin de l'Antiquarium communale à Rome et la légende des jumeaux latins en milieu latin à la fin du IVème siècle av. J.-C., *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome (Antiquité)*, 94, p.33-65

Chapoutier, 1936

- F.Chapoutier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris, de Boccard

Coarelli, 1987

- F.Coarelli, *Il monumento di Verrio Flacco nel foro di Preneste*, Palestrina, Archeo Club

Dumézil, 1954

- G.Dumézil, *Rituels Indo-Européens à Rome*, Paris, Klincksieck

Dumézil, 1966

- G.Dumézil, *Religion romaine archaïque*, Paris, Payot

Dumézil, 1968

- G.Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée*, I, Paris, Gallimard

Dumézil, 1970

- G.Dumézil, *Du mythe au roman*, Paris, PUF

Dumézil, 1985

- G.Dumézil, *Heur et malheur du guerrier*, 2nd ed., Paris, Flammarion

Grimal, 1969

- P.Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine*, Paris, PUF

Harris, 1906

- J.R.Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, Cambridge, University Press

Jurget, 1980

- F.Jurget, Aussetzung des Caeculus, Entrückung der Ariadne, in *Tainia Roland Hampe zum 70ten Geburtstag...dargebracht*, Mainz, von Zabern, p.269-79

Krappe, 1930

- A.H.Krappe, Mythologie universelle, Paris, Payot

Schilling, 1962

- R.Schilling, Romulus l'écu et Rémus le réprouvé, in Mélanges A.Grenier, Brussels, *Latomus* p.1371-8

Vian, 1963

- F.Vian, Les origines de Thèbes, Paris, Klincksieck

Ward, 1968

- D.Ward, The Divine Twins : an Indo-European Myth in Germanic Tradition, Berkeley-Los Angeles, University of California Press

#### NOTES

1) D.H., I, 84, 3 (translation by Ed.Cary, ed. Loeb): "this Faustulus, they say, was of Arcadian extraction, being descended from those Arcadians who came over with Evander; he lived near the Palatine hill and had the care of Amulius' possessions, and he was prevailed on by his brother, named Faustinus, who had the oversight of Numitor's herds that fed near the Aventine hill, to do Numitor the favour of bringing up ythe children."

2) Plut., *Life of Romulus* 10, 2 (translation by O.Perrins, ed. Loeb): "Faustulus also fell in the battle, as well as Plistinus, who was a brother of Faustulus, and assisted him in rearing Romulus and Remus."

3) Plutarch's manuscripts give Plistinus ; this may either be due to a different tradition or to plain error (cf. C.Ampolo, M.Manfredini, 1988, p.297). Plistinus remains inexplicable, whilst Faustinus is linguistically parallel to Faustulus, formed with a different suffix from the same stem, *faustus*.

4) On this question, cf. for example, Brelich, 1956, p.57-74.

5) On the meaning of the disappearance at this point of Faustulus and Faustinus, cf. Briquel, 1983.

6) On the hypothesis that the brothers figured on a 4th century mirror in Praeneste, see Briquel-Adam, 1982.

7) Cf. Grimal, 1969, p.158. The author stresses the link between the two figures and the Palatine and Aventine hills.

8) There are numerous sources for this legend : Cato and Varro, *ap. schol. Veron.*, *ad Verg.*, *Aen.* VII, 681, Vergil, *Aen.* VII, 678-81, Solin, II, 9, P.-Festus, 38 L, Servius, *ad Verg.*, *Aen.* VII, 678, *Mythographi Vaticani* I, 87, II, 211. Useful additional information may now be drawn from archeological documents, which substantiate the presence of the motif of the suckling of a child with has been exposed by a female animal (Lungeit, 1980, Coarelli, 1987).

9) On this legend and its analogies with the Roman legend, cf. Dumézil, 1954, p.26-43, Brelich, 1956, p.34-43, Briquel, 1981.

10) Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Romulus* 2; cf. Dumézil, 1954, Briquel, 1981.

11) This differentiation occurs in Varro ; elsewhere the rôle of these brothers is not made truly explicit. Reference is made to them as brothers of the child's mother (Servius), or as sisters who found the child (Solin, according to the local sources, that is to say the *libri Praenestini*). Those who bring the child up are sometimes (Sevius, *Myth.Vat.*) simply shepherds (*pastores*); Cato speaks of virgins (*virgines*), who take the child in.

12) Respectively Solin, Varro, Servius, l.c.; the name *Digidii* evokes to some extent the Greek tradition of the *Dactyles*

13) Cf. Dumézil, 1956, p.252-3.

14) Cf. for example, Harris, 1906, Krappe, 1930, Chapoutier, 1936.

15) Cf. Dumézil, 1966, p.252-3, 1968, p.76-8, 1970, p.141-3, Ward, 1968.

16) Cf. Dumézil, 1966, p.252-5.

17) Cf. Briquel, 1977, 1986.

18) On this example and the rôle of Amphion and Zethos in the account, cf. Vian, 1963, p.242-4.

19) Cf. Dumézil, 1985, p.16-67.

20) For a resumé of the facts, Binder, 1964, p.222-3.

21) On the importance of the progressive differentiation between the two brothers, up to the final elimination of Remus, cf. Schilling, 1962, Briquel, 1980, 1983.

22) Cf. Dumézil, 1966, p.373-6.

23) *Ibid.*, p.373-4.

# REFLECTIONS ON AN INDO-EUROPEAN HEALING TRADITION

Kenneth G. Zysk  
*New York University*

Disease and techniques for its elimination have concerned mankind from time immemorial. Fundamental notions about the causes of diseases and the methods of removing human suffering cut across traditional boundaries of culture and chronology and may simply, as Frazer and other reductionists have argued, reflect a stage in the evolutionary development of humankind. In ancient cultures where evidence of healing traditions is available, the dominant causes of human affliction were identified as malevolent divinities whose harmful effects were neutralised by magico-religious rituals, although, other maladies like wounds and fractures were routinely repaired by the application of "rationalistic" cures.

These fundamental ideas and practices about sickness and health occur in a variety of early Indo-European documents, as well as in the ancient Near Eastern papyri and cuneiform records. Although the similarity of conceptional notions about disease and cure occurring among several seemingly unrelated early cultures renders efforts to uncover a distinct system of Indo-European healing especially difficult, a few distinguished scholars have attempted to deduce a uniquely Indo-European system from ancient literary sources. This paper is devoted to surveying and reviewing their endeavours. The discussion is divided into two sections: Indo-Germanic medicine and Indo-European medicine. The former reflects opinions of the late nineteenth century German school of Indo-European studies, while the latter expresses those of the more recent French school of tripartitism. The essay concludes with an examination of the medical lore of Vedic Indians in relation to the most recent paradigm of Indo-European medicine.

## 1. Indo-Germanic medicine

Over a century ago, the German scholar Adalbert Kuhn published a lengthy article in which he explored what he perceived to be fundamental similarities between the ancient Indian and Germanic traditions of healing. He drew his material principally from

paradigmatic Vedic hymns of the *Atharvaveda* and from similar specimens of Germanic or Teutonic folk literature.<sup>1</sup> Despite his reductionistic approach, Kuhn provided valuable insights, regularly based on sound judgements from comparative analysis, and many of his contributions deserve to be rescued from a long but unmerited oblivion.

Kuhn organised his discussion around six topics: spells to cure a lame horse, charms against consumption (*Schwinden*), against jaundice (*Gelbsucht*), against elves, bad spirits (*Elbe, Alp*) and nightmares (*Mahre*), against "seventy-seven" (i.e. numerous) disease (*Sieben und Siebzigerlei Krankheit*), and against worms (*Würmer*).

In the charms to cure a lame horse, Kuhn isolated intrinsic similarities between various incantations based on the famous tenth century Merseberg horse charm and AV 4.12, leading him to conclude that the original German and the Atharvavedic forms were related and probably derived from a common Indo-Germanic tradition, and moreover, that both were employed in healing rites to cure lame horses. Following primarily the later tradition of the *Kaushika Sūtra*, most scholars were long convinced that the Atharvavedic incantation was used for a human's broken or dislocated limb, but reexamination of the spell in light of Kuhn's analysis strongly suggests that he may well have been correct in his conclusion.<sup>2</sup> Both charms are stylistically quite similar. They utilise formulaic expressions very often employing the same anatomical terms (bone to bone, blood to blood, hair to hair, joint to joint sinew to sinew, marrow to marrow, etc.), and invoke the aid of a builder god (Vedic Dhātṛ ≅ R̥hbu, German Wodan, Norse Alfr).

Kuhn's claim that both spells used kindred creeping plants in the healing procedure is, however, erroneous.<sup>3</sup> The Vedic plant *arundhaṭī* is actually the resinous lac produced by insects on the trunks and limbs of certain trees. Moreover, *Arundhaṭī* is representative of an entire class of healing plant goddesses particular to the folk-healing tradition of the *Atharvaveda*. The Germanic plants indicate no such mythological distinction.

This caveat notwithstanding, Kuhn's assumption that both the versions of the Merseberg spell and the Vedic charm were employed to cure a lame horse merits serious consideration. As its final two verses clearly indicate, AV 4.12 functioned originally as a veterinary charm. Verse 6 implores a horse to get up after being cured and to go to its chariot, and verse 7 enumerates mishaps which a horse would routinely encounter in the course of a battle.

1. You, the *rohaṇī* are Rohaṇī, the healer of the severed bone. Make this [limb] grow, O Arundhati.
2. Let Dhātṛ propitiously reunite, joint with joint, whatever broken bone [or] inflamed piece of flesh [is] in your body.
3. Let your marrow be united with marrow and your joint with joint. Let your torn flesh and [your] bone grow together.
4. Let marrow be united with marrow; let skin grow with skin; let your blood join with blood and flesh with flesh.
5. You, O herb, join hair with hair, skin with skin. Unite what is severed. Let bone grow forth with bone.
6. You there, stand up, advance, run along, [your] chariot [has] strong wheels, rims [and] hubs. Stand erect firmly!
7. If falling in a hole, he was injured, or if a hurled rock struck [him], may [Dhātṛ] combine his limbs, joint with joint, as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot.<sup>4</sup>

The remaining five sections of medical concurrences discussed by Kuhn depend on conceptual and procedural patterns rather than linguistic parallels and common vocabulary. Because similar ideas of disease causation and analogous healing techniques occur the world over, the delineation of a distinctively Indo-Germanic healing tradition characterised by a series of coincidences is dubious, but nevertheless worthy of close scrutiny.<sup>5</sup>

Similarities between the charms against consumption rely on two classes of Germanic spells (the exorcism of the disease from one limb to another and from individual limbs) and RV 10.163 (= AV 20.96.17-22), AV 2.33 and RV 10.97, where consumption is represented by the Vedic term *yákṣma*. Both traditions exhibit congruencies in expelling the disease from afflicted corporeal members, or in exorcising it from the body moving down from the head to the feet. Both also use ritual procedures and objects, such as birds, to carry away disease. Attempts to connect the specific types of birds mentioned in each set of incantations rest, however, on flimsy linguistic evidence.<sup>6</sup>

Charms against jaundice also rely in part on transference of disease to birds. Comparison between AV 1.22 and various Germanic and Roman (Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 30.28) examples illustrates a common associative technique of using yellow-coloured birds to remove the yellow-coloured jaundice. Particular to the Germanic tradition is the prescription that once the transference was accomplished, the bird (yellow finch) was to be roasted and eaten. Occasionally a yellow root or plant was used and eaten, as illustrated in certain forms of Germanic folklore and in the ritual procedures adumbrated in the *Kaushika Sūtra*. Perhaps here in the Indian tradition we see the results of an older flesh-eating tradition, reflected in Germanic folklore, supplanted by newer attitudes of vegetarianism which, by the time of the final compilation of the *Kaushika Sūtra*, a century or two preceding the common era, was already widely practised.

Based on their mutual tendency to enter into humans and commune with mortals, Kuhn equated Germanic elves, evil spirits (*Elbe, Alp*) and nightmares (*Mahre*) respectively with Indian Gandharvas and Apsarases, which in turn bear close similarities to each other, as do *Elben, Alp* and *Mahre* in Germanic folk beliefs. Moreover, citing AV 4.37, he claimed that the equation is strengthened because both are dispelled or repelled by the use of odours or fragrant substances.<sup>7</sup> Although the notion of spirit possession and spirit contact with humans is a common world-wide occurrence, the characteristics of elves, bad spirits, nightmares and other such apparitions seem peculiar to Germanic folklore; and the similarities between these specific spirit-forms and the Indian Gandharvas and Apsarases point to a common Indo-Germanic origin.

Attribution to a disease of numbers occurring in pairs, reflecting perhaps its numerous forms and symptoms, was common in Germanic folk traditions and found parallels in several Vedic charms, where the disease *apacit*, is enumerated as 55, 77 and 99 (AV 6.25). In the Germanic tradition, a 77 disease usually indicated fever, but sometimes the numbers varied and referred to other afflictions: gout, worms, dental erysipelas, and epidemics. Since the use of numeric pairs to express inordinately large numbers was widespread, attempts to establish a specific Indo-Germanic tradition of numerology based on these connections seems futile.<sup>8</sup> Vedic *apacit* remains obscure, but the Germanic example of 77 erysipelas supports the suggestion that it indicated a type of spreading rash with pustules similar to that caused by the bites of insects.<sup>9</sup> For example, rather than saying that one's body was covered with pustules, Germans said one suffered from 77 erysipelas,



and Vedic Indians stated one had 55, 66 or 77 *apacīs*, in describing the symptoms of the disease as it progressed from one day to the next, as for instance in a case of measles.

Finally, worms as individual maladies or causes of disease was a frequent Indo-Germanic phenomenon. Citing AV 2.31, 32 and 5.23 and several Germanic spells against worms, Kuhn pointed to similar descriptions of worms in the charms from both traditions. Worm infested bodily parts were routinely enumerated. Likewise, the worms' different forms and colours as well as genders were recounted. While the Vedic incantations describe worms as variegated, white, white-shouldered and black with white arms, the Germanic charms standardise the colours as black, white and red. The Indian notion of the evil-named, flesh-eating worm mentioned at RV 10.162.1-2, has parallels in Homer and in a Dutch spell.<sup>10</sup>

Vedic literature is replete with examples of elaborate and cumbersome descriptions of natural phenomena. A similar penchant appears operative in numerous charms from the Germanic folk tradition. This suggests perhaps an Indo-Germanic proclivity toward control, resulting from the widely held notion that knowledge was equal to power. By knowing and recounting orally the name(s) of an evil and describing its various characteristics, control was secured, whereby, it was believed, the demon was easily rendered impotent. Knowledge therefore had the power to make safe what otherwise would have been harmful. The Germanic standardisation of colours shows that charms against worms eventually became formulaic and employable in every appropriate situation. Insufficient examples from Vedic literature impede confirmation of a similar occurrence in the Indian tradition.

While it is impossible to use Kuhn's work on Indo-Germanic medicine to identify an Indo-European medical system, it has the single important contribution of indicating certain fundamental similarities in the ancient Indian and Germanic traditions of folk-medicine. A more comprehensive model of Indo-European, based a methodology of comparative analysis developed by George Dumézil, would emerge several decades later.

## 2. Indo-European medicine

Dumézil's identification of the Indo-European phenomenon of the division of society into three distinct class (priests, warriors and agriculturalists) provided scholars with a fresh new framework with which to explore aspects of Indo-European antiquity. The predilection of many Indo-Europeanists for interpreting nearly every phenomenon of the ancient world in terms of this tripartite division of society gave rise to several endeavours to distinguish an Indo-European medical tradition reflective of the threefold social structure. Three significant articles have discussed the problem of identifying a distinctively Indo-European system of healing. In order to trace the development of the argument, each will be examined in turn, beginning with Emile Benveniste's first attempt to delineate an Indo-European medical doctrine;<sup>11</sup> then considering Jaan Puhvel's refinement of Benveniste's original thesis;<sup>12</sup> and finally assessing the additional contribution made by Georges Dumézil to these previous discussions.<sup>13</sup> While a clearly indentified Indo-European medical tradition remains an uncertainty, the efforts of these three scholars, each building on the work of his predecessors, have provided an outline into which pieces could be fitted to delineate an Indo-European system of medicine.

Based on linguistic evidence (Latin *medeor*, *medicus*, and Avestan *vi-mad*), Benveniste assumed that from a very early period Indo-Europeans possessed techniques for treating diseases and that this medical tradition presupposed reflection, competence and authority on the part of the physician, who was obviously a man of learning and commanded much respect.<sup>14</sup> Such medical sophistication among Indo-Europeans compelled Benveniste to seek a theoretically based doctrine of Indo-European medicine which, he claimed, is found in the Avesta where a threefold division of medicine (by the knife, by plants, and by charms) occurs (*Vidēvdāt* 7.44).

To complete the system, Benveniste sought and found in Pindar's account of Kherion's transmission of medicine to Asklepios three forms of healing corresponding to three types of diseases (*Pythian Ode* 3.40-55). According to Benveniste, Pindar's passage indicated that charms were used to cure wounds from battle, plants (in potions) eliminated exhaustion of the body, and incisions or surgery cured ulcers.<sup>15</sup> This gave a threefold formula: charms for wounds, plants for weak or exhausted bodily condition, and surgery for external sores or ulcers. He then applied this formula to the Vedic myth in which the

Asvins (Nāsatyas) cured the blind, lame and emaciated (RV 10.39.3), arguing that charms were used to heal blindness, a form of divine evil; plants were employed to cure emaciation, a condition of weak bodily state; and surgery repaired lameness caused by a broken bone.<sup>16</sup>

Benveniste concluded his discussion of Indo-European medicine by extending the threefold formula to the tripartite division of society: charms for the priest-magicians, surgery for warriors, and plants for agriculturalists, cautioning that these associations were more figurative than functional. He made the insightful observation that the relationship between disease and its cure indicated an ambivalent social attitude: the charm could cause or remove evil, the knife could wound or heal, and plants could nourish or poison. The cures therefore had a twofold function, and healing was but half their power.<sup>17</sup>

Mesmerised by the novelty of Indo-European tripartitism distracting the troubled minds of Paris intellectuals during the early 1940s, Benveniste perhaps leapt too quickly to conclusions indicative of the tripartite ideology. Nevertheless, he provided the basis for further examination of Indo-European healing traditions in a way that Kuhn was unable to accomplish. The decided simplicity of the equations issuing from his arguments seems compelling and elicits deeper thought and reflection. Indeed a few scholars have contemplated Benveniste's claims and have undertaken additional investigations into the subject. Their studies indicate further refinements of Benveniste's original thesis.

Puhvel begins his essay by objecting to Benveniste's reconstruction of Indo-European medicine, claiming that the similarities and equations elucidated by Benveniste could very possibly result from "international interpenetrations of medical lore by the fifth century B.C."<sup>18</sup> However, convinced that an Indo-European system of healing is identifiable in accordance with the tripartite ideology, he proposed a different approach to the problem. Based on the premise that Indo-European medicine was a social, religious and mythical phenomenon, rather than a scientific or historical occurrence, Puhvel used the mythologies associated with certain divinities to delineate the prototypic form of Indo-European medicine.

The paradigmatic example of Puhvel's reconstruction of Indo-European medicine draws on Vedic myths involving Varuṇa, Rudra and the Asvins twins. Medicine of the first, priestly, estate is represented by Varuṇa whose special form of prayer-healing cured afflictions sent by him for infractions against the cosmic order (*ṛta*). Drawing on Iranian

evidence, he also proposed as medicine of the first estate, "Mitraic-Aryamanic" healing, entailing "'charters' by legalistic sovereigns in establishment of rituals of cure."<sup>19</sup> Medicine of the second, warrior, function is represented by Rudra whose cures healed violent afflictions such as epidemics and the results of mayhem. Finally, the Āsvins illustrated the medicine of the third estate. Combining healing by herbs, liquids and magical spells different from those of Varuṇa's prayer-based medicine, this form of medicine best represented folk-medicine.<sup>20</sup> Into this domain of healing, Puhvel placed the Ṛgvedic hymn to the healing herbs (RV 10.97) and the previously mentioned Merseberg horse charm of the Germanic tradition.<sup>21</sup>

The major problem with Puhvel's reconstruction of a prototypical pan-Indo-European system of healing is his almost exclusive reliance on Indo-Iranian sources. Similarities between ancient Indian and Iranian traditions of medicine would not be unexpected, but it would require substantial evidence from other parts of the ancient Indo-European speaking world to generalise the phenomenon. As a result of the circumscription of his data, one may level the same criticism against Puhvel's proposition that he did against Benveniste's thesis by claiming that the similarities could result from cultural interaction and mutual borrowing.

Nevertheless, Puhvel's suggestion that folk-medicine lies essentially in the realm of the third function has merit. While a knowledge of medicinal herbs does not necessarily presuppose an understanding of agriculture, many Indo-European medical books seem to have circulated regularly among the folk or earth-bound stratum of the society. The techniques and practices detailed in such treatises as the Anglo-Saxon leechbooks, the medical portions of the *Atharvaveda*, or the Germanic healing practices and charms collected, among others, by Jacob Grimm, may well have been employed to treat people from all segments of the society, but this folk-medicine was probably, as Puhvel suggests, preserved and transmitted specifically among healers of the third estate.

Examples of healing techniques associated with the other two estates are considerably more difficult to document because of the lack of evidence. In Vedic India, the word for healer, *bhiṣaj*, indicated one who at once had knowledge of medical charms and hymns, plants, and techniques for setting bones and curing wounds.<sup>22</sup> However, ancient Greek healing associated with the temples to Asklepios might very well represent vestiges of priestly medicine, and the army "hospitals" of ancient Rome could possibly look

back to a tradition of warrior medicine for their origin. In spite of certain shortcomings in Puhvel's essay, he advanced the thesis of an Indo-European medicine, and provided some new ideas on which to ruminate.

Dumézil, motivated to comment on the theses of Benveniste and Puhvel in a posthumously published "unedited outline" (*esquisse inédite*), further advances our understanding of ancient Indo-European medicine. While acknowledging the novelty of Benveniste's discovery of what appear to be three forms of Indo-European healing, Dumézil, like Puhvel, found difficulty in accepting that the Pindar passage, the Avestan reference and the R̥gvedic hymn all implied the same types of healing for the same types of maladies. Often remedies and diseases overlapped, i.e. surgery was effective against wounds as well as ulcers, and vegetal drugs and incantations were routinely applied for all afflictions, while the causes of the infirmities were not always as Benveniste would have them, i.e. blindness in Greece and India was not a divine evil. Moreover, Dumézil suggested that the R̥gvedic hymn (10.39.3) cited by Benveniste implied quite a different tri-functional classification based on the action of the Aśvins as miracle workers. The verse reads as follows:

amājúraś cid bhavatho yuvám bhāgo  
 'nāsós cid avitārāpamāśya cit/  
 andhāśya cin nāsatyā kṛṣāśya cid  
 yuvám id āhur bhiṣājā rutāśya cit//

You two are the dispensers of fortune to any old woman in the home, the providers of encouragement to anyone slow [and] furthest behind. Indeed, they say, O Nāsatyas, you are the two healers of anyone blind, emaciated [or] crippled.

According to Dumézil, the Aśvin-Nāsatyā operated as 1) "'providence' disposant des lots de la fortune [*bhāga*], 2) donneurs d'un supplément de vigueur à un concurrent en difficulté [*avitā*], 3) médecins de toutes les altérations de la santé [*bhiṣā*]' illustrées ici par trois exemples qui ne sont pas, eux, fonctionnellement caractérisés [*andhā*, *kṛṣā*, *rutā*]."23 Therefore, medicine here functioned in the third estate.

He next examined Puhvel's article with which he found much agreement. His

criticisms of Puhvel's hypothesis centred on the healing aspects of Varuṇa and Rudra and on Puhval's limited data bank. In comparison to the Aśvins, the medical functions of Varuṇa and Rudra were clearly insignificant and probably reflect their overall benevolence and omniscience. Moreover, their mythologies do not serve as a functional classification of physical ailments. Likewise, a survey of Celtic and Irish evidence would have been useful. In the last analysis the only possible concordance appears to be between the Avestan and the Pindar passages, but, like Puhvel, Dumézil queried whether this was sufficient to permit one to speak of an Indo-European "doctrine" of medicine, or whether it was the result of dispersion and borrowing.<sup>24</sup>

As his article took the form of an unfinished outline, thoughts were added at the end to provide a basis for further reflection and consideration. Dumézil pointed to a tri-functional division of plant medicine, surgery and spells in a previously unmentioned passage from Homer's *Odyssey*. In the tenth book of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus employed counter-magic first to neutralise a potion made from plants, secondly, to abate a sword attack, and thirdly, to render an evil inoffensive and cooperative by persuading it to swear an oath never more to cause harm.<sup>25</sup>

From Puhvel's suggestions and his own analysis of the pertinent material, Dumézil was eventually led to the conclusion that in Indo-European cultures medicine was exclusively part of the third function: "La médecine, toute la médecine...forme le troisième terme d'une structure dont les deux autres relèvent l'un du sacré et de la souveraineté, l'autre de la force et de la violence; puis ce troisième terme se subdivise en trois procédures fondées l'une sur un traitement magico-religieux, une seconde sur la violence, la troisième sur les vertus des plantes."<sup>26</sup>

The evolution of a model of Indo-European medicine culminates with the work of Dumézil who, as the author of the tripartite doctrine of Indo-European civilisation, it is perhaps fitting, should have the final word. It remains for us to test his thesis and, in so doing, refine it.

### 3. Conclusions

Dumézil's observation that Indo-European medicine functions in the third estate and paradigmatically consists of three parts provides a theoretical framework for deeper

analysis of individual systems of healing in Indo-European cultures. The concluding part of this essay will show that the healing tradition of the Vedic Indians is but one instance that supports Dumézil's model of Indo-European medicine.

Vedic medical lore is detailed not in the priestly hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, but rather in the mundane charms and incantations of the *Atharvaveda*, generally regarded as a popular religious treatise consisting of magical formulae for various ends. A few medical hymns found their way into more recent parts of the *Ṛgveda*, but they clearly belong to the genre of the *Atharvaveda*. The medical spells are scattered haphazardly throughout the nineteen or twenty books of this popular treatise and belong to a cult of medicine-men and magicians whose religious rituals are quite different from those of the priestly sacrificial circles, yet they contain references to mythological characters borrowed from the priestly literature of the *Ṛgveda*. It is entirely possible that the magico-religious healing rituals described herein mimicked the sacrificial rites of the priestly cults, but the characteristics of these Atharvavedic healing hymns effectively eliminate medicine from the first function. Similarly, the hymns and charms contain very little that would associate healers with the second estate. Their magico-religious quality, however, makes them ideally suited to the third function in which the more popular intellectual traditions of Indo-European cultures are generally collected. Moreover, being furthest away from the conservative priestly cults, the third estate reflects the views and attitudes of the folk culture which likely incorporated aspects of non-Indo-European traditions. The healing hymns of the *Atharvaveda* ideally fit into Dumézil's conception of the third estate. Likewise, based on the parallels and correspondences elucidated by Kuhn, Germanic folk-medicine would similarly correspond to the third function.

A three-fold system of therapeutics based on spells, vegetal pharmaceuticals, and surgery is somewhat more difficult to establish from the medical hymns of the *Atharvaveda*, where herbal remedies predominate, and mythologies of female healing plant goddesses are often recounted to increase the efficacy of particular therapeutics. These myths are unique to Vedic medical botany and tend to reflect an acute awareness of the local flora, probably acquired from close contacts with the autochthonic folk.<sup>27</sup>

Fresh water and aqueous substances also occur as remedial agents, but less frequently than plants. Water-cures are often consecrated with the following formulaic verse:

The waters are indeed remedial; the waters are dispellers of *āmivā*-disease and are medicines for every [disease]. Let them make [i.e. be] medicine for you.<sup>28</sup>

One particular hymn (AV 6.24), among the healing charms of the *Atharvaveda*, is addressed to the healing properties of water:

1. Indeed may the divine waters, flowing forth from the Himavant [and forming] a confluence somewhere in the Sindhu, bestow on me the medicine against pain in the chest (*hrddyotā*).
2. May the waters, best healers among healers, eradicate all that has afflicted [me] in my two eyes, in [my] two heels, and in the front of [my] two feet.
3. You, who are all the rivers which have Sindhu as mistress and queen, bestow on us the medicine for that [malady]. By means of that [remedy], may we gain your benefit.<sup>29</sup>

The inclusion of water and aqueous materials in the Vedic healer's arsenal of therapeutics derives from the close association between plants and water. Indo-Iranian evidence indicates that it was a commonly held belief that water was necessary for the production of plants which in turn contain the essence of water. Moreover, like plants, efficacious waters derive from Mother Earth in the form of springs and rivers and are called the Mother of Life.<sup>30</sup> Plants and water were seemingly interchangeable remedial agents, functioning in the same healing category.

A clearly discernible tradition of surgery is wanting in the Atharvavedic medical hymns. Occasionally there are references that might imply certain surgical procedures, such as the use of a reed as a type of catheter to cure urine-retention (AV 1.3), the lancing of pustules [AV 7.74(78)], the application of resin to bind wounds, the healing of fractures (AV 2.3, 4.12, 5.5, 6.44, 6.109), cauterisation with caustics and perhaps fire (AV 10.4.26, RV 7.50.2; cf. RV 1.191.12), and the application of ointments and dyes to cure the discolouration of the skin (AV 1.23, 24). Any connection with Rudra as representing the medicine of the second function is purely speculative. Rudra's remedy, *jālāśā*, has the form of a water-based medicine, and has nothing to do with surgery.<sup>31</sup>



Both therapeutics, herbal/aqueous and surgical, were employed in the context of a healing ritual, which had as its single most important component the recitation of the appropriate spells or *mantras*. Each of the individual remedies became efficacious because the incantations imbued it with healing powers. In this way, the technique of verbal cure was employed in every form of treatment and must not be considered as a form of therapy operating in isolation from the other two. Often different types of healing procedures were employed at the same time to effect the cure of a single malady. Quite possibly there was a division of labour between individual healers specialising in a particular branch of the art, as occurs in the rituals of the priestly sacrificial cults, but unfortunately the evidence in this regard remains inconclusive.

Medical references from the Vedic tradition thus supports Dumézil's claim that medicine was part of the third function. The threefold division of remedial measures into spells, herbs and surgery, also finds support in the Vedic tradition, but not in terms of separate medical specialisations. Vedic evidence indicates that water's close association with plants led to the decided inclusion of aqueous materials as important cures, seemingly functioning in the same remedial sphere as that of the healing plants. Operating together or in pairs (spells and herbs, spells and water or spells and surgery), the threefold cures were employed as a single remedy, rather than individually against specific infirmities. It is very likely that upon further examination and study, if a "system" of Indo-European medicine should eventually emerge, it would most probably find its *locus operandi* in the third estate, and its *modus operandi* would consist of verbal, vegetal/aqueous and surgical cures functioning in conjunction during a magico-religious healing ritual to effect cures for nearly all the maladies and injuries that plagued the Indo-Europeans.

Although several studies throughout the years have advanced considerably our understanding of healing practices in Indo-European antiquity, a distinctive pan-Indo-European system of medicine has yet to be conclusively identified. Additional investigation of the enormous corpus of ancient Indo-European literature, combined perhaps with creative interpretations of the contemporaneous archaeological data, will inevitably increase our knowledge of the antique medicine of the Indo-European speaking world, but close attention must be paid to the contribution from the autochthonous cultures associated with the folk stratum of society, for herein resides most of the old healing traditions. Moreover, the survival of elements of Indo-European medical literature

provides an important source for an original study of a folk literary tradition unique to the third estate.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Adalbert Kuhn, "Indische und germanische Segenssprüche," *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*, vol. 13 (1864), 49-74, 113-157). Hereafter: IGS.
2. See K.G. Zysk, *Religious healing in the Veda. With translations and annotations of medical hymns from the R̥gveda and the Atharvaveda and renderings from the corresponding ritual texts* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1895) [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 75.7], 72-73. Hereafter: RHV.
3. Kuhn, IGS, 49-63, 151-54
4. See Zysk, RHV, 74, 197-201. The Paippalāda variant (4.15.2) to verse 5 significantly adds sinew to the list of parts to be joined, for the phrase sinew to sinew occurs in numerous versions of the Merseberg charm. On the second Merseberg charm, see Jaan Puhvel, "Mythological reflections of Indo-European medicine," in George Cardona, et al., eds., *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans. Papers presented at the Third Indo-European Conference at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970*), 379, 389 n. 31.
5. See in particular, Forrest E. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1932), and Henry E. Sigerist, *A History of Medicine*, Vol. 1: Primitive and Archaic Medicine (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), among others.
6. Kuhn, IGS, 63-74, 154-55.
7. Kuhn, IGS, 118-27, 155-56.
8. Kuhn, IGS, 128-35, 157.

9. See Zysk, RHV, 82-86.
10. Kuhn, IGS, 135-51.
11. Emile Benvéniste, "La doctrine médicale des Indo-Européen," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 130 (1945) 5-12.
12. Puhvel, "Mythological reflections," 369-82.
13. Georges Dumézil, "La médecine et les trois fonctions," *Magazine littéraire*, 229 (1986), 36-39.
14. Benvéniste, "La doctrine médicale," 5-7.
15. Benvéniste, "La doctrine médicale," 7-10.
16. Benvéniste, "La doctrine médicale," 10-11.
17. Benvéniste, "La doctrine médicale," 11-12.
18. Puhvel, "Mythological reflections," 371.
19. Puhvel, "Mythological reflections," 380.
20. Ibid.
21. Puhvel, "Mythological reflections," 379.
22. See Zysk, RHV, 8-9.
23. Dumézil, "La médecine et les trois fonctions," 38.

24. Dumézil, "La médecine et les trois fonctions," 38-39.
25. Dumézil, "La médecine et les trois fonctions," 39.
26. Ibid.
27. See K.G. Zysk, *Asceticism and healing in ancient India* (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1991), 17-20.
28. See RV 10.137.6; AVS 6.91.3, AVP 5.18.9; cf. also AVS 3.2.7, AVP 3.2.7, and AVP 19.18.9, and Zysk, RHV, 90.
29. See Zysk, RHV, 92, 234-36. Water and aqueous substances as a remedial agents occur at AV 3.12.9 (= 9.3.23), 4.7.1, 6.12.3, 6.57.1-3, 6.91.3, 6.100, 7.107 (112), 10.4.20, 19.2.5; cf. also RV 7.50.4, 8.20.23-25; RV 9.49.1
30. See in particular *Yasna*, 28, 65.1, 12, 15, *Vidēvdāt* 9.5(13), RV 6.50.7, and AV 8.7.3, 8, 9, 21. Cf. also Benveniste who points out that Avestan *vispō.bīš*, "which heals all," is the name of a mythical tree growing in the middle of lake Varukarta, and that the related Vedic compound *visvābheṣaja*, "medicine for every [disease]," refers to plants ("La doctrine médicale," 6-7 n 1). A nearly identical expression refers to water in the formulaic verse used to consecrate water-cures at AV 6.91.3: *āpo visvasya bheṣajīṣ*, "waters [are] medicine for every [disease]" (see above). The Germanic folk tradition also recognises the efficacious healing power of water, especially water that springs from the earth (See Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 3rd Edition, Göttingen: Dieterichsche Buchhandlung, 1854, 552-54, 1129).
31. See Zysk, RHV, 93-95.

## ‘CONTINENTAL OLD ENGLISH’ AND S-PLURALS IN OLD AND MIDDLE DUTCH

Hans F. Nielsen

The existence of about 40 place-names south and south-west of Calais in Northern France ending in *-thun*, which is obviously the same place-name suffix as Old English *-tūn*, has been known to scholars for years. A list of the names is given by Derolez (1974:11, fn. 1); here I shall restrict myself to mentioning a few examples with clear English equivalents:

<i>Alincthun</i>	<i>Allington</i> (D,K,W)
<i>Baincthun</i> (< <i>Bagingatun</i> 811)	<i>Bainton</i> (YE)
<i>Colincthun</i>	<i>Collington</i> (He)
<i>Godincthun</i> (< <i>Godinghetuna</i> 1129-1208)	<i>Goddington</i> (K)
<i>Offrethun</i>	<i>Wolverton</i> (Ha)
<i>Todincthun</i> (< <i>Totingatun</i> 807)	<i>Tottington</i> (K,La,Nf)
<i>Wadenthun</i> (< <i>Wadingatun</i> 1084)	<i>Waddington</i> (YW)

(cf. Mansion 1932:21-2; Gysseling 1948:73, 1966:162, 1969:31, 1970:177-8, 1972:56, 1978:62; Ekwall 1960:482; Weijnen 1965:386).

Now, when did these French place-names come into being? Do they go back to the very early migration period of the *litus Saxonicum*, which is how the Northern French coast is designated in *Notitia Dignitatum* ±400 (cf. Mansion 1932:24)? Somewhat later, in the 6th century, Saxon colonization in the same area is reported by Gregory of Tours. Could the invasion process have been reversed so that Anglo-Saxon settlement in Britain was followed by a penetration from Britain into Northern France? In *The Gothic War*, IV. 20 (written in the mid-6th century in Constantinople) Procopius says - perhaps significantly - that Angles, Frisians and Britons inhabited Britain (*Brittia*) and that from here there were migrations into Frankish lands.

From a distributional point of view it is interesting that the *-thun* names are only attested south of the second Dunkirk marine transgression (±400 - ±700) (cf. Derolez 1974:7, Tældeman 1982:291, 296), which provides us with a useful *terminus ante quem*: the *-thun* names must have originated before 700. There can be no doubt, however, that the suffix is a specifically Old English one. For one thing, Flemish place-names in *-tuin*, *-tun*, *-ten* are virtually non-existent (Mansion 1932:20). Secondly, Old English is the only Germanic language in which *tūn* acquires the meaning 'homestead', 'village', 'town'. The original meaning of Gmc. \**tūn*- has been (more or less) closely preserved by German (*Zaun* 'fence'), Dutch (*tuin* 'garden') and Icelandic (*tún* 'surrounding field'). In Danish, e.g., when *-tūn* occasionally crops up as a place-name element as in *Galten*, *Gesten* and *Vitten*, the meaning of the suffix is 'fenced-in plot of

land'.

Place-names in *-tūn* are attested all over Anglo-Saxon England with the same function as in their Northern French counterparts. But did the meaning 'homestead', 'village', 'town' develop during the period of the Anglo-Saxon invasions of England? A number of arguments can be adduced against such a hypothesis. As a habitation-name *-tūn* is generally thought to postdate *-hām*, which is now believed to have been used from the very first by the Anglo-Saxons in England (Cameron 1977:73-4, Gelling 1978:106-16). In terms of distribution, *-hām* (including *-ingahām*) names are much more frequent in the east than in the west of England (Reaney 1960:138). The formation of *-hām* names also points to great age. As Ekwall (1960:xv, cf. also Sandred 1988:131-2) shows, *-hām* can be preceded by an uninflected adjective: *Hēah-hām* > *Higham*, whereas *-tūn* is always combined with the weak form of a preceding adjective: *Hēa-tūn*, dat. *Hēan-tūne*, cf. *Heaton*, *Heanton*. The latter type of construction is the more recent one. Thirdly, *-hām* is combined (only) with an older designation for 'brook' than is *-tūn*, cf. *Burn-hām* (> *Burnham*) vs. *Brōc-tūn* (> *Broughton*). The fact that *-tūn* is combined with *burna* in Northern England is due to the recessive character of *burna* in this area (Ekwall 1960:xvi). Further arguments are provided by Reaney according to whom (1960:114) *-ingatūn* (cf. the French forms) denotes villages that come into being later than those ending in *-ingahām*, cf. *Sneiton* and *Winterton* (< *Wintringatūn*), which are likely to be secondary settlements from respectively *Nottingham* and *Winteringham* (L). Furthermore, *-tūn* is not so frequently combined with folk-names as is *-hām* (1960:138).

When Gysseling ascribes the French *-thun* names to colonization from England in the 7th century (1969/70:50, 1978:62), this dating certainly does not contradict the English evidence. Before moving on to a discussion of the possible long-term demographic and linguistic effects of this 7th-century settlement, we may briefly touch on the quantitative aspects of the immigration. Gysseling (1978:62) says that the numerous *-thun* names are 'Zeugen einer massenhaften Einwanderung aus England'. But the sheer number of names seems to be counterbalanced by the insignificance of the places denoted by *-thun* names, which according to Mansion (1932:25-6) are:

zeer geringe plaatsen, eerder gehuchten dan gemeenten,  
soms minder dan dat nog, ze geven eene alleenstaande  
hoeve of eene groep van een paar huizen te kennen. Dat is  
b.v. het geval met *Audincthun*, *Tardingthun* en elders.

It should not be overlooked, however, that Mansion says this to counter Hoops who in his *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* (I, p. 88) takes the *-thun* names to be the last traces of Saxon settlement on the Flemish-Gallic coast prior to the Saxon invasion of Britain. The truth is that we have little or no evidence that can give us any clues to the actual number of Anglo-Saxons settling in Northern France before 700.

Neither do we have any real evidence to show that there were Anglo-Saxons, continental or insular, among the settlers who in the 8th century participated in the colonization of the coastal area inundated in connection with the second Dunkirk marine transgression. But there was as likely to have been an Anglo-Saxon element among the (presumably early Flemish) settlers in this area as not. At Calais, which was founded by the Count of Boulogne only in the mid-12th century (Gysseling 1966:161), and which was situated in the westernmost part of the area inundated in the transgression, the place-name 1268 *Stenore* (1299 *Steenhore*) is attested, a formation comparable to English *Stonor* (O) < OE *Stān-ōra*. The second element meaning 'bank, ridge, border' was by no means infrequent in Anglo-Saxon England, cf. *Windlesōra* (> *Windsor*) and early place-names like *Cerdices ōra* and *Cymenes ōra* mentioned in late-5th-century entries in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Gysseling 1966:162, Ekwall 1960:350, 447, 523, Earle/Plummer 1892:14). Gysseling's own investigation of the 13th-century dialect of Calais, although it clearly reveals the essentially (West) Flemish character of Calais speech - sprinkled with French lexical items -, exhibits English influence on the dialect, cf. retention of the distinction between *e* and *i* in open syllables (1966:150), apocope of the final unaccented vowel in long *ō*-stem nouns (1966:158-9) and borrowing of *baetman* 'boatman', cf. OE *bāt* (1966:152). Not surprisingly, some of the well-known 'Ingveonicisms' (cf. Schönfeld/v. Loey 1970:xxxiv) are also represented (Gysseling 1966:148-60): 1292 *Goes* (< \**gans*); unrounding of *i*-mutated *u* as in 1294 *Stenbrigghe*, 1282 *Herst* (< \**hursti-*), 1298 *Kalkepitte*; reduction of the prefix *gi-* to *je-* (1269 *Jemene broc*) and *i-* (1295 *Ymenebrouc*); *r*-metathesis (1293 *gers* 'grass'); and nom./acc. masc. plurals in *-s* (1289 *aels*, 1289 *hekets*, 1293 *vagts*, 1295 *boutters* - French loanwords are reflected in 1293 *bodels*, 1293 *ribaus*), but cf. also masc. plurals in *-e* (1293 *passagiere* < French) and *-en* (1293 *repen*). All the above 'Ingveonicisms' are discussed in Nielsen 1985<sup>2</sup> (ch. III.1 and 9) with a view to their possible connection with English, but one of these, which I deal with only very briefly (1985:103-4), has come to the forefront of the scholarly debate in recent years, namely plural nouns in *-s*. I would like to go into detail with this because of the relevance it may have for our discussion of English linguistic influence on Flemish (Dutch).

According to Schönfeld/v. Loey (1970:122-5), the *s*-plural is attested in Old Dutch as *-as* (OWFlem. *nestas*, OGHent. *geldindas* beside *-a* (OWFlem. *vogala*, OGHent. *Sclotha*) and in MDu. as *-s*, esp. in West Flanders (*hils*, *zacs*, *stoels*, *ridders*) beside *-e(n)* (*riddere(n)*), cf. also van Loey 1976:§12. After the MDu. period *-s* plurals became even more frequent. The early *-as* forms were put on a par with OE and OS masc. *a*-stem plurals, cf. *dagas* and *dagos* < Gmc. \**-ōs*, whereas the suffix of *vogala*, *Sclotha* (cf. above) was thought to parallel OHG *tagā* (< Gmc. \**-ōz*), cf. also van Bree 1987:239. In her work on Dutch plurals in *-s*, Philippa rejects the notion that early forms in *-as* are autochthonous in Dutch, reflecting Gmc. \**-ōs*. *nestas*, which crops up along with *vogala* in the 11th-century sentence *hebban olla vogala nestas hagunnā*

*hinase hic enda thu*, is regarded as an Old English form perhaps adopted by a Dutch monk writing at Rochester in Kent (1981:86, 1988:80), and also OGhent. *geldindas* - along with two other OGhent. forms (*Grifningas*, *Humas*) mentioned by Schönfeld/v. Loey (1970:124) - is thought to be highly dubious (see 1981:93-4). Philippa's own survey of Old Dutch plural forms found in Corpus Gysseling brought four additional -*as* plurals to light, all four of them (*dādsisas*, *nimidas*, *yrias*, *genōtas*) deriving from early (late 8th-century) manuscripts with Anglo-Saxon colouring (1981:86, 1988:80). Philippa (1988:80) agrees with Bremmer (1989:79) that *genōtas* 'companions' is Old Saxon while *dādsisas* 'dirges' with its *ā* < *au* is considered Old Frisian by Philippa and Old Frisian or, even more likely, Old Saxon by Bremmer (1989:78-9) with reference to Gallée 1910:\$65-2, 96, 297 Anm. 6a. Phonologically, of course, *genōtas* is as likely to be Old Dutch as Old Saxon, and as for *dādsisas*, there is actually place-name evidence to suggest that the shift of Gmc. *au* to *ā* also at one time operated in Flanders, cf. *Dātnesta*, *Ādinkerke* (Gysseling 1948:73, Tældeman 1982:279). As for OWFlem. *nestas*, it should be noted that *nest* was neuter in Old English (Philippa realizes this), and that *nestas* therefore was not just a masc. plur. form taken over *in toto* from English. What is significant to me, however, is that *vogala* and *nestas* co-occur; in other words, this one sentence shows morphological variation. In view of the content, 'all birds have begun [to build] nests except I and you', it is not surprising that variant suffixes should co-exist precisely here.

In esp. early MDu. (13th to 14th cent.) the usual plural suffixes were -*o* and -*n*: -*n* (original *n*-stem suffix) was added if the singular ended in -*o* while -*o* was added to nouns ending in a consonant (see Philippa 1982:409-15). It should be noted, however, that most documents were literary and that with the increasingly large number of commercial and legal documents of the late 14th and 15th centuries the attestations of the -*s* plurals rose substantially. This suggests significant variation in terms of sociolect and register (style), esp. the more widespread use of -*s* in spoken MDu. than in the written language. There may have been functional reasons for the increasing use of -*s* as a plural suffix (drag-chain process): in dialects where final unaccented -*n* was deleted but where -*o* did not disappear in the singular, -*s* could become a distinctive marker of the plural number (cf. *ribbe* - *ribbes*). Similarly, long *a*-stem neuters, nouns of relationship and athematic nouns, which would otherwise have had no suffix, acquired distinctive plurals through the penetration of -*s* into these stems (*dinx*, *broeders*, *mans*). It should finally be noted that the -*s* plural suffix was much more widely used in the documents of West Flanders in the 13th and 14th centuries than elsewhere during that period, cf. e.g. Gysseling's (1966) investigation of the Calais dialect.

By way of conclusion, we may say that the literary documents of MDu. seem to give a slanted picture of the sociolectal use of -*s* in the plural of nouns. There is a good chance that it may have been used quite extensively in oral communication, esp. after 1350. As for the regional distribution of -*s* the suffix appears, first and foremost, to have been a West Flemish feature in early MDu.



Very likely, *-s* spread east- and northwards from West Flanders - partly, at least, for functional reasons. But what was the origin of MDu. *-s*? Neither Philippa (1981, 1988) nor Bremmer (1989) think that *-s* reflects the early forms in *-as* discussed above. One argument put forward by Philippa against the derivation of *-s* from 'Old Dutch' *-as* is that an intermediate stage *-es* is not attested (1981:95-6). Instead, she accounts for the *-s* plural in words like *hils*, *houcs*, *pits*; *broeders* in terms of Middle English influence on Dutch. The virtual absence<sup>1</sup> of an intermediate stage *-es* in early MDu. is used by Bremmer (1989:84-5) to counter Philippa's hypothesis of a ME origin of the suffix. If *-s* was borrowed around 1200, it must have been preceded by a vowel (*-es*). But as Philippa herself had pointed out (1981:96), such a vowel is not a MDu. characteristic. Further arguments adduced by Bremmer against the assumption of ME influence are that a plural like *brother(e)s* (noun of relationship) is rare in ME, that the cultural exchanges between Flanders and England mainly went from east to west, and that around 1200 *-n* was, if not the only plural suffix in Southern England, certainly at least as common as *-s* (1989:85-8). Instead Bremmer prefers to ascribe the penetration of *-s* into MDu. to French influence: at this time Old French had *-s* in *n/apf.* and in *apm.*, cf. van Reenen/Schöslér 1986. However, to explain MDu. plural *-s* purely as a result of French influence is problematic as discussed by Philippa 1988. As Tældeman has objected, *-s* should occur as frequently in other places along the Dutch-French language boundary as in the South-West if French influence were to be held responsible for the introduction of this plural suffix. And although Bremmer is right in saying that *-s* prevailed in *n/apf.* and *apm.* in Old French, in Picardy, the French region adjacent to Flanders, *npm.* forms in *-s* were rare (2 to 4 p.c.). whereas they were much more frequent in Walloon and esp. in Western French (Philippa 1988:81-2). In other words, there must be some additional reason(s) why *-s* should be in so comparatively frequent use in the South-West.

Personally I find it difficult to believe that all the early forms in *-as* are unconnected with the MDu. *-s* suffix. The *-ā-* in *dādsisas* does not disqualify the noun from being considered indigenous, cf. above, and as for *nestas* its co-occurrence with *vogala* suggests that there was variation in Old West Flemish (11th cent.) just as we see it 200 years later in the South-West. In my view, it is highly significant that *-as* is added to the long *a*-stem (Gmc.) neuter noun *nest* which had no suffix in the plural in WGmc. Thereby *nestas* anticipates later long-stem neuter nouns with plural *-s* like *dinx* (cf. above) and *heems* even if *nest* may have become a masculine in Old Dutch (cf. Philippa 1981:94). The variation between the plural suffixes *-a* and *-as* in Old Dutch has sometimes been seen within the framework of the competition between Franconian (inland) and 'Ingveonic' (coastal) elements in Dutch, cf. Schönfeld/v. Loey 1970: xxiv. The actual attestations/number of occurrences of *-s* must be regarded as more or less coincidental in view of the nature of the transmission of texts and the restricted section of the sociolectal continuum that the texts represent. The fact that *-s* is not attested, does not mean that it

did not exist outside the literary manuscripts. But regionally there can be no doubt that in MDu. -s at first cropped up in the South-West, the same area, conveniently enough, with which *nestas*, *geldindas*, etc. are associated. Again, why was -s so successful in this particular area? Could the explanation be that Anglo-Saxonisms had encroached on the Flemish of Pas-de-Calais in consequence of contact between speakers of Flemish in that region and descendants of the -thun settlers (the latter perhaps being supplemented with insular Anglo-Saxon colonists after 700, cf. Weijnen 1966:355)? I am not suggesting that English was spoken in Pas-de-Calais immediately before or after the close of the Anglo-Saxon era, but that Old English might have left its mark on South-Western Flemish before becoming extinct. In other words, I see the possibility of 'Continental English' playing a role at an early date, namely by providing the raw material for or, alternatively, by reinforcing a distinct plural suffix. Such an explanation, although conjectural, would obviate explanations presupposing later Insular English influence on Dutch -s plurals. Despite the reservations voiced against the possibility of French influence on Flemish in this respect, I can have no objection to assuming multiple conditioning for explaining the extension of -s plurals in early Dutch (see also note 2). A functional weakness was remedied by means of (the reinforcement of) 'Continental English' raw material in conjunction with comparable French material. There are thus many examples of -s plurals in French loan-words in MDu., e.g. in *brasseurs*, cf. Philippa 1981:100-101, 1988:81-2, Bremmer 1989:88. This really leaves us with only one major problem: the fact that there are hardly any attestations of an intermediate stage -es in the development from Old Dutch -as to Middle Dutch -s. If this is not to be ascribed to sheer coincidence, a tentative answer could be that in dialects in which -n was dropped and -(e)s therefore inserted in the plural, -s and not -es would be interpreted as the plural suffix of stems already ending in -e, cf. *rippe* - *rippes*. However, it should by no means be overlooked that the loss of unaccented -n was (and is) not characteristic of the south-western dialects but rather a Brabant-Limburg-Utrecht-Holland phenomenon (Schönfeld/v.Loey 1970:114-15, van Bree 1987:80-81, Weijnen 1966:275, Tældeman 1980:32-3). It is therefore plausible to see the replacement of -n by -s as a gap-filling process relating to the spread of the plural suffix -s from the South-West. Note in this connection that *ribbe* - *ribbes* and the parallel formation *krebbe* - *krebbes* are respectively (south-west) Brabant and South Holland forms (Philippa 1982:413). Is it possible to explain phonologically the fact that the -s plural is rarely preceded by -e- in West Flanders and elsewhere? Again, it is interesting that historically and dialectally the apocope of unaccented -e is more or less restricted to the same areas as the loss of -n whereas in Flemish and in the north-eastern dialects -e is often retained (Schönfeld/v.Loey 1970:113-14, van Bree 1987:79-80, Weijnen 1966:273-4, Goossens 1976:72, Tældeman 1980:32-3). Aren't there any phonological parallels to the development of the old plural suffix -as to -s? The closest counterpart is undoubtedly the genitive sg. masc./nt. suffix, the earliest forms of which are -es (-as) in Old Ghentish, cf.

*Frordes- (Hrochas-)*. There are early syncopated genitive forms such as Old Ghentish *Firents-* (?) and Old West Flemish *Wolfs-* (copy 1188). In MDu. there is a steadily increasing number of syncopated gsm(n). forms, cf. *daechs* vs. *daghes* (Schönfeld/v. Loey 1970:122, Franck 1910:§21-3, §173, Philippa 1981:96). But in the MDu. *s*-plural there was barely any vacillation between *-es* and *-s*. How, then, should we interpret the virtual non-existence of an intermediate stage *-es* in the plural? We agree with Bremmer that the suffix cannot have been borrowed from Middle English, in which *-s* was preceded by *-e-* (cf. above). On the other hand, we do not wish to dissociate the early *-as* from the MDu. *-s* plural suffix. The fact that the *s*-plural develops differently from the *s*-genitive should possibly be connected with the existence of an alternative (majority?) plural suffix *-a* as in *vogala* and the struggle between the two endings, perhaps even between two systems. The vowel in *-as* (*-es*) did not vanish for phonetic or phonological reasons, but because it was somehow reinterpreted, e.g. in masc. *ja*-stem paradigms with stems ending in a vowel, cf. *ende* - *endas* (> \**ende-s*) (OE *ende*/MDu. *e(i)nde*, cf. also OE/MDu. *here*). Apparently, the reinterpretation of the suffix as *-s* did not take place until after the 11th century, cf. *nestas* which has retained not only the vowel but also, presumably, its full quality. Nevertheless, we still believe that the (continued) existence of *-as* (> *-s*) in the South-West may be the ultimate result of Old English influence on the Flemish of Pas-de-Calais. We know that there were Anglo-Saxon settlers in this region, and we know that French influence alone cannot account for the Flemish plural *-s*. Moreover, 'Ingveonic' can hardly in itself be held responsible for the plural *-s* seeing that this feature is not distributed in the 'usual' way: for one thing, the most persistent 'Ingveonic' language, Frisian does not exhibit this plural suffix; in addition, the 'core' area of *-s* in Dutch is Flanders.

Finally, we shall briefly discuss the presence of other possible indications of Old English linguistic influence in Pas-de-Calais. In personal names attested in this area such as *Eodbertus* (704, copy 962), *Jeodo* (826, copy 962) Gmc. *au* has remained a diphthong, *eo*, cf. Old English *ēa* (early (Anglian) OE *æo*, *ēo*) whereas in Old Saxon and MDu. *au* usually became *ō* and in OFris., *ā* (Gysseling 1948:72, Tældeman 1982:279, Brunner 1965:§75 Anm. 1, §35 Anm. 1). It also looks as if there are signs of breaking in some of the personal names attested in Pas-de-Calais: *Eorneacus*, *Iorniacus* (early 9th-century copies), where *e* has become diphthongized before *r* + consonant, a development virtually restricted to Old English (the only attested case of breaking before *rC* outside Old English is Old Frisian *tsiurke* 'church'), cf. Gysseling 1948:73, Tældeman 1982:279, Sjölin 1969:6, 22. It is interesting that in some of the \**ingahaim* place-names in Pas-de-Calais the reflex of *ai* is *ā* and not *ē* (as it is in the great majority of cases, cf. Flemish/MDu. *ē<ai*), cf. *Uuidingaham*, *Boningaham* (844/64, copy 962), etc. (Gysseling 1948:73), interesting not only because *ai* always became *ā* in Old English but also because *-(inga)hām* names are generally believed to antedate *-tūn* names in England, cf. above. The implication here, of course, is that there may have been

Anglo-Saxon settlers in Pas-de-Calais even earlier than suggested by the *-thun* names.<sup>2</sup> Certain lexical items specific to the (south-)western dialects are interpreted as Old English importations: *elder* 'udder', *wulk* 'edible snail', *haars* or *heers* 'hoarse' (Weijnen 1966:355 with references to Heeroma). Weijnen adds *agein(s)* 'again' to the list, the word being rendered as *ageen* at Belle in French Flanders. Finally, it should be noted that several Merovingian coins from the 7th and 8th centuries struck at Boulogne and at *Quentawic* (just south of Boulogne) bear Anglo-Saxon moneyers' names: *Borsa*; *Dutta*, *Ela*, *Sassanus*, *Anglo*, etc. (Gysseling 1970:177-8, 1972:56-7), a further indication of Anglo-Saxon influence in this area. And as we saw at the beginning of this paper, English was able to influence the Flemish of Calais in the late 13th century, but let us repeat that Middle English is not the likely source of the suffix of *aels*, etc., nor of MDu. *-s* plurals in general.

### Notes

1. Bremmer (1989:84) points out that in the Flemish of Calais there are actually a few attestations of plurals in *-es*: *torues*, *sprotes*, *rutes*, *voetokes*; compare also *Hummes* (< *Humas*), a place-name in the vicinity of Antwerpen.
2. Gysseling (1969:30), who thinks that the *\*-inga-haim* type of place-name arose in Pas-de-Calais as a Germanic parallel to Romance *-iaca-villa* (*curte*), suggests that *\*-ingahaim* may have expanded from this area to not only Flanders, Brabant, Holland, etc. but also England, cf. Pas-de-Calais forms like *Machingahem* (pre-700), *Fresingahem* (788), etc. In some cases, there are parallel formations south and north of the Straits of Dover, cf. *Bermingahem* (844/64), *Birmingham* (Derolez 1974:11). It might be added that the ending *-iacas* (cf. the usual Gallo-Roman place-name suffix *-iacum*) cropped up in place-names north of the Seine after the Frankish conquest of Northern France. Possibly the suffix was equated with Gmc. *n/apm. -ingas* - at least this is what Gysseling (1969:14-18, 1973:232-6) thinks, cf. also Derolez 1974:11-12. It should be noted that *-iacas* names are not attested in Artois-Ternois-Ponthieu in the departments of Pas-de-Calais and Somme, where their place is taken by *-iaca villa* (*curte*) names (Gysseling 1969:16, 28-30, 1973:242-5). According to Gysseling's theory the *iaca : inga* (gp.) equation paved the way for the *\*-ingahaim* type in the adjacent Germanic-speaking area. From the point of view of this paper it is extremely interesting that Gysseling assumes the existence of a Gmc. *n/apm. -as* ending north of the Seine (if not in Artois-Ternois-Ponthieu). This would seem to provide a further potential source for early Dutch (Flemish) *s*-plurals. Note in this connection Northern French place-names like *Affringues*, *Autingues*, *Bonningues* and *Haffringue* (< *Hafrenge* 1225), whose suffixes, according to Derolez, derive from *-ingas*, and *Coyeques*, *Crecques*, etc., which are *-iacas* names (Derolez 1974:9, Gysseling 1973:237-8).

## References

- Bree, C. van. 1987. *Historische Grammatica van het Nederlands*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Bremmer Jr., R.H. 1989. 'Is de Nederlandse meervouds-s van Engelse komaf?'. *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 28:77-91.
- Brunner, K. 1965. *Altenglische Grammatik*. 3. Auflage. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Cameron, K. 1977. *English Place-Names*. 3rd edition. London: Batsford.
- Derolez, R. 1974. 'Cross-channel language ties'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 3:1-14.
- Earle, J. & C. Plummer. 1892. *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, I. Oxford: Clarendon. Rpt. 1965.
- Ekwall, E. 1960. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*. 4th edition. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Franck, J. 1910. *Mittelniederländische Grammatik*. 2. Auflage. Leipzig: Tauchnitz.
- Gallée, J.H. 1910. *Altsächsische Grammatik*. 2. Auflage. Halle: Niemeyer.
- Gelling, M. 1978. *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England*. London: Dent.
- Goossens, J. 1976. 'Konstituierendes in der Herausbildung der niederländischen Sprache'. *Akten des V. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongres, Cambridge 1975*, I. Hrsg. Leonard Forster & Hans-Gert Roloff. Bern: Herbert Lang. Pp. 59-74.
- Gysseling, M. 1948. 'Ingueonismen in de vroege topo- en anthroponymie van Vlaanderen en Noord-Frankrijk'. *Handelingen van het Twintigste Nederlands Philologen-Congres*. Groningen: Wolters. Pp. 72-5.
- Gysseling, M. 1966. 'Dialectkenmerken van Calais in de 13de eeuw'. *Taal en Tongval* 18:147-63.
- Gysseling, M. 1969. 'Nederzettingenamen in de Nederlanden, Noord-Frankrijk en Noord-West-Duitsland'. *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van de Commissie voor Naamkunde en Nederzettingengeschiednis van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam* 25:14-35.
- Gysseling, M. 1969/70. 'De oudste Friese toponymie'. *Philologia Frisica anno 1969*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff. Pp. 41-51.
- Gysseling, M. 1970. 'De vroegste geschiedenis van het Nederlands: een naamkundige benadering'. *Naamkunde* 2:157-80.
- Gysseling, M. 1972. 'De verfransing in Noord-Frankrijk'. *Naamkunde* 4:53-70.
- Gysseling, M. 1973. 'Die fränkischen Siedlungsnamen'. *Siedlung, Sprache und Bevölkerungsstruktur im Frankenreich*. Hrsg. Franz Petri. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. Pp. 229-55. (A translated and revised version of Gysseling 1969.)
- Gysseling, M. 1978. 'Zu einigen Grundlagen des Altniederländischen'. *Niederdeutsches Wort* 18:48-63.
- Loey, A. van. 1976. *Middel nederlandse Spraakkunst. I. Vormleer*. Achtste verbeterde druk. Groningen: Tjeenk Willink.

- Mansion, J. 1932. 'Drie lessen over de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch naar de plaatsnamen'. *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Toponymie & Dialectologie* 6:17-69.
- Nielsen, H.F. 1985. *Old English and the Continental Germanic Languages*. 2nd, rev. edition. Innsbruck: Inst. für Sprachwiss. d. Univ.
- Philippa, M. 1981. 'De meervoudsvorming op -s in het Nederlands vóór 1300'. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 97:81-103.
- Philippa, M. 1982. 'Problematiek rond het s-meervoud; een diachroon overzicht'. *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 75:407-17.
- Philippa, M.L.A.I. 1988. 'Some masculine plurals in North Sea Germanic reconsidered'. *NOWELE* 12:77-90.
- Reaney, P.H. 1960. *The Origin of English Place-Names*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Reenen, P.T. van & L. Schøsler. 1986. 'Le système des cas et sa disparation en ancien français'. *Morphosyntaxe des Langues Romanes*. Actes du XVIIe congrès international de linguistique et philologie romanes, vol. 4. Marseille. Pp. 81-114.
- Sandred, K.I. 1988. 'Nominal inflection in the Old English of the Anglo-Saxon land charters'. *Probleme der Namenbildung*. Hrsg. Thorsten Andersson. Uppsala (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Nomina Germanica. Arkiv för germansk namnforskning 18). Pp. 131-53.
- Schönfeld's Historische Grammatica van het Nederlands*. 1970. Achtste druk, verzorgd door A. van Loey. Zutphen: Thieme.
- Sjölin, B. 1969. *Einführung in das Friesische*. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Taeldeman, J. 1980. 'Pluralisation in the Flemish (and the Brabantish) dialects'. *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1980*. Eds. S. Daalder & M. Gerritsen. Amsterdam: North-Holland. Pp. 29-46.
- Taeldeman, J. 1982. "'Ingwäonismen" in Flandern'. *Die Leistung der Strataforschung und der Kreolistik*. Hrsg. P. Sture Ureland. Tübingen: Niemeyer. Pp. 277-96.
- Weijnen, A.A. 1965. 'Oude Engels-Nederlandse parallellen'. *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*. Pp. 385-401.
- Weijnen, A. 1966. *Nederlandse Dialectkunde*. Tweede druk. Assen: Van Gorcum.

## ON LANGUAGE GENESIS: THE CASE OF AFRIKAANS

Stefan Zimmer

*Freie Universität Berlin*

One of the oldest problems for man's thinking is the multitude and divergence of mankind's languages. From Mesopotamian myth to modern linguistics, many answers have been put forward, but no definite solution has yet been found. The theoretical framework established by pidgin-creole linguistics during the last decades seems most promising, and it is no wonder that scholars now even try to understand the development of ancient language families in the light of those findings. Edgar Polomé has given an important impetus<sup>1</sup> to the ongoing discussion between Indo-Europeanists and Creolists: the following remarks on one of the youngest Indo-European languages are offered as a birthday gift out of gratitude, admiration and friendship.

The great attraction of the study of Afrikaans for the non-specialized historical linguist is caused by its recent genesis and fairly well documented development. There is still no generally accepted model of how new languages come into being, and this holds true not only for natural languages, but also for the reconstructed mother languages of historico-genetical linguistics like Proto-Semitic, Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Bantu, and so on. In a recent publication, a scenario for the emergence of Proto-Indo-European out of special social (and linguistic) conditions has been proposed.<sup>2</sup> Anthropological considerations seem to point to a model of language genesis which starts with a heteroge-

---

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Creolization theory and linguistic prehistory, in: *Studies in diachronic, synchronic, and typological linguistics*, Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi, ed. Béla Brogyanyi, Amsterdam 1979, p. 679-690; Creolization Processes and Diachronic Linguistics, in: *Theoretical Orientation in Creole Studies*, ed. Albert Valdman & Arnold Highfield, New York 1980, p. 185-202; Creolization and Language Change, in: *The social context of creolization*, ed. Ellen Woolford & William Washabaugh, Ann Arbor 1982, p. 271-284. All three articles are reprinted in: *Language, Society, and Paleoculture. Essays by Edgar C. Polomé*, selected and introduced by Anwar S. Dil, Stanford 1982, p. 237-284.

<sup>2</sup> Stefan Zimmer, *Ursprache, Urvolk und Indogermanisierung. Zur Methode der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Vorträge XXX, Innsbruck 1990.

nous group (the *colluvies gentium*<sup>3</sup>) gathering at the fringe of one or more established sedentary civilizations. The language development involved does not necessarily, but quite probably, follow the Pidgin-Creole-model discussed further below. There is, of course, no way for substantially proving such glottogonic speculations: the only possibility to increase their probability is to collect typological parallels to the assumed model. It is clear, then, how precious for us are historically attested cases like that of Afrikaans!

Afrikaans came into being between 1652, the year of the Dutch colony's foundation at the Cape, and around 1800, when its first deliberate uses are recorded.<sup>4</sup> Only in the present century, a heated discussion arose on the status and origin of the language which was recognized as an official language of the South African Union in 1925. As far as possible, I shall abstain from all comments on political and ideological matters though such points cannot be avoided altogether even in a purely linguistic discussion.

The story begins in 1652 with the foundation of a 'refreshment post' of the Dutch United East-Indian Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie = VOC) by Jan van Riebeeck. Immediately, bartering with the local Hottentot tribes began. Five years later, the first 'free burghers', soldiers released from VOC service, were invited to settle in order to produce resources for the Company. Always eager for manpower, the Company engaged Hottentots and bought slaves, mostly from Portuguese traders, stemming from a variety of nations between West Africa and East Asia.<sup>5</sup> The colony grew steadily with the settlement of retired VOC-servicemen as farmers and colonists arriving from the Low Countries, Germany and France (after the revocation of the Nantes edict in 1685, ca. 300 Huguenots moved to the Cape, nearly all

---

<sup>3</sup> This notion is furthermore of importance for explaining ways of historically attested language developments (changes, splittings, etc.), see my demonstration in *On Indo-Europeanization. Proceedings...* Dublin 1989, ed. by E. C. Polomé, (in press).

<sup>4</sup> Earliest attestation is a political pamphlet of 1795; articles in journals appear from 1826 on. The first book in Afrikaans, printed in Arabic script by J. M. C. Schonegevel, (Cape Town) is a lost Islamic catechism of the Cape Malay community: neither the exact title nor the year of publication is known: *Gablomalien* (?) 1856(?). The two following books are preserved: L. H. Meurant, *Zamenspraaktusschen Klaas Waarzegger en Jan Twyfelaar*, 1861 (new ed. by G. S. Nienaber, Johannesburg 1940); and *Bajānu-ddīni*, Constantinopolis 1877 (another Cape Malay Islamic catechism).

<sup>5</sup> According to some sources, mainly from Madagascar, Mozambique and the Malay Archipelago. The import of slaves was stopped in 1808.



after some years spent in Holland<sup>6</sup>). Early sources<sup>7</sup> speak of a "Babylonian confusion of languages" on the Cape; in fact, we know of the following tongues spoken in the Colony: Dutch, the official language of the VOC's administration and of the (Calvinist) Church; the full range of Dutch, Low German and at least several High German dialects; the languages of the Hottentots; Portuguese of the traders and sailors; Malay of sailors and slaves; other languages of the slaves, and most prominently among these, a kind of *lingua franca* from the East Indies called Malayo-Portuguese.<sup>8</sup>

It is important to note the different attitudes towards all these languages as documented in the early records.<sup>9</sup>

It was necessary for VOC clerks and soldiers to learn Dutch properly. European settlers wherever they came from tried to acquire a working knowledge of Dutch: for the Germans, this was of course quite easy, but they usually never learnt to master the details of Dutch Grammar. The Hottentots – whose great ability to acquire foreign languages is attested with admiration by all sources – learnt Dutch and Malayo-Portuguese very quickly (and obviously, very easily too). Being illiterate (as were, by the way, a many of European settlers, too<sup>10</sup>), their learning, based on oral communication only, remained free from the correcting influence of the written standard. They very soon spoke a fluent but somewhat broken Dutch with the Europeans,<sup>11</sup> and a form

<sup>6</sup> I.e., they had already learnt more or less Dutch. Cf. also Roy H. Pheiffer, *Die gebroke Nederlands van franssprekendes aan die Kaap in die eerste helfte van die agtiende eeu*, Cape Town 1980.

<sup>7</sup> Such as Kolbe 1719, from which I have taken a number of the following details. Many more are indicated by Hesselning 1899 (1923), with ample references.

<sup>8</sup> See Valkhoff 1972, with references.

<sup>9</sup> On the estimation of the local form of Dutch (the future Afrikaans) see the collection of voices in: *Vroeë opvattinge oor Afrikaans as taal*, byeng. deur G. S. Nienaber, Johannesburg 1984.

<sup>10</sup> The low grade of European literacy (especially in women) was more than counterbalanced by the influence of the instructed members of the community, and of regular religious services in Dutch.

<sup>11</sup> Here are to be found some phrases of "Krom, oder Hottentottisch = Holländisch" noticed by Kolbe as early as 1705-10 which clearly display features of Afrikaans.

"Kobes [Jakob, the addressed], ik jou ja 'khemme versprooken, ik zoo lang zal by u blyven tut jou, Husing [the seller] de dubbeltjes betaalt! gy 'khemme een Oorfyg gemme, is dat braa? vragtom, als gy de dubbeltjes betaalt hemme, ik ja strakjes voort loopum zoo" (Kolbe 1719, 103a).

"Duytsmann ja musku slim, ons alte maal verraden", meaning "the Europeans are all too bad, we are altogether lost" [*ons*, lit. "us", already as subject] (ibid., 408). Similar: "Wagtum, ons altemaal daarvan loopum zoo", "Wait, we'll run away altogether" (417).

Boys and girls are called "Mannen-boy" and "Frauen-boy" (421).

probably similarly affected of Malayo-Portuguese with the slaves. None of the newcomers, except some missionaries or adventurous traders whose efforts usually raised hearty laughs from those addressed, were ever trying to learn Hottentot languages.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the Hottentot community at the Cape suffered badly from a pox epidemic at the end of the 18th c. Nevertheless, a number of words from their original lexicon, mostly for local plants and animals, have found their way into Afrikaans.

Malayo-Portuguese, though according to our sources a very important language in the East India trade from China to Africa, and equally on the Cape, is very badly documented: it was used as a means of communications by sailors and traders in harbors, on ships; in the Cape Colony as the common language of the slaves, and in commerce between Hottentots and slaves. It probably came into existence in the harbors of the Far East as the *lingua franca* of the Portuguese trade expansion; it must have been a kind of pidgin based on Portuguese. Among the heterogenous slave communities, it necessarily became a Creole language. In spite of efforts by the VOC to teach Dutch to the slaves (we hear of a school for slave children), they retained their special language for quite a long time: a tendency supported by the fact that most of the slaves were Muslims.<sup>13</sup> All slaves had of course to speak Dutch with their masters or at least to pretend to.

In the early period, social contacts between the different groups were relatively free and easy:<sup>14</sup> we hear of Hottentot interpreters (e.g. Pegu, Herry and Dolman)<sup>15</sup> working for the VOC; of Hottentot

"Kenje die Vieur in de buyk zuypen?", "Can you booze the fire in the belly?" [*die vieur*, contra Dutch *het vuur*] (437).

In the same language, the phonemes [x] and [y] seem to have merged already: Kolbe gives the name of a plant (wild cannabis), used as a kind of tobacco as "Dacha" = Afrk. *dagga* (450). (Van Riebeeck also spelt the word with *c(c)h*. Boshoff and Nienaber 1967 derive it from Nama *daḡa-b* which may be a loan from Arabic *duḡan* "tobacco".)

Collections of early Afrikaans items may be found in the books mentioned in fn. 18.

<sup>12</sup> Kolbe's statement (Kolbe 1719, 356b): "daß sehr viele Europäer in dem Lande sind und wohnen, welche gegenwärtig die Hottentottische Sprache perfect verstehen und reden; ... daß täglich deren mehr werden, welche sich diser Sprache bekand machen" raises some doubts; supposedly, he speaks of colonist who have learnt the languages as children!

<sup>13</sup> Note that there is still a considerable Muslim community on the cape, see Van Selms 1951 and Kähler 1971.

<sup>14</sup> Slavery, however, prevailed uncontested.

<sup>15</sup> These names, as well as the following, are from Kolbe 1719. According to him (p. 358, 365a) Pegu, reared in the family of Governor van der Stel, "hat ... Holländisch,

women who became Christians and married European settlers (e.g. Eva, Sarah, Cornelia); of freed Bengal slave women (e.g. Catharina and Maria) marrying settlers, and of many openly acknowledged concubinage of Europeans and slave women.<sup>16</sup>

Less important for the problem of the causes and sources of Afrikaans are the Huguenots. They came considerably later, had already acquired some Dutch and kept their own parochial system, thus living in certain respects slightly apart from the rest of the settlers. Still weaker was the influence of English (the first English settlers arrived in 1820, after the Cape had become British in 1814) or of the different Bantu languages; the 19th c. clashes of Boers trekking to the north and Bantu tribes moving southward are notorious. When the English influence started to be felt in the present century, Afrikaans had already found its own established form.<sup>17</sup> For the sake of completeness, the Indian languages must also be mentioned: after 1860 the English brought over to South Africa large working forces speaking Tamil, Hindi, etc.<sup>18</sup>

The influx of new settlers stagnated from 1690 to 1790, so that the community had time to develop its own culture out of the mixture of its first 50 years. These 50 years were decisive, and the sociolinguistic conditions of life in the Cape colony are worth studying more closely.<sup>19</sup> Following the European habit, children were reared and kept by female nurses and servants: these were usually Hottentots<sup>20</sup> and/or slaves

---

Portugiesisch, Ceylonesisch, Malleyisch und andere Ost-Indianische Sprachen in gar kurtzer Zeit gelernet"; he works for years for the VOC, but then quits the service – his written notice speaks of his unwillingness "veel min Christen werden" "still less to become a Christian". [Note *min* (= Afrk.) in place of Dutch *minder*.] The Hottentot Jantje van der Gouw (!), a farmer who had never been outside the Cape region, is mentioned as someone who "gar zierlich Holändisch und Portugiesisch, ja auch selbst Frantzösisch ... und Hoch-Teutsch ... gar verständlich reden konte" (Kolbe 1719, 365b).

<sup>16</sup> In 1671, three quarters of the children born from slave women were half-breed. The VOC objected to such liberties: 1682, marriage of settlers with freed slave women are forbidden, and the opportunities for freeing slaves restricted. In 1685, even concubinage were interdicted – in vain, as the many repetitions of the prohibition clearly show.

<sup>17</sup> For more information, see Donaldson 1988.

<sup>18</sup> For the 18th and 19th centuries, see Johannes Du Plessis Scholtz, *Afrikaans uit die vroeë tyd. Studies oor die Afrikaanse taal en literere volkskultuur van voor 1875*, Cape Town 1965; G. S. Nienaber, *Afrikaans in die vroeë jare*, Johannesburg 1971; J. Du Plessis Scholtz, *Afrikaans-Hollands in die agteende eeu. Verdere voorstudies tot'n geskiedenis van Afrikaans*, Cape Town 1972.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Scholtz 1981.

<sup>20</sup> See Kolbe 1719, 366.

speaking Malayo-Portuguese.<sup>21</sup> It is not an exaggeration then to state that the first language of the white population born on the Cape in that period, the language they learnt from their nurses,<sup>22</sup> was not Dutch, but Malayo-Portuguese or at least a broken form of Dutch with a strong admixture of Malayo-Portuguese, or the special form of Dutch as spoken by Hottentots. Since Pharaos Psammetikh's experiment (Herodotus 2,2), the crucial role of the earliest linguistic environment is well-known, and so, the development of Afrikaans is not at all a "wonder".

I cannot proceed here to a recapitulation of the different theories put forward to explain the development from Dutch to Afrikaans. Valkhoff 1971 provides an excellent survey of the rich (and very variegated literature). I should like to center on the question of possibilities to explain its history by means of the pidgin-creole linguistic theory. Ever since the first connection of the term 'creole' with Afrikaans by Hesseling 1899 (1923), many emotions arose on the matter<sup>23</sup>. Markey 1982 tried to decide his title-question on a firm theoretical basis, but came to the result that no decision was possible.<sup>24</sup> Obviously, the question must be asked in another way.

Working chiefly with Caribbean Creole languages, linguists have developed the basic concepts of language emergence out of special contact conditions. Essentially, the process runs as follows: whenever

---

<sup>21</sup> At least for the boys, the probable influence of their father's Hottentot cattle guards' speech is also to be kept in mind. Cf. the statement by Th. Hahn in his lecture 'The Science of Language and its study, with special regard to South Africa', Cape Town 1882 (cited from Van der Merwe 1966-67, 378): "The Dutch *patois* ... although phonetically teutonic, ... is psychologically an essential Hottentot idiom. *For we learn this patois first from our nurses and ays*. The young Africaner, on his solitary farm, has no other playmates than the children of the Bastard-Hottentot servants of his father, and even the grown-up farmer can not easily escape the deteriorating effect of his servants' patois." Though probably not very reliable in his estimation of Hottentot language structure in Afrikaans, his statement of the usual way of language learning [my underlining] is valuable.

<sup>22</sup> In the context of Afrikaans, cf. also E.H. Raidt, *Vrouetaal en taalverandering* (Intreerede Johannesburg 27.9.1984), *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 24.1985.256-286.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. the attacks of Van der Merwe 1966-67 and Lubbe 1974.

<sup>24</sup> Most interesting in his article is the constant comparison with another language developed on the basis of Dutch, viz. Negerhollands, a well-documented creole language spoken on the Virgin Islands till about 1940. For details of this language, see D. Chr. Hesseling, *Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen. Bijdraage tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche taal in Amerika*, Leiden 1905; the literature mentioned in Markey 1982, 175 n. 5 (referring also to two other Dutch-based creoles in Guyana, Berbice and Essequibo); and Thomas Stolz, *Gibt es das kreolische Sprachwandelmodell? Vergleichende Grammatik des Negerholländischen*, Frankfurt am Main 1986 (Ph.D.-diss. Bochum 1984). For the historical background, see Cornelis Chr. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas 1680-1791*, ed. by M. J. L. van Yperen, Assen 1985.

people meet, they communicate. If they don't have a common language and if the contacts become regular (e.g. by exchange of goods) or permanent (e.g. by formation of new groups, or establishing settlements), they need a common system of communication. So, a provisional language is built within a very short time: Hall 1962 speaks in terms of hours and days. The mechanisms of generating such a provisional language – called Pidgin by linguists – are not yet fully understood in detail, but the prominent factor is certainly simplification strategies. The original languages involved are radically simplified by the speakers themselves; they drop intentionally all grammatical elements felt as redundant or not absolutely necessary. The communication partner, in turn, takes up the same strategy, simplifying his own and still further simplifying his partner's language.<sup>25</sup> Under certain social conditions, a new social community emerges out of permanent contacts, and the only common language of its members, the Pidgin, necessarily becomes the mother language of new generations. This of course changes dramatically the structures of the language: much more complex grammatical structures are required by a natural language (*in statu nascendi*). This new type of language is called Creole. Apart from the development of complex morphophonemic and syntactic structures, Creole languages are further characterized by other tendencies; most prominent among these is relexification, i.e. a tendency of replacing part of the vocabulary by words from lexicons of adjacent high-status languages (mostly English and French). It is the presence of such high-status languages which troubles the neat realization of our theoretical concepts. As long as the new language, the Creole, is not accepted as an official language, it shares the fate of all despised varieties of human speech and risks getting lost simply by adaptation to the locally presumed standard. Therefore, the number of true Pidgin and Creole languages is quite small, and we must reckon with the difference between theory and practice so common at all levels of human society!

The usefulness of the Pidgin-Creole model for historical linguistics cannot be doubted,<sup>26</sup> but sociolinguistic and extra-linguistic historical conditions must be carefully regarded in order to check the linguistic theories. As regards Afrikaans, I therefore propose the following description:

The first fifty years of the Cape Colony were decisive for the process culminating in the establishment of Afrikaans as a new language about

---

<sup>25</sup> For details, see Holm 1988-9 (with literature).

<sup>26</sup> In my article mentioned in note 3, I have tried to apply it to the emergence of Proto-Indo-European.

1800. There we find all conditions for triggering the Pidgin-Creole process, and one special feature: the numerical and social preponderance of Dutch.<sup>27</sup> It was this constant presence of an official standard language both in the VOC administration and in the church which prevented the full growth of a Creole language. Typically enough, those forms of Afrikaans spoken by groups on the fringe of the white society or outside the scope of Standard Dutch display a much more Creole-looking form of the language.<sup>28</sup> Fortunately for the linguist, such speech varieties - regarded as sub-standard and often not understood as characteristic for (or even belonging to) Afrikaans by some South African scholars<sup>29</sup> - still exist: the Afrikaans of groups like the Cape Malays<sup>30</sup>, the Griquas, the so-called 'Rehoboth-Bastards'<sup>31</sup> and other so-called 'Kaap-kleurlinge'.<sup>32</sup> The existence of similar forms of speech among the 'poor white'<sup>33</sup> communities (mostly in Transvaal) can be assumed, but I don't know of any investigation of their language.

All explanations of the genesis of Afrikaans have met with severe criticism, and there is nothing like a *communis opinio* on the subject. I have the impression that this is due, to a large extent, to a tendency towards monocausal explanations. Historical reality, however, was - and

<sup>27</sup> On the importance of linguistic and social 'tradition kernels', cf. Stefan Zimmer, *The Investigation of Proto-Indo-European History: Methods, Problems, Limitations*, in: *When Worlds Collide, Proceedings...* Bellagio 1988, ed. J. Greppin & T. Markey, Ann Arbor 1990, 000-000.

<sup>28</sup> According to Stoops 1984, about half the speakers of Afrikaans are classified as non-white by the present race legislation of South Africa. There is no information available as to the percentage of dialect vs. standard Afrikaans speakers within these groups. Depending on individual education level, many members of the communities mentioned certainly speak standard Afrikaans as well as their own dialect. Strangely enough, the notion of 'dialect' for non-standard forms of Afrikaans is usually opposed as being inappropriate by South African scholars.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the discussion by Stoops 1984, Lubbe 1985, Van Rensburg 1985. Unfortunately, I was unable to consult two works: W. J. de Klerk, *Die aard van dialektiese verskeidenheid in Afrikaans*, Ph.D.-diss. Pretoria 1968; *Taalverskeidenheid, 'n blik op die spektrum van taalvariasie in Afrikaans*. Red. G. N. Classen en M. C. J. Van Rensburg, Pretoria 1983.

<sup>30</sup> They are the only Muslim society on the Cape. Their's were the first books printed in Afrikaans (see above, note 4). For their language, see Van Selms 1951 and Kähler 1971.

<sup>31</sup> For these two groups, see Rademeyer 1938 and South Africa 1976, 95f.

<sup>32</sup> I apologize for using designations which may be felt to be disparaging by the persons concerned - I know of no better terms which might be characteristic enough linguistically. An interesting list of relevant literature is given by Van Rensburg 1985. Unfortunately, many of these works are either unpublished (M.A. and doctoral theses) or otherwise inaccessible here.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. the parallel case of the 'poor whites' in the southern states of the USA: their language is close to 'Black English'.

still is - much too complicated for sole causes! Our descriptions, explanations and extrapolations are bound to be "eclectic", which does not mean that they are "evasive"<sup>34</sup>. We have to try to grasp as many aspects of historical, social and linguistic reality as we can at any rate, we will have no chance of revealing the full truth!

The following is an attempt to describe some facts, factors and features prominent in the dynamic process.

There can be no doubt as to the starting point of the process of language change from Dutch to Afrikaans: this is the first period of about fifty years, when we find at the VOC station of the Cape a very variegated community of Dutch administrative staff, (mostly) German soldiers, European settlers of Dutch, German, and other origins, indigenous Hottentot farmers and cowboys, Portuguese traders and sailors, East Indian slaves. This is the classical situation for triggering massive changes in the dominant language, i.e. Dutch. The proper development of Pidginization-Creolization started, but was hampered or even halted by the preponderance of Dutch, by the intention of the settlers to speak and write Dutch, and last not least by the persistent influence of the Dutch Statenbijbel of 1619, which for a long time provided almost the only reading matter for the Calvinist farming families (less so on the Cape, but all the more out in the Veld). Nevertheless, a good number of peculiarities found their way from the broken Dutch of the Malayo-Portuguese speaking slaves and the Hottentot servants into the language of their masters - some by the formers' upbringing of the latters' children, others by their superior knowledge of local flora and fauna. The second important factor for the development of Afrikaans is the incomplete learning of the Dutch language by non-Dutch (VOC personnel and/or settlers). In particular, the close relationship<sup>35</sup> of German to Dutch - or better: of German dialects to Dutch dialects - caused a considerable degree of German interference: but all this has not yet been documented sufficiently.

Furthermore, no free development of the linguistic leveling process was allowed: the constant arrivals of new settlers and especially learned personnel (higher administration officers, surgeons, preachers) whose language - coming fresh from the motherland - enjoyed the highest prestige served as a permanent correcting factor to the natural development (regarded, of course, as corruption by leading circles). It was only

---

<sup>34</sup> Pace Markey 1982, 169.

<sup>35</sup> A complete definition of this relation which should be equally uncontested linguistically, historically AND politically is difficult to find: both standards with all their dialects form only one dialect continuum.

the arrival of the English who stopped this constant orientation towards the standard of The Hague and who, by imposing their own rule, stimulated the strong nationalistic reaction of the Boers. Also in this period, the spread of Afrikaans from the Cape province to Orange and Transvaal triggered by political events allowed a freer development of the lonely settlers' speech and relaxed the connections to the Cape.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, a strong conscience of Dutch as mother of and hidden norm for the language has always influenced teachers and writers of Afrikaans.<sup>37</sup>

So, at least six factors have to be reckoned with in establishing a history of the genesis of Afrikaans:

1. Dutch dialects
2. Standard Dutch (VOC administration, Statenjijbel)
3. Languages, jargons and *linguae francae* of traders and sailors
4. German dialects, mostly Low German<sup>38</sup>
5. Malayo-Portuguese (concubinage, children's upbringing, inland trade)
6. other languages (e.g. Hottentot, French).

The contacts with the various Bantu languages came too late to affect the grammatical structures: they provided new words only. The role of English for further and recent developments, whatever its extent, lies outside the scope of this short article.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> English influence on Afrikaans is usually regarded as of recent origin only, cf. Rousseau 1937. Contrary to all his predecessors, Donaldson 1988 holds that the effect of English on Afrikaans since 1795 is at least of the same importance to the development of modern Afrikaans than all former influences. Unfortunately, his thesis – of which his article is but a summary (shortened by the journal's editor) – is unobtainable here.

<sup>37</sup> See Donaldson 67.

<sup>38</sup> The German element in the making of Afrikaans was widely overestimated in the times of German imperialism and nationalism, but – to my mind equally unjustified – underestimated later, as can still be seen in Raidt 1983. For more details, see Floris D. Du Plooy, *Einige Beobachtungen zu niederdeutschen Einschlägen im Afrikaansen*, *Acta Germanica* (Cape Town) 1.1966.159-166, and id., *Moontlike raakpunte tussen Platduits en Afrikaans*, *Potchefstroom* 1981 (= *Wetensk. bydr. v.d. PU vir CHO*, R. A. Geestesw. 41). For the present contact situation see Hildegard I. Stüelau, *Nataler Deutsch. Der Einfluß des Englischen und Afrikaansen auf die deutsche Sprache in Natal, Durban 1967* (= Ph.D.-diss. Köln 1968), and Norbert Klein, *Deutsche Sprache im Kontakt in Südwestafrika. Der heutige Gebrauch der Sprachen Deutsch, Afrikaans und Englisch in Namibia*, Stuttgart 1984.

<sup>39</sup> I am obliged to Gerard H. Arendt for first introducing me to the study of Afrikaans, many years ago; and to David Lewis for looking to my English manuscript.



In these short notes, I wanted to underline the interest of studying the emergence and development of Afrikaans for the general linguist; it goes without saying that the language is worth being studied on its own, and in relation to the other Germanic languages. But it is the unique quality of Afrikaans of having developed far from Europe, in recent times, within a short period, and in full light of historical and linguistic documents which makes its history a most prominent case for historical linguistics. Its study can offer a rich variety of empirical facts as well as theoretical insights for all who are striving to understand how new languages may come into being. This is one of the oldest and still one of the most important questions of linguistics, and it has been tackled from two points of view: one is that of historico-genetic linguistics (in this case: comparative Germanic and comparative Indo-European studies), and one that of contact linguistics, i.e. historical sociolinguistics (e.g. Creole linguistics). Intense collaboration of both in further studies is needed. Indo-European Studies can gain support from a lot of historical parallels and theoretical models of language development established by creolists, and Creole Studies could control their theoretical explanations of sometimes strange-looking facts by referring to the well-established bulk of material provided by nearly two hundred years of Indo-European Studies. Most luckily, Edgar Polomé is in full command of both fields: we gratefully acknowledge having learnt much from his work and, in offering our heartiest congratulations, we look forward to many more enlightening books and articles from his pen: **AD MULTOS ANNOS!**

### Bibliography<sup>40</sup>

Boshoff-Nienaber

- 1967 S.P.E. Boshoff and G.S. Nienaber, *Afrikaanse Etimologieë*, Pretoria.

Donaldson

- 1988 B. C. Donaldson, *De invloed van het Engels op het Afrikaans, een uniek geval van taalverandering in een taalcontactsituatie*, *Neerlandica extra muros* 51.1988.62-68 (summary of his Ph.D.-dissertation, Universiteit van Oranje-Vrystaat 1983-85).

---

<sup>40</sup> A short bibliography of about 155 titles covering the period of 1846 to 1980 is to be found in *Bibliography of African Languages*, ed. by Wilma Meier, Wiesbaden 1984. Most complete is: *Bronnegids by die studie van die Afrikaanse taal en letterkunde 1900-1970*, saamgestel deur U. Sandrock uit (akkumulatiewe uitg.), Pretoria 1980, xiv + 948 p.; cf. also G. M. Kettley, *Suid-Afrikaanse linguistiese bronnegids*, Johannesburg 1970.

- Hall  
1962 Robert A. Hall, Jr., *The Life Cycle of Pidgin Languages*, *Lingua* 11.1962.151-156.
- Hesseling  
1899 Dirk Ch. Hesseling, *Het Afrikaansch: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche taal in Zuid-Afrika*, Leiden 1899, revised and enlarged ed., *Het Afrikaans*, Leiden<sup>2</sup> 1923.
- Holm  
1988-9 John A. Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles*, vol. I *Theory and Structure* 1988, vol. II *Reference Survey* 1989 (Cambridge Language Surveys), Cambridge.
- Kähler  
1971 Hans Kähler, *Studien über die Kultur, die Sprache und die arabisch-afrikaanse Literatur der Kap-Malaien* (= Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indonesische und Südseesprachen der Universität Hamburg, Band 7), Berlin.
- Kolb(e)  
1719 1. Titel: CAPUT BONÆ SPEI HODIERNUM, Das ist: Vollständige Beschreibung Des AFRICANischen Vorgebürges der Guten Hofnung. Worinnen in dreyen Theilen abgehandelt wird wie es heut zu Tage / nach seiner Situation und Eigenschaft aussiehet; ingleichen was ein Natur-Forscher in den dreyen Reichen der Natur daselbst findet und antrifft; Wie nicht weniger / was die eigenen Einwohner die Hottentotten, vor seltsame Sitten und Gebräuche haben: Und endlich alles / was die Europæischen daselbst gestifteten Colonien anbetrifft. Mit angefügter genugsamer Nachricht / wie es auf des Auctoris Hinein= und Heraus=Reise zugegangen; Auch was sich Zeit seiner langen Anwesenheit / an diesem Vorgebürge merckwürdiges ereignet hat. Nebst noch vielen anderen curieusen und bißhero unbekandt=gewesenen Erzehlungen / mit wahrhafter Feder ausführlich entworfen: auch mit nöthigen Kupfern gezieret / und einem doppelten Register versehen, von M. Peter Kolben / Rectore zu Neustadt an der Aysch[,] Nürnberg / bey Peter Conrad Monath / 1719.  
2. Titel: M. Peter Kolbens Reise / an das CAPO DU BONNE ESPERANCE, oder das Africanische Vorgebürge Der Guten Hofnung: nebst einer Ausführlichen Beschreibung desselben / In Dreyen Theilen abgefasst. Nürnberg, bey Peter Conrad Monath. 1719.
- Lubbe  
1985 H. J. Lubbe, *Lees maar, er staat niet wat er staat -'n antwoord aan Dr. Stoops*, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlands en Afrikaans* 3/1-2.1985. 95-97.
- Markey  
1982 Thomas L. Markey, *Afrikaans: Creole or non-Creole?*, *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 49/2.1982.169-207.

- Rademeyer  
1938 J. H. Rademeyer, *Kleurling-Afrikaans, die taal van die Griekwas en Rehobot-Basters*, Amsterdam.
- Raidt  
1983 Edith H. Raidt, *Einführung in Geschichte und Struktur des Afrikaans*, Darmstadt.
- Rousseau  
1937 H. J. Rousseau, *Die invloed van Engels of Afrikaans*, Cape Town.
- Scholtz  
1981 P.L. Scholtz, *Race relations at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1795*, Boston.
- South Africa  
1979 Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa, Johannesburg, no date.
- Stoops  
1984 Yvette Stoops, *Wie spreek er nu eigenlijk Afrikaans?*, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlands en Afrikaans* 2/3.1984.267-272.
- Valkhoff  
1966 Marius F. Valkhoff, *Studies in Portuguese and Creole (With special reference to South Africa)*, Johannesburg.
- Valkhoff  
1971 id., *Descriptive bibliography of the linguistics of Afrikaans: a survey of major works and authors*, *Current Trends in Linguistics*, ed. Th. A. Sebeok, vol 7, The Hague - Paris 1971, 455-500.
- Valkhoff  
1972 id., *New light on Afrikaans and "Malayo-Portuguese"*, Louvain.
- Van der Merwe  
1966-67 H.J.J.M. van der Merwe, *Afrikaans 'n basterkind van Hollands-Kreools-Portugese fornikasie aan die Kaap!? - Bespreking van Valkhoff 1966*, *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 6/4-7/1.1966-67.377-394.
- Van Rensburg  
1985 M.C. J. Van Rensburg, *Wie durf eintlik menings oor Afrikaans huldig?*, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlands en Afrikaans* 3/1-2.1985.98-102.
- Van Selms  
1951 Adrianus van Selms, *Arabies-Afrikaanse Studies I. 'n tweetalige (Arabiese en Afrikaanse) Kategismus (= Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R., d. 14, no. 1)*, Amsterdam 1951

## LES ENJEUX D'UNE EXEGESE (Le mythe dioscurique indo-européen)

Daniel Dubuisson

"Renoncer à tous les degrés du pointillisme. La comparaison ne peut prétendre dégager, assurer un prototype indo-européen que si elle porte sur des ensembles articulés, aussi vastes et précis que possible, observés sur les plans divers de la pensée et de l'action. N'importe quel fait isolé peut se retrouver ici et là sans qu'il faille postuler un héritage commun, mais non pas une structure, et cela d'autant moins qu'elle est plus complexe et plus dominante."

*Georges Dumézil*

### I) DES MYTHES AU MYTHE SANS PASSER PAR LA STRUCTURE

De toutes les formes d'interprétation, celles que l'on retient habituellement dans le domaine mythologique devraient sans doute imposer la plus grande rigueur intellectuelle. Les objets, les motifs, les épisodes que présentent les mythes sont presque toujours en effet d'une lecture trop... facile. Pour s'en convaincre, chacun peut s'amuser à "traduire" en langage naturaliste, agraire, dualiste, agonistique ou sexuel tel ou tel mythe, car il trouvera toujours quelques détails semblant justifier son choix initial, a fortiori s'il les isole de leur contexte : qu'y-a-t-il de plus facilement allégorisable ou métaphorisable qu'un conflit, un couple ou un objet insignifiant ?

Dans ces conditions, devrait-on au moins attendre de chaque interprète qu'il respecte scrupuleusement les termes de son protocole interprétatif, chargé, lorsqu'il existe (!), de définir explicitement les origines et le statut épistémologique des postulats initiaux, et n'abuse pas des facilités qu'offre déjà, peut-être malgré elle, une matière qui finit par paraître indéfiniment remodelable.

Une telle attente est parfaitement justifiée aujourd'hui. Le recours conjoint au comparatisme (génétique et/ou typologique) et à un type d'analyse privilégiant la recherche des logiques (systématicités, structures, homologies) sous-jacentes semblerait devoir limiter l'imprécision et la fantaisie de chacun: si on avance que tel mythe-type repose sur telle structure, subtil entrelacs de données actantielles, thématiques et narratives, relèveront de ce type et ne relèveront de lui que les mythes possédant effectivement cette structure.

Il est possible qu'à ces cadres architectoniques s'ajoutent (ils ne peuvent donc s'y substituer) certains détails typiques (la présence de tel objet "symbolique", de tel détail saugrenu) qui permettront de les reconnaître, de les identifier. Mais non de les interpréter! Cette dernière activité suppose connues, tout en participant à leur découverte, l'organisation et la structure d'ensemble du mythe, puisque ce sont elles qui font du mythe un texte, c'est-à-dire un projet sémantique original et cohérent... "l'ensemble étant presque toujours plus important que ses parties, premier par rapport à ses parties, et remarquablement constant sous le rajeunissement perpétuel de ses parties" (1).

Abandonner cette position rigoureuse afin d'introduire des "variantes", inexplicables ou incompréhensibles, de reconnaître des "évolutions", aberrantes ou inattendues, d'excuser des "absences", singulières ou étonnantes, c'est retirer à la notion de structure tous ses avantages méthodologiques et revenir, si tant est qu'il fût jamais abandonné par certains, à un style pointilliste reposant sur la combinaison aléatoire de motifs isolés. Il serait également retors de laisser entendre que le mythe-type, le

modèle reconstruit, est le seul qui puisse être rigoureusement organisé tandis que les mythes historiquement attestés seraient fatalement moins précis, en effet c'est à partir des règles qui organisent ceux-ci que doivent être logiquement définies celles qui caractérisent celui-là.

Ce sont pourtant de tels abandons, de tels glissements, de telles facilités que je voudrais examiner aujourd'hui à partir d'un mythe-type célèbre, le mythe dioscurique indo-européen, et de ses prétendus équivalents ou transpositions dans le Rāmāyaṇa de Vālmīki (désormais RVK.).

Ce faisant, et afin de circonscrire le débat, je n'affirme pas qu'un tel mythe n'a pas existé ; je dis plus modestement que la méthode suivie, et pour le reconstruire et pour en décrire l'expression épique exemplaire, est utilisée de manière beaucoup trop laxiste.

Pour cet examen, je partirai de l'étude, devenue classique en ce domaine, de D. Ward (2).

Par l'étude comparée de plusieurs traditions (védique, balte, grecque, bengalie et vālmīkienne ; désormais V., B., G., BL. et RVK.) Ward affirme avoir retrouvé un "clearly defined mythological theme" qui aurait appartenu au vieux corpus mythologique indo-européen. Voici, selon cet auteur, la séquence complète de ce thème mythologique :

- "a) Les jumeaux divins, fils du dieu céleste (V., B., G.),
- b) qui sont associés avec des phénomènes célestes ou éclatants (idem)
- c) et avec des chevaux (idem),
- d) courtisent la fille du soleil (V., B.)
- e) qui est leur soeur (V., B., G.).

- f) Elle leur est promise en mariage (V., B., G.),
- g) mais elle est donnée à un autre ou enlevée par lui (V., B., G., BL., RVK.),
- h) qui peut être associée avec la lune (V., B.).
- i) La jeune fille est confiée à la mère du ravisseur (BL., G.).
- j) Elle est contrainte à exécuter des tâches humiliantes ou est autrement tourmentée (B., G., RVK.).
- k) La jeune fille lave des vêtements dans la mer et les jette ensuite à l'eau (B. et la déesse védique Ushas, mais dans un autre contexte).
- l) La jeune fille est sauvée par ses fiancés et/ou frères (B., BL., G., RVK.),
- m) qui arrivent par mer (B., G., RVK. ; les Ásvin védiques et les dioscures grecs sont aussi connus pour leurs sauvetages en mer).
- n) La tourmenteuse est punie par les sauveurs (BL., G.).
- o) Le ravisseur, cependant, est épargné (G.)". (3)

Ce tableau appelle plusieurs observations.

- Tout d'abord, et il faut souligner ce point, il s'agit là d'une reconstruction hypothétique ("le" mythe lui-même n'est attesté intégralement par aucune source) menée à partir d'éléments disparates (genres, époques, cultures). En fait, les avertissements très clairs de l'auteur ("it must be emphasized that this outline is not being posited as a reconstruction of an Indo-European myth, but has been made merely to afford a quick glance at the theme as it appears in

the various traditions. Furthermore, it must also be stressed that the Vedic and Baltic traditions offer no plot outline but merely isolated motifs") (4) n'ont pratiquement jamais empêché que l'on considère cette séquence comme la trame narrative la plus fidèle d'un mythe indo-européen. Ward lui-même, malgré son propre avertissement, parle d'ailleurs, quelques lignes plus haut, d'un "clearly defined mythological theme that was evidently part of the corpus of Indo-European mythology at a time before the divergence of the various groups from the original homeland".

- D'une manière générale, il faut d'ailleurs aussi constater en ce domaine que la très grande imprécision du vocabulaire permet tous les "glissements" (du type : *theme* → *clearly defined mythological theme* → *myth*) et prépare, naturellement, les défenses futures. On aimerait aussi, sur ce même plan, celui de la définition des concepts opératoires, que soit rigoureusement analysée la distinction entre "plot outline" et "isolated motifs". Lorsque les frontières sont imprécises on incessamment déplacées, on ne peut évidemment reprocher à quiconque, et d'abord à soi-même, de les franchir avec insouciance.

- La présentation elle-même des différents motifs successifs est trompeuse. Trop souvent des choix arbitraires ou des rapprochements anecdotiques sont présentés comme des éléments invariants ; en contrepartie des variantes ou des absences ne sont pas mentionnées. Ainsi, et pour limiter mes remarques au dossier le plus important, plusieurs versions védiques des motifs de cette séquence sont, sous la forme où ils sont présentés ici, incomplets ou faux. A cet égard, cette présentation partielle et partielle ne peut que tromper le lecteur qui croira, de bonne foi, que la reconstruction d'un



mythe-type indo-européen, est faite de beaucoup d'évidence et d'un peu de bon sens.

Reprenons donc ces motifs un par un :

b) est trop général et s'applique à de nombreuses divinités.

A propos de c) il faut ajouter, pour être tout à fait complet, que "the Ásvins' name implies only the possession of horses, there being no evidence to show that they are so called because they ride on horses. Their car is drawn by horses, more commonly (je souligne) by birds, swans, eagles, bird steeds or eagle steeds. It is sometimes described as drawn by a buffalo or buffaloes or by a single ass" (5).

Les informations répertoriées sous a), d), e) et f) ne sont pas en fait ni aussi simples ni aussi claires. Les relations conjugales et "familiales" unissant Sūrya, Sūryā, Ushas, les deux Ásvin, la Nuit et Savitar présentent différentes versions. Il faudrait encore une fois renvoyer à Macdonell, toujours exhaustif et sans parti-pris (6).

A propos de g), on fera remarquer qu'être donnée ou enlevée n'est pas du tout la même chose. Si l'alternative est considérée comme significative, il faut l'expliquer, sinon, il faut l'expliquer également.

Les motifs i), j), k) et l) sont absents du dossier védique, considéré comme le plus ancien, de même n) et o). En outre, et puisque nous allons bientôt aborder le RVK., il me paraît abusif de considérer ce dernier comme l'expression d'un mythe dioscurique plus ancien alors même que ce sont certains de ses propres éléments qui ont été retenus pour reconstituer une partie du mythe archaïque! Peut-on considérer que B dérive de A à partir du moment où A n'est qu'une hypothèse formulée sur la base d'informations fournies en partie par B?

Quant à m) il regroupe deux situations absolument distinctes. La présence de l'océan dans les deux cas n'est pas une raison suffisante pour les réunir sous le même titre.

- Enfin on ne voit pas très bien quel sens, quelle valeur sont attribués à ce proto-mythe dioscurique. Nous ramène-t-il à la mythologie naturaliste de la fin du siècle dernier? Sinon, que nous dit-il en fait? De quoi parle-t-il? N'est-il qu'un schème général susceptible de recevoir maint contenu différent? Comment peut-on reconstruire un mythe archaïque à partir d'éléments épars si l'on ne peut rien dire du statut et des fonctions d'un tel mythe? Imagine-t-on des archéologues qui, à partir de vestiges déjà réutilisés ailleurs, pour d'autres édifices, reconstruiraient un bâtiment dont ils ignoreraient la destination et l'emplacement initiaux?

Ces premières réserves ayant été formulées, on retiendra cependant, pour la suite de la discussion, que, selon Ward, "le" mythe dioscurique indo-européen comportait un petit nombre d'éléments fondamentaux (deux jumeaux, des chevaux et la fille du soleil) organisés autour d'une intrigue très mince: la perte, suivie de la reconquête par les deux frères, de cette brillante jeune fille.

Etant donné que ce qui m'intéresse ici aujourd'hui est la prétendue transposition de ce mythe dans le RVK., j'examinerai d'abord les arguments présentés par Ward lui-même et par S. O'Brien (7). Ensuite suivront ceux de H. Gehrts (8) et de C. Grottanelli (9). Selon ces deux derniers auteurs, il y aurait en fait deux thématiques dans le RVK.: le mythe dioscurique n'ayant fait que se greffer sur un thème plus ancien et, bien sûr, plus important (un rituel royal pour Gehrts et un thème agraire pour Grottanelli).

II) DU MYTHE A L'EPOPEE ET RETOUR.

Je citerai pour commencer un extrait du commentaire de S. O'Brien, plus récent que celui de Ward, mais qui en reprend de toute façon la thèse principale:

"La meilleure version indienne attestée de ce thème est le Rāmāyaṇa. L'élément dioscurique est fourni par une paire de frères, Rāma et Lakshmaṇa. Rāma épouse Sītā qui donnera elle même naissance plus tard à des jumeaux. Les liens fraternels profonds qui existent entre Rāma et Lakshmaṇa sont démontrés lorsque ce dernier accompagne le couple dans son exil sauvage. Après avoir passé plusieurs années d'une "idyllic sylvan existence", Sītā est enlevée par le démon Rāvaṇa. Les deux frères localisent la forteresse de Rāvaṇa sur l'île de Laṅkā. Ils construisent un pont au dessus de la mer, attaquent puis détruisent Rāvaṇa et, enfin, sauvent Sītā. Rāma et Lakshmaṇa partagent des caractères physiques et des comportements avec les Aśvin (c'est-à-dire être éclatants et inégaux entre eux). Aussi évidents dans la narration sont les thèmes du sauvetage par la mer et de l'humiliation de la jeune fille. Ward souligne que la relation entre Sītā et les deux frères représente sans doute la réplique d'un mariage polyandrique antérieur. De plus, dans les versions populaires et orales de cette légende, les trois héros sont frères et soeur" (10).

Cette longue citation appelle deux sortes de remarques, les premières concernent les "glissements" ou les contre-vérités qu'elle contient, les secondes les omissions inexcusables qui y sont faites.

1) Râma et Lakshmaṇa sont simplement frères (ils sont quatre au total) et non jumeaux, or j'ose considérer que cette nuance est importante dans un récit qui est censé transposer un mythe dioscurique.

- L'idyllic sylvan existence est en fait une vie austère, frugale et chaste. Les deux frères portent d'ailleurs, pendant la durée de leur long exil, le vêtement et le chignon des ascètes.

- Sītâ n'est pas une Cendrillon, elle n'a pas été enlevée pour être humiliée ; bien au contraire son ravisseur la suppliera de l'épouser et de partager sa gloire ! Simplement, elle a héroïquement choisi de n'accepter aucune faveur, aucun présent du roi de Laṅkā. Aussi se retrouve-t-elle, et de par son seul choix, sale et amaigrie.

- Comme un grand nombre de héros et d'innombrables divinités, les deux frères sont éclatants, brillants. Il n'y a rien là qui soit propre aux Aśvin. Quant à l'inégalité qui existe entre les deux frères, elle a d'autres modèles théologiques possibles. C'est d'ailleurs l'un d'entre eux (Indra-Vishṇu) qui est ici pertinent (cf. n. 12).

- On peut toujours supposer ce que l'on veut et, parmi d'autres fantaisies, une Sītâ polyandrique. Il faudra alors admettre que l'épopée est infidèle à ses propres modèles, puisque, dans la version sanskrite que nous lisons aujourd'hui, Sītâ représente le modèle même de la fidélité conjugale et Lakshmaṇa celui des héros chastes dévoués aux intérêts de leur royal aîné. Probablement aura-t-on noté au passage comment, rhétoriquement, s'opère un "glissement": "..the constant presence of the husband's brother indicates (je souligne) that originally a polyandrous relationship... lay at the base of the

epic" (11). Pourtant, que je sache, la métonymie n'est pas une preuve d'adultère.

2) D'autre part, O'Brien et Ward traitent de façon euphémique des éléments qui sont indiscutablement essentiels dans l'intrigue épique, mais dont on ne voit pas les équivalents dans le mythe-type quand ils ne contredisent pas ouvertement ce dernier.

Sîtâ est la fille de la Terre et non celle du soleil. Et c'est la Terre, sa mère, qui l'accueille et l'engloutit à la fin, sur sa prière (Sîtâ ne pardonne pas à Râma de l'avoir répudiée deux fois de suite).

Râma est constamment comparé à Indra et Lakshmaṇa à Viṣṇu ; les liens fraternels traduisent donc des liens fonctionnels, analogues à ceux qui unissent les deux divinités védiques. Pour le démontrer, il suffit de relever systématiquement tous les passages correspondants, puis de les comptabiliser et, enfin, d'en vérifier la présence dans les différentes familles de manuscrits. Travail ingrat, mais dont les résultats, exhaustifs et chiffrés, sont indiscutables (12). Si Vâlmîki avait voulu comparer les deux frères aux jumeaux divins, il lui eût été facile de le faire. La recension des comparaisons choisies par Vâlmîki rejoint d'ailleurs ce que l'on pouvait raisonnablement attendre de ces deux héros: ce sont des guerriers, ce que ne sont pas du tout les deux Aśvin, divinités serviables et secourables, l'aîné se préparant même, puisque l'exil forestier est aussi une longue initiation, à devenir le très indrien souverain d'Ayodhyâ.

Comment rendre compte enfin, et en contexte dioscurique, de la répudiation de l'héroïne ? Nos auteurs sont

trop peu bavards sur ce point (à l'exception de Grottanelli) pour que l'on puisse analyser leurs réponses. Probablement imagineraient-ils qu'un thème second (celui de la "femme innocente exilée dans la forêt", C. Fahlin, par exemple) s'est greffé sur le thème dioscurique originel. En fait, si l'on reconnaît en Râma un héros d'Indra et en Sitâ la personnification "royale" de la Terre prospère, l'enlèvement, la reconquête et la répudiation de cette dernière peuvent être interprétés tout autrement que comme un fragment de mythe solaire (13).

Si l'on se souvient maintenant du noyau central du mythe dioscurique, on se doit de constater que les deux héros ne sont pas des jumeaux, que les chevaux sont absents et que la jeune fille solaire dégage un lourd parfum d'humus! Certes nos héros reviendront bien de Lañkâ à Ayodhyâ à bord d'un char volant (malheureusement pour les partisans du mythe solaire en suivant une direction  $S \rightarrow N$ ), mais ce faisant ils ne font qu'utiliser très ponctuellement (nos deux héros se déplaçant habituellement à pied) un moyen de locomotion qui leur a été prêté. Quant au char avec lequel combat Râma, il lui a été offert par... Indra! Alors que là encore il eût été facile de le montrer, le char n'est pas un élément stable de leur définition, ce qu'il semble être pour les dioscures védiques.

De toute façon, jamais un élément isolé et banal ne pourra se substituer à une démonstration reposant sur l'examen d'ensembles (narratifs, descriptifs, lexicaux, actantiels) cohérents et offrant par là même une certaine évidence, en tout cas une base solide pour la comparaison.

III) DU MYTHE A D'AUTRES MYTHES ENCORE.

Afin de ne pas embrouiller inutilement cet exposé, des thèses exposées par Gehrts et Grottanelli ne sera retenu ici que ce qui s'ajoute explicitement aux précédentes (Ward et O'Brien) tout en se rapportant, comme elles, au RVK.

Selon Gehrts, l'épopée, comme le conte ou le mythe, dérive du rituel. Ils en sont tous un "symbolischen epischen Kommentar", ainsi s'expliquent les correspondances et les homologues que l'on peut observer entre eux et non, pour prendre la leçon de Dumézil, par la possession d'un substrat idéologique commun.

Dans le cas du RVK., il s'agirait d'un rituel royal archaïque selon lequel le roi perd puis recouvre la fiancée, fille de la lumière, qui représente globalement la vie, l'immortalité et la prospérité. Toujours selon ce rite, le roi doit également tuer son frère, mort qui apparaît comme le signe patent de son élévation au-dessus de tous. D'après Gehrts, l'intrigue du mythe dioscurique indo-européen (version Ward), plus récente, se serait greffée sur ce Zwei Brüder Märchen

Devant ces vertigineuses reconstructions, il n'est probablement pas nécessaire de répéter les réserves formulées précédemment. Aussi ferais-je simplement remarquer pour l'instant que Gehrts est en outre obligé de minimiser le rôle de la scène de la répudiation (il est vrai qu'il lui suffit, coup de baguette magique favori de certains mythologues, de la considérer comme une incompréhensible interpolation) et de déplacer le moment de la mort de Lakshmana (dans le récit, tel que nous le lisons aujourd'hui, il meurt peu de temps avant Râma, sa mort ne peut donc en aucun cas être considérée comme la condition ou la contrepartie de l'accession de celui-ci au pouvoir).

On voit de quel prix continue d'être payée l'obstination à vouloir sauver une thèse, qui ne s'impose pas et que rien n'impose.

L'ensemble des postulats énoncés par Grottanelli n'est pas fondamentalement différent de celui de ses prédécesseurs. Je rappellerais simplement les principaux points de son argumentation. Les jumeaux, souvent hippomorphes ou associés à des chevaux, sont toujours les fils, les frères ou les époux d'un personnage féminin important, souvent elle-même hippomorphe. De plus, ils sont aussi associés au char, guerrier ou royal, qu'ils tirent ou guident selon leur nature. Ils servent ou sauvent cette figure féminine à laquelle ils sont liés, mais qui peut leur être supérieure.

Cependant, pour cet auteur, l'interprétation du RVK., pourtant toujours dioscurique, est différente de celles imaginées par Ward-O'Brien ou par Gehrts. Ici, le thème central et originel est celui d'un conflit entre le roi, Râma, et la faible femme qui représente les principales valeurs agraires (Qu'est devenue la jeune fille solaire, indispensable au mythe dioscurique et reconnue comme telle par Ward, O'Brien et Gehrts?). Ce conflit éclate lors de la scène de la répudiation qui illustre, négativement, ce que devrait être une juste et féconde collaboration entre la fonction royale et la prospérité du royaume. Le thème spécifiquement dioscurique n'apparaissant qu'in extremis avec les fils de Sîtâ qui, en récitant à leur père sa propre geste, lui font prendre conscience de son erreur et de son injuste comportement. Mais on sait déjà comment va réagir Sîtâ à l'ultime prière de son mari.

On a dit, plus haut, qu'il fallait réhabiliter le



cadre royal dans lequel s'inscrivaient les aspects agraires de Sîtâ (littéralement: Sillon) ainsi que la scène de sa répudiation. Si je me réjouis de le voir enfin reconnu, je regrette en même temps que ce soit au nom d'une thématique aussi pauvre ("I suggested elsewhere that the Râmâyâṇa theme I have described so far is a mythical theme of the relationship between a helpless woman and a powerful king, and about kingly power and justice") (14). En quoi (pourquoi? comment?) un thème aussi vague, aussi insubstantiel peut-il enrichir, ou simplement s'accorder avec le mythe dioscurique, aussi anémique, dans sa version épique, chez Grottanelli que chez ces prédécesseurs?

Certes les fils de Sîtâ sont bien des jumeaux, mais leur carrière épique, très brève, ne répond pas non plus au schème wardien. Grottanelli reconnaît d'ailleurs que le rôle des jumeaux auprès de leur mère s'apparente plus à celui tenu auprès d'Hélène par les Dioscures (Chez Euripide et Horace) qu'à celui occupé par les Ásvin dans la mythologie védique. Dans cette version, il s'agit pour eux de défendre la réputation de l'héroïne, non de la sauver des mains de son ravisseur (motif central chez Ward). Mais si l'on réduit le mythe dioscurique à cette simple intervention, ex machina, il n'est plus lui-même qu'un motif isolé, incapable de rendre compte des structures complexes d'une épopée. Les jumeaux, fils de Râma, n'apparaissent d'ailleurs que dans le septième livre (uttara), unanimement considéré comme postérieur aux six autres.

Quant au char et aux chevaux, acteurs indispensables de tout mythe dioscurique, ce seraient ceux qui apparaissent au cours de l'ásvamedha célébré par Râma, ce spectaculaire

sacrifice royal du cheval. Ici encore, l'association des héros avec le cheval ne serait au mieux que ponctuelle et n'impliquerait aucune espèce de liaison, constante et significative. J'écris "au mieux", puisque le cheval de l'asvamedha ne relève de toute façon que de la symbolique de ce rituel, qui joue un rôle précis dans l'intrigue épique (15) et qui n'a pas besoin d'un quelconque mythe dioscurique pour exister comme élément signifiant.

De plus, n'est-ce pas s'attribuer une facilité exorbitante que d'admettre, pour rassembler à tout prix quelques débris du mythe ancien, que celui-ci peut chevaucher plusieurs personnages, soit le cheval à Râma et la gémellité à ses fils?

#### IV) QUELQUES POINTS DE METHODE POUR CONCLURE.

Indiscutablement, les travaux évoqués précédemment reposent sur plusieurs inexactitudes, lacunes et approximations. Ils sont en outre gâtés par quelques préjugés et défauts d'ordre méthodologique (16).

1) Le mythe dont ils se servent, le mythe-type reconstruit, n'est finalement qu'une combinaison de motifs et d'objets isolés (la gémellité, la lumière, les chevaux, l'océan, la fille solaire..) réunis autour d'une intrigue mince et banale. Ce parti-pris pointilliste offre sans doute une ample marge de manoeuvre à l'exégète. Rien n'est plus facilement interprétable qu'un objet (un char), une épithète (brillant) ou un motif (l'enlèvement de l'héroïne) solitaires, lesquels se rencontrent en outre un peu partout.

Ce qui semble alors remarquable c'est que, forts de toutes ces facilités, nos interprètes ne retrouvent dans l'épopée sanskrite qu'une faible part du matériel mythique originel: les

héros ne sont pas jumeaux, l'héroïne n'est pas de nature solaire (bien au contraire!), quant au char et aux chevaux, rarement présents, ils ne sont pas fonctionnellement liés aux deux frères. L'unité originelle jumeaux-char-chevaux-soleil-jeune fille, censée fonder la cohérence et la personnalité du mythe, a donc volé en éclats. Pourquoi? Nos auteurs ne nous le disent pas. Je craindrais de toute façon qu'ils ne considèrent l'histoire que sous le seul angle de l'oubli et du dépérissement des systèmes mythiques anciens, autre facilité bien connue de l'exégèse mythologique.

2) La relation explicite qui est postulée entre le mythe et l'épopée n'étant pas analysée en elle-même, elle se réduit fatalement à une sorte de relation spéculaire déformée et atténuée, s'accrochant désespérément à quelques détails anecdotiques.

Une telle pauvreté épistémologique est difficilement défendable. Ecrite après Mauss, Cassirer, Dumézil, Lévi-Strauss, Vernant, Détienne et tous ceux qui les ont discutés et commentés, toute étude parlant aujourd'hui de mythologie se doit au moins d'avoir assimilé dans sa propre réflexion les concepts et les problématiques de ces divers auteurs. Faute de quoi, et c'est ce que l'on observe ici, son niveau théorique ne lui permet ni de formuler de nouvelles questions ni, a fortiori, d'ouvrir des perspectives stimulantes. J'irais même plus loin. Le mythe dioscurique reconstruit par Ward aurait-il bien eu cette forme que, du fait de la méthode conçue pour le retrouver, il ne nous apprendrait rien de plus que ce qu'il dit littéralement, c'est-à-dire bien peu.

3) Mais la plus invraisemblable facilité que s'offrent ces interprètes tient à ceci. Du RVK., vaste et

subtil poème, ils ne retiennent que de très rares éléments (lesquels, d'ailleurs, ne répondent même pas exactement au contenu du mythe-type) qu'ils vident de leur substance: Râma, Sîtâ et Lakshmaṇa sont bien autre chose que ces figures pâlottes et leur richesse symbolique, théologique, idéologique, politique.. pose mille problèmes que ces auteurs ne signalent même pas. De même, d'autres personnages (Hanumân, Râvaṇa, l'armée des singes), de nombreux épisodes (l'initiation guerrière de Râma, les interventions d'Indra, le duel truqué, la vie ascétique dans la forêt) ainsi que de très nombreuses indications textuelles (l'ascendance brâhmanique de Râvaṇa, les comparaisons systématiques établies entre les héros et certains dieux védiques) sont totalement négligés. Si le RVK. était "a manifestation" (Ward) d'un mythe dioscurique, que viendraient y faire tous ces éléments essentiels et rigoureusement organisés entre eux?

Enfin, et ce sera là ma dernière remarque, peut-on sérieusement imaginer que de savants brâhmanes auraient composé en sanskrit cet immense poème simplement pour illustrer une espèce de mythe solaire qu'ils ne comprenaient déjà plus très bien? Ne voit-on pas la disproportion flagrante qui existe entre la complexité, la richesse, la densité du propos (sept livres épais totalisant plus de vingt mille strophes) et la minceur de prétexte?

\*NOTES\*

- (1) Loki, p. 86.
- (2) The divine twins, an Indo-European myth in Germanic tradition.
- (3) Op. cit., p. 68.
- (4) Ibid. Je souligne.
- (5) A. A. Macdonell, The Vedic mythology, p. 50 (Je n'ai pas maintenu dans cette citation les très nombreuses références textuelles).
- (6) Ibid., p. 51.
- (7) "Dioscuric elements in Celtic and Germanic mythology", p. 117-136.
- (8) Râmâyana, Brüder und Braut im Märchen Epos.
- (9) "Yoked horses, twins and the powerful lady: India, Greece, Ireland and elsewhere".
- (10) Op. cit., p. 119.
- (11) Ward, Op. cit., p. 63.
- (12) Je renvoie à ma Légende royale dans l'Inde ancienne (Râma et le Râmâyana), en particulier p. 219-229 pour ce point précis.

La transposition Dieux → héros dans le poème de Vâlmîki s'est faite selon moi en suivant la "structure en couples" du niveau théologique qui, dans le Veda et autour d'Indra, relève de la fonction guerrière. Soit:

Indra-Vishnu	→ Râma-Lakshmaṇa	Indra-Marut	→ Râma-Singes
Indra-Vâyu	→ Râma-Hanumân	Indra-Sîtâ	→ Râma-Sîtâ

- (13) Dubuisson, La légende royale..., 1ère partie, où cet épisode est replacé dans l'ensemble trifonctionnel des fautes commises par Râma, à côté donc du meurtre déloyal de Vâlin et du sacrilège, brahmanicide, consécutif à la mort de Râvaṇa.

- (14) Op. cit., p. 132.
- (15) Dubuisson, ibid., p. 67-71.
- (16) L'article de Winfred P. Lehmann, "The divine twins" or "The twins... divine?", in M. A. Jazayery et W. Winter (éd.), Languages and cultures (studies in honor of Edgar C. Polomé), Berlin/New-York/Amsterdam, 1988, p. 373-380 n'ajoute strictement rien aux précédents si ce n'est l'utilisation douteuse d'un mauvais calembour.

\*BIBLIOGRAPHIE\*

DUBUISSON, Daniel

- 1986 La légende royale dans l'Inde ancienne (Râma et le Râmâyana, Paris, éd. Economica.

DUMEZIL, Georges

- 1986 Loki, 3ème éd., Paris, Flammarion.

GEHRTS, Heino

- 1977 Râmâyana, Braut und Brüder im Märchen Epos, Bonn, Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann.

GROTTANELLI, Cristiano

- 1986 "Yoked horses, twins and the powerful lady: India, Greece, Ireland and elsewhere", The journal of Indo-European studies, 14/1-2, 1986, p. 125-152.

LEHMAN, Winfred P.

- 1988 "The divine twins" or "The twins... divine?" in M. A. Jazayery et W. Winter (éd.), Languages and cultures (studies in honor of Edgar C. Polomé), Berlin, New-York, Amsterdam, Mouton De Gruyter.

MACDONELL, Arthur A.

1971 The vedic mythology, éd. ind., Delhi (1ère éd. 1897).

O'BRIEN, Steven

1982 "Dioscuric elements in Celtic and Germanic mythology"

The journal of Indo-European studies, 10/1-2, 1982,

p. 117-136.

WARD, David

1968 The divine twins, an Indo-European myth in Germanic tradition, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

## BOIRE DE L'EAU

Françoise Bader

*École des Hautes Études, Sorbonne, Paris*

1. La famille de lat. *aqua*<sup>1</sup> pose un problème étymologique: ce nom de l'"eau" peut-il ou non être rattaché à tokh. AB *yok-*, hitt. *eku-* "boire"<sup>2</sup>?

1.1. Hitt. 3ème sg. *ekuzi* (à comprendre comme *ek<sup>w</sup>-zi*, avec notation *ku* normale de la labiovélaire)<sup>3</sup>, *ekuzzi* (avec vocalisation de l'appendice *w* de l'occlusive, comme le montre la graphie géminée de la désinence)<sup>4</sup>, 3ème plur. *akuanzi* (*ak<sup>w</sup>-anzi*), *akuwanzi* (avec également vocalisation, et glide), pose lui-même un problème morphologique de la solution duquel dépend, au plan formel, la résolution de la difficulté étymologique relative à lat. *aqua*. L'alternance radicale en est en effet expliquée en dernier lieu par une alternance *ē/ə* par A. Kammenhuber comme, selon cette dernière, l'alternance de *ep-mi* / *app-anzi* "prendre", *ed-mi* / *ad-anzi* "manger", *es-* / *as-* "(s)" établir<sup>5</sup>, tandis que l'explication traditionnelle de *asanzi* "ils sont" par rapprochement de myc. *eesi* n'irait elle-même pas sans difficulté<sup>6</sup>.

1.2. Les données comparatives invitent d'abord à séparer les formes comme "manger", à brève (lat. *edō*, skr. *ādmī*, etc.), et *ēs-* qui a une longue dans les autres langues (skr. *āste*, gr. *ἔσται*, etc.): *\*ēs-* est une forme à degré zéro et redoublement *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>s-*<sup>7</sup> (de mêmes structures et traitement phonétique que p. ex. lat. *-ēpi*, §1.2.2.). La racine en est *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* "être assis", qui a donné "être", parfois en supplétisme avec une racine d'un autre verbe de position corporelle *\*stā-* "être debout" (fr. il *est*, il *était*; etc.). La scission sémantique a été accompagnée de distinctions formelles, absence ou présence d'un redoublement, flexions active ou moyenne.

1.2.1. "Être"<sup>8</sup> a fini par acquérir au terme de longues étapes le statut de présent radical athématique à flexion active, parce que cette flexion, la plus récente, et dont la finale comporte, ajoutée à la désinence de diathèse, une particule temporalisante (*\*-t + -i*), est devenue la marque la plus vivante de présent. Mais le sens de la racine fait attendre un moyen, caractérisé formellement comme tel et par son vocalisme zéro généralisé et par ses désinences (*\*-h<sub>2</sub>e*, *\*-th<sub>2</sub>e*, *\*-e/o*, refait en *\*-to* par une recaractérisation consécutive au développement d'une double diathèse, moyenne et active, dans la conjugaison; etc.). Du degré zéro subsistent des traces comme au singulier lat. *s-um*, tokh. A *na-sam*, tandis que le moyen subsiste au prétérit en emploi récessif, par suite des renouvellements du présent<sup>9</sup>: la forme de moyen fondamental, forme unique que donnent les racines les plus anciennes, subsiste donc au prétérit de "être", type



lère sg. louv. *as-ha*, et avec augment (\**e-h<sub>1</sub>s-* + *-h<sub>2</sub>e*) gr. ἄσᾱ, skr. *ásā*; cf., de "aller", louv. *-iha*, gr. ἦῖα < \**e-h<sub>1</sub>i-* + *-h<sub>2</sub>e*, à côté de gr. ἦῖον, forme de flexion active plus récente (mais plus ancienne que \*(*h<sub>1</sub>*)*es-mi*) < \**e-h<sub>1</sub>i-om* de même structure que *sum* < \**h<sub>1</sub>s-om*<sup>10</sup>.

1.2.2. "Être assis", avec le sens ancien de la racine, a été renouvelé par son redoublement, sauf en de rares formes archaïques comme *asanda*<sup>11</sup>, qui conserve l'ancienne 3ème plur. de la forme moyenne fondamentale en fonction de présent, en regard de *as-ha*, etc.<sup>12</sup>, qui a fonction de prétérit dans l'autre paradigme. Mais "être assis" a conservé, sous sa forme redoublée, la flexion moyenne attendue, type lère sg. hitt. *es-ha* (\**h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>s-* + \**-h<sub>1</sub>e*, comparable formellement au parfait lat. *-ēpi*<sup>13</sup> < \**h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>p-* + *-h<sub>2</sub>e-i*, les désinences de parfait étant d'origine moyenne, tandis qu'au présent de type ἦμαί, la désinences de parfait étant d'une réfection analogue à celle de \*-o et \*-to : \*-m-actif infixé à \*-h<sub>2</sub>e-i moyen); la confrontation de *es-ha* et de *as-ha* illustre bien la structure des formes redoublées anciennes: elles sont bâties sur une forme fléchie (\**h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>s-* + *-h<sub>2</sub>e* sur \**h<sub>1</sub>s-h<sub>2</sub>e*), et non sur la racine. Rares sont les formes de *ēs-* "résider, établir" (à double diathèse interne et externe comme les formes moyennes les plus anciennes) qui présentent une flexion active: 3ème plur. *esanzi* avec le vocalisme des formes redoublées comme *esanta*, dont *esanzi* est une réfection; *asanzi*, réfection de *asanda*, et identique à *asanzi* "ils sont", ce qui peut témoigner de l'origine commune des deux verbes.

2. On interprétera maintenant le degré zéro de formes comme hitt. *asanzi*, myc. *eesi* "ils sont (assis)", en termes phonétiques. Consonne, la laryngale ne saurait se vocaliser; et une anaptyxe se développe au degré zéro attendu dans ces pluriels de présents radicaux athématiques, en \**h<sub>1</sub>os-*, comme dans les formes à deux consonnes quelconques (§2.2), et comme à la frontière morphologique de formes nominales et verbales.

2.1. On négligera ici ces dernières, comme hitt. *kuwaszi* "il embrasse", dont la syllabation consécutive à la présence de la laryngale (\**kuh<sub>1</sub>-os-ti*) subsiste après l'assimilation de la laryngale (\**-uh<sub>1</sub>-* > *-uw-*); la même syllabation demeure avec réfection du suffixe sigmatique de degré zéro en degré plein par derrière le présent infixé gr. *κυνέω* < \**ku-n-h<sub>1</sub>-es-ō* (mais cf. de \**dm-h<sub>2</sub>-os-to* hitt. *tamasta* et gr. *δαμάσσω*). Quant aux formes nominales, elles posent des problèmes de syllabation en rapport avec la successivité des traitements de groupes comportant une laryngale et une sonante devant consonne: \**ṚH* + *C* > \**aṚH* + *C* > *aṚ* + *oC* dans le stade le plus ancien; *Ṛ* + *C* ("sonants-voyelle longue") dans la stade le plus récent, comme en témoignent les divergences dialectales du type, de \**p/-h<sub>1</sub>-no-* "pleine", skr. *pūrṇā-*, v.sl. *plŕnŕ*, lit. *pilnas*, got. *fulls*, v.irl. *lán*, etc.). Ces noms sont des composés ou des dérivés, soit à suffixes en laryngale dont l'existence ne peut être démontrée qu'en anatolien<sup>14</sup>, soit à radical terminé par une laryngale devant un suffixe en consonne quelconque.

2.2. Le traitement le mieux connu de la jointure de deux membres de composés dont la premier se termine par une voyelle, en réalité une sonante-voyelle dans les formes les plus anciennes, et dont le second commence par une voyelle, en réalité une laryngale, est le traitement par "sonante-voyelle longue", l'"allongement" mis en lumière par Wackernagel, du type skr. *sūnāra-* < \**su-h<sub>2</sub>nor-o-* "aux bons hommes", *dvīpā-* < \**dwi-h<sub>2</sub>p-o-* "île" (pour \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-* "eau", cf. §5.1). A travers cet allongement, qui s'explique par une chute de \*H accompagnée d'allongement compensatoire, tout se passe comme si la syllabation était indépendante de la coupe morphologique (\**su-h<sub>2</sub>nor-*). Les composés privatifs montrent que cet allongement n'est que le dernier en date des traitements de la jointure de composés: le traitement du type *sūnāra-* apparaît p. ex. dans νῆστις "à jeun, qui ne mange pas", \**ṇ-h<sub>1</sub>d-ti-*, ou dans skr. *āsat-* "n'étant pas", \**ṇ-h<sub>1</sub>s-*<sup>15</sup>, etc. Mais ce traitement du type R-C, à sonante-voyelle longue (comme dans *sūnāra-*, *dvīpā-*, ou d'autres: \**h<sub>2</sub>enti-h<sub>3</sub>k<sup>w</sup>-o-* > lat. *antiquus*, et cf. le présent composé à formation dénomminative ὀπιπεύω < \**opi-* + *h<sub>3</sub>k<sup>w</sup>-*, etc.), est postérieur au traitement aR-<sup>o</sup>C- qu'offre ἀνδέδνος < \**ṇ-<sup>o</sup>wed-*, archaïque jusque dans la notion ("sans le présent de la fiancée" nécessaire dans l'un des modes anciens de mariage exogamique) qu'il véhicule; la vocalisation de la nasale subsiste, mais l'anaptyxe a disparu devant une laryngale affaiblie dans \**ṇ-h<sub>1</sub>ud-ro-* "sans eau", composé non moins important pour des hommes qui savaient que le climat où ils vivaient pouvait les faire manquer d'eau: skr. *an-udrā-*, gr. *ἄνυδρος*.

2.3. Même successivité de traitements dans les dérivés nominaux: de \**p/-h<sub>2</sub>-* "être large et plat", lat. *plānus*, avec sonante-voyelle longue; mais les formes les plus anciennes sont en aRH-<sup>o</sup>C (avec même anaptyxe qu'après occlusive, e.g. \**sorgh-<sup>o</sup>mo-* > ὄρχαμος), d'où aR-<sup>o</sup>C hors de l'anatolien: de \**p/-h<sub>2</sub>-<sup>o</sup>mi-* (-<sup>o</sup>mā), louv. *palhami-* "étalé", et, nom de la "paume", gr. *παλάμη*, lat. *palma* < \**palama* (syncope), et *palam* "ouvertement", d'un \**p/-h<sub>2</sub>-ā-* à côté du \**p/-h<sub>2</sub>-i-* de hitt. *palhi-* "large", ou, avec un suffixe en occlusive, de \**deh<sub>3</sub>-dh<sub>3</sub>-<sup>o</sup>tó-*, lat. *datum*, gr. *δοτός*<sup>16</sup>.

Dans ce dernier, le timbre *a* de l'anaptyxe a été refait morphologiquement d'après les formes de degré plein. Le point de départ de telles réfection se trouve dans les formes à \**h<sub>2</sub>*, les plus nombreuses, et où le timbre de l'anaptyxe se trouvait coïncider avec celui du degré plein (type *στατός*, de \**st-h<sub>2</sub>-* + *-<sup>o</sup>tó-*, cf. *status*, en regard de \**stā-* < \**st-eh<sub>2</sub>-*)<sup>17</sup>. Et il en va de même pour myc. *eesi* en regard de hitt. *asanzi*, où l'anaptyxe a été remodelée d'après le timbre des formes à degré plein comme \*(*h<sub>1</sub>*)es-ti. L'anaptyxe, présente dans les formes à degré zéro de paradigmes alternants comme "être", est absente du thème II comme celui du nom de l'"eau" hitt. *watar-* (note 2; §5.2) < \**h<sub>1</sub>w-od-*, dont l'élargissement radical suffit à fournir un point d'appui vocalique.

2.4 Hitt. *asanzi* et les autres pluriels de présents radicaux athématiques *appanzi*, *adanzi*, ont une initiale qui provient d'un degré zéro de structure identique à celle du degré zéro des racines dont les deux consonnes sont des occlusives; \* $h_1^o s-$ , \* $h_1^o p-$ , \* $h_1^o d-$ , comme \**ghobh-* ou \**kod-*: de \**ghebh-*, \**ghobh-* dans lat. *habeō*, skr. *gābhasti* "main"<sup>18</sup> (\**ghobh-* + *-osti*, dont le suffixe est parallèle aux suffixes en *-sk-* dans le nom comme dans le verbe<sup>19</sup>, et apparaît dans des noms de la racine *palhami-*, παλάμη: hitt. *palhasti-* "largeur", gr. παλαστή "mesurant une palme", παλαστή "palme, largeur de quatre doigts" < \**p[h]₂-osti-*)<sup>20</sup>; de \**ked-* (myc. *kesadoro*), \**kod-* (κάσανδρα "qui éclaire les hommes" < \**καστυ-* + *ανδρα*, correspondant au myc. *kesadoro*<sup>21</sup> avec un degré zéro qu'offrent par ailleurs Κάστωρ, Κάδμος, etc.). Dans les racines à laryngale, l'anaptyxe pourrait aussi s'appeler "prothèse", selon le terme employé pour des formes comme ἀνήρ < \**h₂on-er*<sup>22</sup>, où le *a* est la trace d'une ancienne laryngale, comme dans παλάμη ou *asanzi*; le terme pourrait être étendu à des langues autres que l'arménien, le phrygien et le grec, pour lesquels seuls il est employé: hittite (seulement pour \* $h_1$ , puisque \* $h_2$  et \* $h_3$  restent consonnes), ou latin (et celtique, lituanien: §5.2.2.)

2.5. En latin cependant, le degré zéro des racines en \* $h_1-$  semble avoir eu deux traitements, à en juger par les formes répondant à hitt. *asanzi*, *adanzi*, *appanzi*. *Sunt* (/asanzi) pourrait s'expliquer par un traitement à assimilation \* $h_1 s-$  > *ss-* (traitement connu pour l'intérieur dans d'autres langues par des suffixes comme \**-h₂-si-* (-*so-*) > louv. *-assi-*, hitt. *-assa-*, gr. *-ασσός*, à côté du traitement par chute et allongement compensatoire du type -ήσιος, lat. *-ārius*)<sup>23</sup>; mais le traitement sans anaptyxe est aussi celui, sinon de *edō* qui, présent radical thématique, a un vocalisme *-e-* généralisé, mais du nom de la "dent": la racine \* $h_1 d-$ , de sens "mordre", a donné deux séries sémantiques de formes: les unes de sens "manger" comme *edo*; les autres de sens "faire mal", appliquées à la douleur morale qui naît de la "méchanceté", louv. *adduwal* "méchant" (\* $h_1 o d-u-$ ), hitt. *idalu-* (\* $h_1 e d-l-u-$ , avec interversion des deux suffixes présents dans la forme louvite, et un degré plein par une innovation qui perpétue l'ancienne syllabation), et à douleur physique, type gr. ὀδύνη; le sens "mordre" subsiste dans le présent à nasales infixée et suffixée (comme dans le type λιμπάνω gr. δάκνω < \* $h_1 d-n-k-nō$ , d'où toute trace de l'ancien \* $h_1$  a disparu, en l'absence de "prothèse", et dans le nom de la "dent": si la syllabation ancienne (à prothèse, \* $h_1 o d-$ ) survit dans ὀδών, grâce à la réfection du vocalisme zéro en vocalisme *-o-* comme dans le nom de la "douleur", tout témoignage de l'ancien \* $h_1$  a disparu de lat. *dēns*, vieux participe de \* $h_1 d-$  athématique. Et tout se passe comme si le traitement par anaptyxe ne subsistait en latin que devant sourde: d'une part dans *apiō*, dont l'initiale est comparable à celle de *appanzi*, et a peut-être survécu à la faveur des alternances, à une époque archaïque où un \* $h_1 o p-yō$ , présent en \**-yo-* à degré zéro attendu dans les dérivés de ce type, répondait à un parfait \* $h_1 e-h_1 p-$

> -ēpi, avec mêmes traitement et syllabation que dans les composés à allongement (§2.2.); d'autre part dans *aqua*, qui a le degré zéro \*h<sub>1</sub>°k<sup>w</sup>- de hitt. *aku*-, pal. *ahu*- (3ème plur. *ahuwanti*), louv. *aku*- (3ème sg. prêt. actif *akuwatta*), en regard de la forme redoublée<sup>24</sup> de v. isl. *aegir*<sup>25</sup> < \*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>k<sup>w</sup>-<sup>26</sup>. La "prothèse" (anaptyxe) apparaît donc comme un traitement préventif à l'amuïssement de la laryngale.

3. Le problème se pose maintenant de savoir si *aqua*, qui peut se relier formellement à hitt. *aku*- (et tokh. *yok*-), est susceptible d'y être rattaché sémantiquement: certains auteurs nient qu'un nom de l'"eau" puisse venir de la notion de "boire"<sup>27</sup>; on se demandera, au contraire, si la notion de "boire" ne vient pas, dans une aire dialectale restreinte à une isoglosse tokhario-anatolienne<sup>28</sup>, de la notion de l'"eau" qui permet d'étancher la "soif": c'est au contexte de la "soif" en tokharien, de l'"eau" en anatolien que se rapportent certains emplois et formes de \*h<sub>1</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-.

3.1. De la famille de tokh. AB *yok*- (avec son infinitif AB *yoktsi* "action de boire" et "boisson", et son nom d'agent B *yokānta* "qui boit"), le tokharien a un substantif de sens "soif" A *yoke* B *yokiye* (nom en \*-yē- > A -e-), et un adjectif "assoiffé", A *yokeyu*, *yokañi*, B *yokaitse*, *yokaiṣṣe*.

3.2. De la famille de *eku*-/ *aku*-, la hittite a l'un de ses deux noms d'agent en \*-tor-(o)-, thématisé<sup>29</sup>: *akuttara*-, titre de prêtre, qu'on comprendra non pas comme "qui boit" (pour lui-même, en diathèse interne), mais en diathèse externe (factitive) plus exactement que comme "toaster, qui porte un toast"<sup>30</sup> (en l'honneur des dieux) comme "échanson des dieux", fonction que remplit Ganymède auprès de Zeus: Y 234, τὸν καὶ ἀντρήσαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἶνονχεύειν.

Si Ganymède opère avec du vin, les formes anatoliennes se rapportant à l'eau: l'une serait louv. *ahhuwahuwamin*<sup>31</sup>, qui suit et qualifie le nom de la "terre", (*dagan*-)*zipan*, si ce participe passif en -*mi*- était une formation redoublée de sens "inondé"; une autre figure dans la seconde tablette de Kikkuli, avec un sens causatif qui, en dernière analyse, peut être à la base de *akuttara*- (proprement: "qui fait boire les dieux"): *akuwanzi* "ils abreuvant" les chevaux (angl. *to water*)<sup>32</sup>; la troisième est le nom du "vase à eau" *akutalla*- ou *akugalla*-, KUB II 13 I 8-9: *akugallit* KÜ.BABBAR *watar pedai* LUGAL-us-za QATI-ŠU *arri* "il apporte de l'eau (*watar*) dans un vase en argent; et le roi se lave les mains".

3.3. Pour la formation de ce dernier, on peut songer à deux explications (en rappelant que, suivant un *aku*- où *ku* est un digramme pour \*k<sup>w</sup>, comme *qu* en latin, la graphie non gémisée n'implique pas nécessairement une sonore pour l'initiale du suffixe<sup>34</sup>, et que, dans celui-ci, la graphie à -*ll*- peut s'expliquer par un traitement de \*-*ly*- dans un morphème complexe qui comprend un suffixe en \*-*l* et un suffixe \*-*yo*- qui l'élargit). Ou bien il s'y trouve

une formation unique, du type *\*-t/-* (plus précisément *\*-t/-to-*), avec la même dissimilation que pour lat. *-culum* < *\*-tlo-* (où s'est développée une anaptyxe que pourrait offrir *-tal-*, susceptible cependant de s'expliquer par un *l*, cf. le suffixe de nom d'instrument de *φουράλιος*, etc.<sup>35</sup>); au contraire de ce qui se passe en latin, les deux formations, l'ancienne et la nouvelle, coexisteraient en *-talla-*, *-galla-*. Ou bien les deux formations sont différentes, car elles existent toutes deux indépendamment en hittite, où *-talla-* (*\*-tol-yo-* ou *\*-t/-yo-*)<sup>36</sup> est la formation normale de nom d'agent (type *uskiskatalla-* "qui surveille", de *uskisk-*), qui peut avoir des emplois dénominatifs (*auriya-talla-* "la garde"<sup>37</sup>, sur *auri* "(poste de) garde"<sup>38</sup>), et où *-gala-* (*\*-k(o)lo-*, à côté de *-galla-* < *\*-k(o)l-yo-*) apparaît dans *tarwes-gala-* "danseur", de *tarwisk-*, itératif de *tarwauwanzi* (infinitif) "(pour) danser".<sup>39</sup>

Les suffixes *-gala-*, *-galla-* peuvent être apparentés à la formation qui apparaît en sanskrit en emploi radical (*puṣ-kalá-* "riche, puissant, excellent", cf. *pūṣ-yati* "prosperer")<sup>40</sup>, et en emploi dénominatif, *sū-karā-* "porc, verrat", emploi seul représenté ailleurs en dehors des formes hittites à l'étude, gr. *ὀβρίκαλον* "petit d'animaux sauvages", v.h.a. *lewinchili* "petit lion", et hors de cette spécialisation animale, en Italie: osq. *Djĭĭkūlūs* acc.plur. "diēs", cf. lat. *diēcula*, ombr. *VESKLA* "uascula", avec un suffixe *\*-kelo-* et une syncope en ombrien; ou un suffixe *\*-klo-* et une anaptyxe un osque, comme dans gr. *-καλον*, et peut-être skr. *-kala-*, *-kara-*; même problème phonétique dans le type lat. *ēnsiculus*, *uāsculum*.<sup>41</sup>

4. Restent alors à préciser les rapports sémantique et morphologique entre les présents du tokharien ("boire") et du hittite ("boire" et "faire boire") et le nom de l'"eau" du type lat. *aqua*. Toutes les formes tokhariennes n'impliquent pas directement un sens "boire", puisque le nom de la "soif" n'y est pas un privatif (au contraire p.ex. de *νήστις* "à jeun"); certaines formes anatoliennes impliquent la notion d'"eau", parfois liée à celle de "boire", s'agissant des chevaux qu'on abreuve, mais non nécessairement, puisque la vase à eau *aku-talla-* (*-galla-*) contient de l'eau pour l'ablution des mains, et qu'un participe luvite s'est peut-être appliqué à la terre "inondée". Le sens "boire" des verbes de l'anatolien et du tokharien (où il est restreint au présent, puisque la conjugaison, supplétive, emploie ailleurs *tsuk-*) semble donc provenir d'une restriction sémantique. Cette restriction amène à se demander si l'isoglosse bien connue qu'est l'emploi de ces verbes dans ces deux langues n'est pas une innovation. Le nom du "vase à eau" hitt. *aku-talla-* peut être une formation primaire, le nom d'instrument dont nous avons parlé, mais aussi un dénominatif du type *auriya-talla-*, ou lat. *anni-culus*<sup>42</sup>, ou en *\*-kolo-* (*\*-kol-yo-*) du type *uāsculum*, alors dérivé d'un nom-racine *\*h<sub>1</sub>okw-*, avec lequel lat. *aqua* serait dans le même rapport que *ἀλκ-ή* avec *ἀλκ-* (dat. *ἀλκ-ί*).<sup>43</sup> On n'a pas le moyen de choisir; mais il n'est pas invraisemblable de

penser qu'innovation sémantique, l'isoglosse tokharo-anatolienne est aussi une innovation morphologique: un présent radical athématique, dénomiatif sans suffixe, du type hitt. *nekuzzi* < \**nek<sup>w</sup>-ti* "il est nuit, il fait nuit"<sup>44</sup>, et s'appliquant comme lui à un phénomène physique: "il est eau, il fait eau" s'agissant notamment de la terre "inondée".

Comme dans d'autres cas (illustrés p.ex. par les racines "briller, voir", "faire du bruit, entendre"), la racine peut s'être employée et pour un phénomène physique du cosmos et pour un acte corporel dans le microcosme. Dans ces racines, les emplois physique et corporel sont liés à deux diathèses sémantiques, à l'intérieur de la diathèse interne (qui s'oppose elle-même à la diathèse externe factitive):

statique	dynamique
verbes corporels de perception	verbes physiques d'émission
"voir; entendre"	"il y a lumière (briller)"; "il y a bruit".

Les verbes de perception peuvent donner lieu au développement d'une diathèse dynamique secondaire: à côté de

"voir, entendre", "regarder, écouter";

ces deux diathèses sont parallèles aux deux diathèses internes de la racine \**deh<sub>3</sub>*- "échanger" (en regard de la diathèse factitive "donner"="faire prendre, recevoir"):

"recevoir" "prendre"

(si l'on admet que "voir, entendre" signifient "recevoir, la lumière, le bruit", et "regarder, écouter", "prendre la lumière, le bruit").<sup>45</sup>

Il est possible de faire entrer \**h<sub>1</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>*- dans ce cadre:

emploi corporel	emploi physique
"recevoir, prendre de l'eau=boire"	"il y a eau",

à condition d'opérer avec un verbe corporel et, en emploi physique, un nom: tout se passe comme si le seul prédicat possible, en emploi physique, avait été un nom d'action, nom-racine ayant donné naissance, avec le développement de la flexion verbale, à un dénomiatif sans suffixe (cf., toutes proportions gardées, angl. *to water*).<sup>46</sup>

On connaît en emploi prédicatif le nom d'action qui est à la base de hitt. *nekuzzi*, qui se trouve dans la même langue que hitt. *ekuzzi*: le type lat. *nox*, nominatif adverbialisé<sup>47</sup> ("nuit" -- "c'est la nuit" -- "(pendant) la nuit"), selon un procédé dont témoignent d'autres emplois du nom de la "nuit": soit avec un démonstratif, qui souligne le côté adverbial de l'ancien syntagme: v.russ. *si noč* "cette dernière nuit", v.irl. *in-nocht* "cette nuit"; soit avec adjonction d'un second substantif, qui transforme l'ancienne phrase nominale à terme unique en fonction de prédicat (comme dans les impersonnels verbaux du type "*pluit*"), en phrase nominale à sujet et prédicat, le nom de la "nuit" restant prédicat: hitt. *nekuz mehur* "le temps (est celui de) la

nuît". D'autres noms d'action ont pu avoir la fonction de phrases nominales adverbialisées (lat. *fors, fās*, etc.). Et d'autres phrases nominales bimembres peuvent apparaître dans le même champ sémantique que celui de la "nuît", tout particulièrement le "jour": à côté des formes adverbialisées dans des syntagmes comprenant un démonstratif (v.irl. *in-diu* à côté de *in-nocht*, au sens "aujourd'hui"), des phrases nominales comprennent le nom du jour accompagné d'un ordinal en fonction, inversement, de sujet, et en fonction de prédicat, une particule du thème \**ne: nudiūs tertius (quartus, etc.)* "c'est maintenant le troisième jour, il y a trois jours", cf. hitt. *nu* ITU 10 KAM "et c'était le dixième mois".<sup>48</sup> Le thème pronominal, ici pourvu d'une valeur temporelle, est celui qui apparaît pour l'expression la plus nue de la prédication copulative dans tokh. A *nas, neñc*, respectivement 3ème p. sg. et 3ème p. plur. du présent indicatif de "être"; et cf. gr. *ἐν*.<sup>49</sup> De la racine du nom du "jour" le grec a *δῆλον* (\**dei-<sup>o</sup>lo-*) en fonction prédicative "(il est) évident (que: *ὅτι*)".

C'est le nom d'action du type *nox* en fonction prédicative qu'est venu remplacer le présent *nekuzzi*. Entre *nekuzzi* et, dans la même langue, *ekuzzi*, il y a deux différences: un dénominatif est créé pour le verbe physique, s'agissant de la "nuît", non pour le verbe corporel, qui serait "être aveugle"; inversement, un dénominatif est créé pour le verbe corporel s'agissant de l'"eau", non pour le verbe physique - et c'est là la seconde différence: le nom de l'"eau", n'apparaît pas en fonction prédicative, peut-être parce qu'il a été remplacé par des impersonnels précisant, au plan lexical, la façon dont "il y a "eau" (*pluit, nuît*, etc.); mais il n'est pas inconcevable en cette fonction, comme le montre p.ex. russ. *moróz* "il gèle"<sup>50</sup>, phrase nominale, ainsi que d'autres emplois, en phrase nominale, de lexèmes relatifs à des phénomènes naturels.

5. D'autres noms relatifs à l'"eau", comme \**h<sub>1</sub>okw-ā*, ont donné des dénominatifs impersonnels appliqués à des phénomènes physiques: ils s'appliquent non plus au "gel" comme r. *moróz* (nom qui, par nature, est impersonnel lui-même), mais à la "pluie", sinon à la "neige", dont la formation est au contraire déverbative. L'un est lié étymologiquement à un nom de l'"eau", l'autre à une racine "se déverser (diathèse interne intransitive), verser (diathèse factitive)".

5.1. A côté de \**h<sub>1</sub>okw-* ont existé en effet d'autres noms de l'"eau": \**h<sub>2</sub>ebh-*, à vrai dire spécialisé pour le "fleuve", lat. *amnis*, gall. *afon* "rivière" (*Avon*), v.britt. *Abona, Abos* (nom de l'estuaire du Humber dans la Géographie de Ptolémée), peut-être hitt. *hapa-*, si avec son -o- ce nom était à distinguer de la forme à gémée *happa-*.<sup>51</sup> Ce dernier appartient à \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-*, représenté dans un nom-racine à alternance entre longue des cas directs et brève des cas obliques (skr. *āp-aḥ* nominatif pluriel / *ap-āḥ* génitif singulier), d'où (parallèlement à \**h<sub>1</sub>okw-yā* à côté de \**h<sub>1</sub>okw-ā*) a été tiré un dérivé en \*-yā (et \*-yo-); celui-ci peut survivre dans l'onomastique de domaines d'où

l'appellatif a disparu: (ἡ) Ἀπία (γῆ), dit du Péloponnèse; Μεσσηπία "Entraygues" (nom ancien de la Calabre; nom d'une ville de Messapie; nom ancien de la Béotie, St. Byz.), Μεσσηπιοί nom d'un peuple de Locride; Μέσσηπον (ὄρος), nom de montagne en Béotie et Pannonie; Μέσσηπος, nom d'un héros éponyme, fils de Neptune (dieu des eaux!), roi d'Etrurie, Vg.; et cf. les noms de fleuves comme h.all. *Asc-alfa*. Là où \**k<sup>w</sup>* > *p*, ce \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-* pourrait se confondre avec \**h<sub>1</sub>°k<sup>w</sup>*-, sauf dans le cas où il a la longue (des cas forts) *ā*, en regard du *ē* (d'une forme à redoublement) de ce dernier (Esch., *Suppl.* 260, etc., pour Ἀπία; Vg., *En.* 7,691, pour *Messāpus*, etc.); et cf. Ἀπῦλια, dérivé du type *edūlis* en \*-*h<sub>2</sub>-* + *-li*-<sup>52</sup> "celle aux eaux" (cf. *Abella*, note 37); osq. AAPA- (avec AA = *ā*),<sup>53</sup> dérivé en \*-*ā* du nom racine (du type *aqu-a*). Ni \**h<sub>2</sub>ebh-* ni \**h<sub>2</sub>ep-* n'ont donné de présent, au contraire de \**h<sub>1</sub>°k<sup>w</sup>*- au sens corporel de "boire", et d'une forme de sens physique apparentée à un quatrième nom de l'"eau".

5.2. Sous sa forme la mieux connue, celui-ci est représenté par des formes d'un radical \**wed-* (v.sl. *voda*; nom de ville mac. *Edessa* < \**wed-nt-ya* ou \**wed-ent-ya*, hitt. *watar*, *wetas*, / *ud-* (ombr. UTUR, abl. UNE, gr. ὕδωρ, ὕδατος; etc.).<sup>54</sup>

5.2.1. Ce radical vient d'une forme élargie \**h<sub>1</sub>w-ed-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>eu-*, comme le montrent d'une part le présent à nasale infixée skr. *unātti* / *undānti* (d'où le nom déverbatif lat. *unda*) "arroser" refait avec suffixalisation de l'infixe en *udanyāti*, de même sens, cf. ὕδαίνω (formes qui se confondent avec ce qui serait le dénominateur du neutre hétéroclitique en \*-*n-*); d'autre part l'existence de formes apparentées: \**h<sub>1</sub>°w-* sans élargissement, et, élargies, non seulement \**h<sub>1</sub>u-d-* / \**h<sub>1</sub>w-ed-*, mais \**h<sub>1</sub>u-r-* et \**h<sub>1</sub>w-er-* (forme qui se confond avec un neutre hétéroclitique en \*-*r-*, mais dans le \*-*r-* de laquelle on verra un élargissement, en raison de l'existence d'un \*(*h<sub>1</sub>)w-r-s-*). Les traitements phonétiques diffèrent pour les formes dépourvues ou munies d'un élargissement.

5.2.2. Non élargie, \**h<sub>1</sub>u-* au degré zéro n'offrirait de centre syllabique que devant consonne; par ses attestations, en -*w-* devant voyelle, la forme offre le même traitement avec anaptyxe que \**h<sub>1</sub>°k<sup>w</sup>*- : \**h<sub>1</sub>°w-*, dans la seule forme qu'on en ait, en participe athématique (embryon de dénominateur), qui subsiste dans lett. *avūōts* (\**h<sub>1</sub>°w-ont-*os) "source", et des noms propres de source (*Aventicum* > fr. *Avenches*) ou de fleuves, en Occident (*Auens* en Sabine; *Auentia* en Etrurie; avec le traitement celtique *an* de \**n*, *Avantia* > fr. *Avance*, *La Vence*, \**Avantisā* > gall. *Ewenni*; ou encore v.lit. *Avanta*), toutes formes de sens "faisant eau".

5.2.3. Les formes élargies présentent au contraire un centre vocalique: soit le -*e-* de l'élargissement au thème II, \**h<sub>1</sub>w-ed-* (sans trace de la prothèse à ma connaissance), \**h<sub>1</sub>w-er-* (avec prothèse \**h<sub>1</sub>°w-er-* dans des formes grecques du nom de la "rosée", ci dessous, parallèlement à \**h<sub>2</sub>°n-er-* > ἀνῆρ); soit le \*-*u-* du radical devant *d*, *r*,



au double degré zéro  $*h_1u-d-$ ,  $*h_1-u-r-$ , avec une métathèse attendue, et qu'offrent lat. *ūrīna* <  $*h_1ur-$  >  $*uh_1r-$  > *ūr-*, et probablement lat. *sūdus* "sec", privatif à premier membre  $*se-$  ou  $*so-$  et à second membre  $*h_1u-d-o-$ , dont on ne peut démontrer cependant qu'il soit passé phonétiquement à  $*uh_1d-o-$  ( $*se-/so- + h_1ud-o- > *sē-/sō-udo-$  et  $*se/so-ūdo-$  donneraient la même chose).

La forme  $*h_1w-er-$  a donné une vaste famille sémantique qui comprend des noms de l'"eau" (tokh. A *wār*, B *war*) spécialisée pour la "pluie" (skr. *vār-*, av. *vār-*), de la "rosée" (ἔρση, ἑῆρση<sup>55</sup>), de l'animal reproducteur dont la semence est assimilée à la "pluie" (skr. *vṛṣan-*), et par une autre homologation corporelle, de l'"urine", lat. *ūrīna*, et sur forme sigmatique gr. οὐρέω <  $*Fopρέω$ . Ce dernier a la forme d'un dénominatif du thème en  $*-o-$  attesté par skr. *varṣā-* "pluie"; si celui-ci est un dérivé primaire  $*wors-o-$ , il se peut que skr. *vārṣati* "il pleut" en soit un dénominatif thématique sans suffixe. C'est en tout cas un dénominatif radical thématique qu'offre le présent avestique qui a la longue des cas forts du nom-racine (asigmatique) *vār-* (élargi par  $-i-$  dans skr. *vāri-* "eau, pluie", v.isl. *vári*, et avec la brève des cas faibles *vari* "liquide, eau"; et cf. en  $-o-$  *Vārus*, nom de fleuve en Ligurie);  $*vāraitī$ , attesté seulement à la 3ème p. plur. "ils font pleuvoir", littéralement "ils (= on) font eau" : *vārantaē(ča)* moyen, Yt. 5.120, *vāranti* actif, V. 8.456. La formation de ce dénominatif est la même que celle de l'ouv. (3ème sg. prêt.) *akuwatta*, au sens "boire" à côté de hitt. *ekuzzi*, avec le degré zéro de  $*aqua$  ( $*h_1^o k^w-e-to$ ), et que celle de verbes "pleuvoir" comme non seulement skr. *vārṣati* dans l'hypothèse proposée, mais aussi gr. ὕει, etc., peut-être lié à hitt. *heu-*.

5.3. Un autre nom de la "pluie" est hitt. *heu-*, d'origine controversée<sup>57</sup>. Nous l'apparenterons à une racine "verser", qui a pu par ailleurs donner le nom de la "neige" qui "se déverse" comme la "pluie". La racine (homophone de la racine  $*sh_2-$  "lier" de skr. *syāti*, etc.<sup>58</sup>, en reconstruction, mais qui en a été distinguée dans les divers états de langue par des formations, voire des traitements phonétiques différents), est celle de skr. *siñcāti*, av. *hinčaiti*, susceptibles de deux interprétations: par  $*sh_2-n-k-$ , ( $*s^o h_2-n-k-$ ) avec un  $-n-$  infixé à la forme sans élargissement; ou par  $*sh_2-i-n-k-$ , avec un  $-n-$  suffixé à une forme élargie  $*sh_2-i-$ , et infixé entre les deux élargissements; la première explication est plus vraisemblable; mais  $*sh_2-n-i-$ ... et  $*sh_2-i-n-$ ... existent tous deux, le premier dans le nom de la "neige", le second dans un impersonnel hittite de sens "il pleut", à côté d'un nom-racine peut-être apparenté à l'impersonnel gr. ὕω.

Avec un autre élargissement guttural, le nom de la "neige"<sup>59</sup>,  $*sh_2-n-g^wh-$  (lat. *nix*, gr. νίξ-α), apparemment nom-racine, se dénonce, dans cette interprétation étymologique, comme un déverbatif d'un présent infixé (de même que *unda*); au double degré zéro (comme *iungō*) v.irl. *snigid*, au thème II  $*sh_2-n-ei-g^wh-$  lat. *niuit*, gr. νεῖφω, avec apparemment le vocalisme  $-e-$  d'un présent thématique, tandis

qu'est recréé un présent infixé, lat. *ninguit*, lit. *sniŋga* (-n- étant un morphème de présent de diathèse dynamique).

C'est à une forme *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-u-* (à côté de *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-i-*), d'où, entre autres, "filtrer, presser" dans skr. *sunōti*<sup>60</sup>, qu'est apparenté gr. ὕω, avec les formes qui lui sont reliées alb. *shi* "pluie" (de *\*sū-*), tokh. B 3ème sg. (d'un présent en *\*-ā-*) *suwam*, etc. Le radical en est *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-u-*; et ὕω peut être un dénominatif thématique (comme av. *\*vāraiti*) d'un nom-racine *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-u-* (la formation dénomminative étant marquée comme telle plus nettement dans le verbe koutchéen). Ce nom-racine peut être représenté par hitt. *heu-* "pluie": d'un degré plein de *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-eu-* (thème II), on attendrait *\*hau-*; *heu-* peut avoir été bâti en hittite même sur *\*(s)hu-*, avec un degré plein d'origine morphologique. Tandis que la forme vivante pour "il pleut" est *hinikta* < *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-i-n-ek-*<sup>61</sup>, présent infixé de formation identique ou apparentée à celle de *siŋcāti* (au thème II), le nom racine a donné un dénominatif thématique, *hew-e-zzi*, KUB XXXIV 16 III 16<sup>62</sup>.

5.4. Employé pour le phénomène physique de la "pluie" (et du "soleil": §5.8.3), *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-u-* l'est aussi dans des noms indo-iraniens et occidentaux pour des corps qui, comme la "pluie" ou la "neige", "se déversent naturellement"<sup>63</sup>: fleuves (gaul. *Sava*); plantes ou animaux dont "se déversent" le suc, la sève, la graisse, le lait, les excréments, sans parler de la "sueur" (§5.8.1) ni de l'enfantement mammifère (§5.8.2): skr. *sōma-*, av. *haoma-*, plante (hallucinogène) dont le "suc" est "pressé" (cf. *sunōti*) pour le sacrifice (d'où skr. *sūrā-*, nom de liquide enivrant); lat. *sūcus*, "suc" d'une plante, *sūcida lāna*, "laine qui se déverse, suinte de graisse"; lit. *sulā* "sève qui coule", et nom de fleuve; v.irl. *suth* "sève, lait", v.pr. *sulo* "l'it qui s'écoule"; v.h.a. *sullen* "sich im Kot wälzen"; westphal. *sot* "ordure", v.angl. *sylian*, *besūtian* "salir", qui peuvent être des dénominatifs. À côté de ces intransitifs, les noms peuvent être de diathèse active (lat. *sūmen* "bout de sein", "qui verse", *\*seu-g-s-men* selon Ernout-Meillet, ou, mieux *\*sūmen* de degré zéro *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-u-* > *\*suh<sub>2</sub>-* > *sū-*, ou de thème II comme skr. *sōma*, *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-eu-mā*), et passive, comme il est normal en regard d'un actif transitif ("versé", ainsi de la "soupe", d'origine germanique en français, v.h.a. *sūf*, *sūfan*, et qui a un correspondant dans skr. *sūpa-*).

5.5. Les présents sont tous transitifs, qu'il s'agisse de hitt. *suw-a-* et *sunna-* "remplir" > "verser", avec un aspect déterminé, ou des factitifs "faire se verser dans", "immerger" (hitt. *sūniya-*), "faire se déverser", av. *hun-*, skr. *sunu-* "presser", centrifuge, et, centripète, "sucrer" dans les formes occidentales du type *sūgō* (§5.6). Parmi les présents en nasale, hitt. *sunna-* (en *-hi*) est du type *iungō* (avec élargissement occlusif), *linō* (avec élargissement en *\*-h<sub>2</sub>-*): c'est un présent thématique infixé sur double degré zéro (*\*su-n-h<sub>2</sub>-e-*, avec *\*-nh<sub>2</sub>-* > *-nn-*, cf. *\*yu-n-g-e-* et *\*li-n-h<sub>2</sub>-e-*), bâti en dernière analyse sur une forme fléchie (comme les formes redoublées: §1.2.2.), comme p.ex., de *\*h<sub>1</sub>r-* "se mettre debout, en mouvement", skr. *f-ṇ-v-* é en

regard de lat. *ruō* "ruiner, renverser", qui conserve la forme la plus ancienne avec une diathèse nouvelle, factitive: à côté de *sunna-*, le présent de forme plus ancienne est *suw-a-* (\**sh<sub>2</sub>-u-* > *suh<sub>2</sub>-* > *suw-* devant voyelle, ici la voyelle thématique); parmi les autres présents à nasale, en regard de lat. *liniō* (\**li-n-h<sub>2</sub>-* + *-yo-*), hitt. *sūniya-* a un infixe suffixalisé, et une recaractérisation de présent en \**-yo-* (\**suh<sub>2</sub>-n-o-yo-*, avec \**-uh<sub>2</sub>-* après métathèse > *-ū-*); l'av. *hunyat*, 3ème sg. opt., offre la même suffixalisation (mais avec un traitement \**s(h<sub>2</sub>)-u-* > \**su-* > *hu-*, cf. *huta-*); l'infixe suffixalisé est remplacé par le suffixe causatif *-nu-* dans skr. *sunu-*, *suno*; pour *sūte* et *suvāti*, §5.8.3.

5.6. Parmi les noms cités, certains reposent sur des formes de \**sh<sub>2</sub>-u-* élargies par \**-d-* (westph. *sot*, etc.), en \**-p-* (skr. *sūpa-*, etc.), ou apparemment en *-l-* (lit. *sulà*, etc.); mais il est probable que ces dernières sont des dérivés en \**-l-* de la forme élargie.

Notable est le nombre des élargissements en gutturales, et leur localisation en indo-européen occidental (ainsi qu'en grec, pour \**-k<sup>w</sup>-*), en regard du \**-k-* de skr. *siñcāti*, et du \**-g<sup>w</sup>h-* spécialisé pour la "neige": à côté du \**sh<sub>2</sub>-i-g<sup>w</sup>h-* (\**sh<sub>2</sub>-n-i-g<sup>w</sup>h-*) de celui-ci, et du \**sh<sub>2</sub>-k-* (\**sh<sub>2</sub>-n-k-*) de celui-là, on trouve:

\**sh<sub>2</sub>-u-g-* à l'extrême Ouest (lat. *sūgō*, v.irl. *sūgim*, apparenté ou emprunté);

\**sh<sub>2</sub>-u-k-* d'extension plus grande en Occident: lat. *sūcus* (\**sh<sub>2</sub>-ou-k-o-*, plus probablement que \**sh<sub>2</sub>-u-k-o-* > \**suh<sub>2</sub>-k-o-*); germ., e.g. v.h.a. *sūgan*, v.isl. *sūga*; v. sl. *sūsati*, "sucer";

\**sh<sub>2</sub>-u-g<sup>w</sup>-* dans v.pr. *suge* "pluie", réfection du vieux nom-racine:

\**sh<sub>2</sub>-u-k<sup>w</sup>-* est représenté en balte: lett. *sūkti* "sucer" dit de sangsues (cf. lat. *sanguisuga*), lit. *suñkti* (à infixe) "faire s'écouler, suinter"; lit. *svekas* (\**sh<sub>2</sub>-w-ek<sup>w</sup>-o-*), lett. *svaka* (\**sh<sub>2</sub>-w-ok<sup>w</sup>-o-*) "résine", lett. *svaki* "lait avant la naissance".

Phonétiquement, le centre syllabique de ces formes est fourni ou par \**-u-* au double degré zéro, avec soit métathèse (type lat. *sūgō*), par un traitement préventif à l'amuïssement de \**h<sub>2</sub>*, soit cet amuïssement (type lett. *sūkti*), ou par le *-e-* de l'élargissement au thème II, avec amuïssement de \**h<sub>2</sub>* (type lit. *svekas*). Cet amuïssement se produit, d'autre part, dans la forme sans \**-u-* \**sh<sub>2</sub>-ek<sup>w</sup>-* du balte (lit. plur. *sakaī*, v.pr. *sackis* "sève"), du slave (v.sl. *sokū* "suc"), du grec, dans l'appellatif ὄπος "suc" et ses dérivés (le plus souvent à psilose), comme ὄμων, nom de l'"opium", dont la parenté avec *sóma-* montre que l'usage des hallucinogènes était connu des Indo-Européens, et dans l'onomastique, toponymique notamment: nom de fleuve Ὀποῦς; ethnique, en particulier I.G. IX/1, 334,39, Ὀποντιῶν, avec aspirée; patrie de Patrocle, ville Ὀπόρις (Il. 2,531, etc.), Ὀποῦς (Thc., 2,32) < \**sh<sub>2</sub>-ok<sup>w</sup>-* + *-o-went-*, (*-wont-*), littéralement "pourvu de déversement", ce qui convient bien à cette ville de Locride, située près de l'*Euripe* "au courant violent".

5.7. Voici quelques formes (en traduction) qui illustrent le jeu des diathèses de la racine pandialectale *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-u-* "se déverser naturellement" (avec ses formes élargies):

intransitif		transitif		factitif	
		"faire se (dè)verser			
"qui se déverse"		"verser",	"remplir"	"immerger"	"presser" "sucrer"
physique	corporel	-"qui verse"			
pluie,	suc, sève,	lat. <i>sūmen</i>	hitt. <i>suwa-</i> ,	hitt.	skr. <i>sunu-</i> lat. <i>sūgō</i>
neige,	lait qui		<i>sunna-</i>	<i>sūniya-</i>	v.h.a. <i>sūgan</i> ,
fleuves:	s'écoule,	-"versé";			
gaul. <i>Sava</i> ,	laine qui	"soupe"			
lit. <i>Sulā</i>	suinte,				
	soma,				
	opium				

5.8. On proposera d'ajouter à cette famille de mots trois séries de formes.

5.8.1. D'une part, des "déversements naturels" fait partie la "sueur", dont le nom, *\*swid-* (ἰδρώς), *\*swoido-* (skr. *svēdaḥ*, etc.), peut venir de la contamination de *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-u-* et *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-i-*, avec de plus *\*-d-* (cf. v. angl. *besūtian*, etc.): la forme serait du type de *\*h<sub>2</sub>w-ei-d-* "voir" en regard de *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-* (*\*h<sub>2</sub>* indirectement attestée par skr. *uvé*, avec *uv-* < *\*uh<sub>2</sub>-* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-*, et par la longue de gr. *νηῖδ-* "ignorant" < *\*η-h<sub>2</sub>wid-* et de l'augment du plus-que-parfait *ῆ(F)ῖδ-*); et le rapport sémantique entre le nom de la "sueur" et celui de la "pluie" serait du même ordre qu'entre lat. *ūrīna* et skr. *vār(i)-*, etc.<sup>64</sup>.

5.8.2. D'autre part, on peut songer à rattacher à *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-u-* la racine relative à la mise au monde de skr. *sū-te*, se rapportant au père et à la mère, ainsi qu'à l'enfant, *sū-nū-* "fils" et "fille" (*\*sh<sub>2</sub>-u-* < *\*suh<sub>2</sub>-* > *\*sū-*, avec une métathèse préventive à l'amuïssement qu'offre *\*s(h<sub>2</sub>)-u-* + *\*-yu-*, gr. *υῖός*, etc.): le père "se déverse, déverse sa semence", la mère est "pleine", la progéniture est ce qui est déversé hors des eaux de la mère, d'où l'homonymie qui, dans cette hypothèse, est parenté, entre v.irl. *suth* "lait" et *suth* "portée des animaux, progéniture"; la racine est alors employée pour l'enfantement mammifère.

5.8.3. A cet enfantement correspond l'impulsion cosmique qu'exprime skr. *suvāti* "mettre au jour, créer, imprimer une impulsion"; on acceptera ici le rapprochement de *sū-te*, présent radical athématique moyen (*\*sh<sub>2</sub>-u-* > *\*suh<sub>2</sub>-to-i*) à désinence *\*-to* plus récente que la désinence *\*-e/o* refoulée au rang de structure thématique de skr. *suvāti*, identique morphologiquement à hitt. *suw-a-* "remplir" (thématique: lère plur. *suw-a-weni*) < *\*suh<sub>2</sub>-e/o-*. Les acteurs cosmiques de cette impulsion sont *Savitṛ* dont le nom s'explique par une innovation indienne (*\*seu-h<sub>2</sub>-*, degré plein bâti sur

la forme à métathèse  $*sh_2-$  de  $*sh_2-u-$ ), et le Soleil, auquel Savitṛ est souvent associé, et dont le nom peut aussi venir de  $*sh_2-u-$ , car le Soleil "déverse" ses rayons, et fait naître les êtres, R.V. 7,63,4.c: *nūnām jānaḥ Sūriṇa prāsūtā*. Les diverses formes du nom de l'astre peuvent s'expliquer par  $*sh_2-u-$ :  $*sh_2-u-l-yo-$  dans skr. *sūrya-*, avec une métathèse ( $*suh_2-$ ), qui est un traitement préventif à la disparition de  $*h_2$ :  $*s(h_2)u-$ , notamment dans  $*s(h_2)-w-al-$  (skr. *svār-*), où la forme du suffixe fournit un centre vocalique (cf.  $*h_1w-ed-$ , etc., §5.2.3), et avec formation d'un degré plein dont le caractère relativement récent se dénonce à la succession des degrés pleins et du radical et du suffixe,  $*seh_2-w-el-$  dans gr. ἥλιος; etc.<sup>65</sup>

6. Il est remarquable qu'une même racine se soit appliquée aux principaux phénomènes cosmiques, pluie, neige, soleil, et dans le microcosme à l'enfantement, au lait, à la sève, au suc, au soma, à l'opium, etc. Les rapports linguistiques entre ces phénomènes et ces notions sont du même ordre qu'entre "boire" et l'"eau", conçue comme forme agissante<sup>66</sup> et qui, dans l'Occident a donné le nom d'une divinité, *aegir*, nom d'un géant de la mer<sup>67</sup>, de  $*h_1e-hk^w-$ , à côté du vieux nom-racine conservé à travers lat. *aqua*, got. *aha*.

\*\*\*\*\*

## NOTES

1. Pokorny, 23. Outre lat. *aqua* et les formes en *k-* (sur lesquelles voir note 26), les noms sont essentiellement germaniques (voir p.ex. Feist, 1939, s.u. *ahva*; Darms, 1978, 25-33, qui pose  $*h_2ek^w-$ ; ils reposent soit sur  $*ak^w-a$  (got. *aha*, v. angl. *éa*, etc.), soit sur  $*ak^w-yā$  (*Ska(n)dinavia*; v. isl. *ey* "île"; etc.), soit sur  $*ēk^w-yo-$ , qui sera expliqué ici comme forme redoublée  $*h_1e-hk^w-yo-$  (cf. note 24). Selon Pokorny, le v.irl. *oiche* n'existe pas, et le gall. *aig* "mer" est une formation récente sur *eigion* d'après *oceanus*. Les noms de fleuves celto-germaniques en *-apa* sont rattachés par Feist à  $*ak^w-$ ; mais ils relèvent plutôt de l'autre nom de l'"eau" animé représenté par skr. *áp-*, etc. (à côté du neutre du type ὕδωρ) <  $*h_2ep-$ ; il n'y a pas de lien formel entre les deux animés, malgré certains auteurs (cf. Mayrhofer, EW Aia 1/2,81, s.u. *áp-*); voir §5.1.

2. C'est à partir du syntagme *watar + akuanzi* que Hrozný, 1915 (et cf. 1917, 42-3), eut l'intuition du caractère indo-européen du hittite; Pedersen, 1940,40, y ajouta tokh. AB *yok-*. Sur v.irl. *lind* "boisson" et "eau, étang, mer", Pedersen, 1909,37; et van Windekens, 1967, 234, pour l'origine commune des notions "eau" et "boire (de l'eau)" dans un état de civilisation archaïque. Et voir note 27 pour une bibliographie sommaire relative aux rapports de *aqua* et *ekuzzi*.

3. Cf. Kammenhuber, 1988, 29: *eku-/aku-*, urspr. *eky-/aky-*.

4. Même évolution phonétique de lat. *aqua* à lat. *acua* (trois mores), Lucr. 6, 552: Leumann, 1977, 133.

5. Kammenhuber, 1988, lemmes *eku-/aku-*, p.33; *ep(p)-/ap(p)-*, p.88; *ed-/ad-*, p.138 (où l'on trouvera *es-/as-*).

6. Kammenhuber, *s.u. es-/as-* "être", p.97; pour l'excellent rapprochement de *asanzi* et myc. *eesi*, voir Mayrhofer, 1986, 125.

7. F.B., 1980, 33.

8. F.B., 1976.

9. F.B., 1978a.

10. Ma doctrine sur le verbe indo-européen à laquelle il est fait allusion ici n'a donné lieu qu'à quelques articles (1976, 1978, 1980, cités ci-dessus; 1984, cité note 45; et quelques autres); elle se trouve pour le moment éparse dans des recensions (B.S.L. 1970/2, 105-109; 1973/2, 124-130; 1976/2, 110-112; 1977/2, 109-110; 138-140; 1978/2, 116-120; 167-171; 1979/2, 151; 1980/2, 106-107; 1985/2, 181-184; 1986/2, 129-132) et des rapports de l'Annuaire E.P.H.E. (1970-71, 197-8; 1971-72, 202; 1972-73, 213-221, 1975-76, 883-5; 1977-78, 1005-1020) et du Livret E.P.H.E. (1978-79 à 1980-81, 208-209, 1981-82 et 1982-83, 204).

11. Hitt. *asanda* (présent de "être assis") a une désinence *\*-nto* plus récente, en tant que désinence moyenne, que la plus ancienne désinence de 3ème plur. moyenne, en *\*-r...* (à distinguer de la particule *\*-r(i)* qui, par une innovation archaïque du tokharien, du hittite, du latin, de l'italique, du celtique, est une recaractérisation du moyen consécutive au développement de l'actif); cette désinence apparaît en fonction récessive de prétérit dans hitt. *esir*, 3ème plur., cf. de "aller" hitt. *pair*, lat. *-iēre*.

12. Les désinences moyennes sont: 1ère sg. *\*-h<sub>2</sub>e*, 2ème sg. *\*-th<sub>2</sub>e*, 3ème sg. *\*e/o* refait en *\*-to*; elles sont temporalisées par l'adjonction de particules pronominales, *\*-i* ou *\*-r(i)* (cf. note 11), comme à l'actif du type *\*-t-i*; les homophones *-ta* de 2ème et de 3ème p. hittites valent, respectivement, gr. *-θα* et gr. *-το*.

13. Benveniste, 1949.

14. Hitt. *-ha-*, *-hsa-*, *-sha-*: Kronasser, 1966, 166-167.

15. Wackernagel, 1889; sur skr. *sūnāra-*, *āsat-*, Mayrhofer, 1986, 134.

16. Sur le détail de ces formes, F.B., 1990.

17. Cette racine s'insère bien dans le cadre benvenistien (double degré zéro *\*st-h<sub>2</sub>-*/ thème II *\*st-eh<sub>2</sub>-*), si l'on étudie la chronologie interne des formes verbales: les plus anciennes sont moyennes (donc, à double degré zéro), comme le montre la généralisation de skr. *-th-*, qui ne peut s'expliquer qu'à partir de *\*st-h<sub>2</sub>-* (forme fondamentale de 3<sup>ème</sup> sg. *\*sth<sub>2</sub>-e/o*; tokh. B *ste*; skr. *-stha-*, intégré après une longue histoire au présent radical thématique redouble *\*sti-sth<sub>2</sub>-e + -ti*: skr. *tīṣṭhati*, lat. *sistit*); le thème II est caractéristique de l'actif qui, en emploi temporel, a donné l'aoriste du type *ā-sthā-t*; le développement de la racine n'a pas atteint le thème I *\*set-h<sub>2</sub>-* (qu'on aurait pu attendre dans un présent du type skr. *sé-te*, *śāy-a-te*).

18. Pour *gābhasti-*, Mayrhofer, EWAia I/6, 463-464 (la racine est posée à tort sous forme *ghabh-*).

19. Stang, 1966, 341-349, pour les présents baltiques en *-st-*; Levet, 1975.

20. Benveniste, 1962, 89-95: discussion du rapport entre hitt. *-(a)sti-* et sl. *-osti* (tous deux susceptibles de l'analyse proposée ici par *\*-osti-*); de l'analyse proposée par Meillet du suffixe en *\*-os- + -ti-*; de *gābhasti-*; des dérivés baltiques en *-sti-* (type lit. *varpstis* "fuseau"), *-esti-* (type *édestis* "fourrage"); des dérivés arméniens en *\*-sti-*, attachés à une voyelle de timbre variable (*-est*, *-ust*, *-ist* "sans pouvoir analyser de plus près la constitution du suffixe", p.95); il convient d'ajouter ici le type *caelestis* (qui a reçu des explications diverses: Leumann, 1977, 352), et dont le *-e-* s'explique phonétiquement à partir de *\*caelo-stis*; et, thématique, le suffixe hittite *-sta-* (Kronasser, 1966, 191), cf. en *\*-stā*, *παλᾶστη*, etc.

21. Le premier membre de *kesadoro*, *Kassandra* est un nom d'agent en *\*-ti-* > *\*-ty-* devant voyelle (F.B., 1968); pour le sens de *Kassandra*, F.B., 1989, 61.

22. Voir Mayrhofer, 1986, 134. Syllabations différentes dans *\*sulh<sub>2</sub>-ner-o-* avec *\*h<sub>2</sub>* intérieur s'appuyant sur le *u* précédent, et dans *\*h<sub>2</sub>on-er-* (*h<sub>2</sub>-* initial).

23. F.B., 1988, 180-181.

24. Un certain nombre de noms conservent de vieilles formes

redoublées: e.g. lat. *acer* < \**h<sub>2</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>k-ri-*, cf. sans redoublement, ἄκρις, en fonction de substantif, etc.; \**ausōs* "aurora" (gr. ἠ(φ)ώς, etc.) < \**h<sub>2</sub>e-h<sub>2</sub>us-ōs*, cf. sans redoublement, skr. *usāh* < \**h<sub>2</sub>us-ōs*; etc. Mais Darms, 1978, 29, pose \**h<sub>2</sub>ēkw-*, avec une alternance que je n'accepte pas plus que l'étymologie par \**h<sub>2</sub>*.

25. Pour Ernout-Meillet, s.u. *aqua*, avec raison, *aegir* "avec un ancien ē initial, donne à penser que l'a de lat. *aqua*, got. *ahva* représenterait un i.e. \**ə* (\**ēkw/əkw*)".

26. Formes à \**h<sub>2</sub>* disparu dans skr. *kam* "eau", si ce n'est pas une invention de grammairien (ainsi, Mayrhofer, KEWA, s.u., qui dans le EW Aia, s.u., propose une étymologie par la particule *kam*); dace (nom de plante d'eau κοσδάμα ποταμογείτων (\**(h<sub>2</sub>)k<sup>w</sup>a-dhēmp*); *Kwa*, nom de fleuve donné pour nord-illyrien par Pokorny, 23.

27. Bibliographie des interprétations proposées chez Puhvel, 1984, 269, à compléter p.ex. par celle de Feist, 1939, s.u. *aha*, car Puhvel essaie de donner autant d'importance, dans son paragraphe, aux opposants du rapprochement qu'à ceux qui, à la suite de Hrozný, l'ont adopté; les opposants les plus notables sont Walde-Hofmann, 1938, s.u. *aqua*, Benveniste, 1962, qui sépare de *aqua* les verbes du tokharien et du hittite, en en faisant une isoglosse propre à ces langues (avec raison, d'un certain point de vue, si, comme je le crois ici, ces verbes proviennent d'une innovation), et Puhvel lui-même, qui rapproche hitt. *eku-* de lat. *ēbrius* "ivre". Le rapprochement de *aqua*, *eku-*, *yok-* ne paraît pas invraisemblable à Pokorny, 23.

28. Benveniste, 1962, 96, pense que \**ekw-* (sic, sans fidélité à lui-même pour ce qui est de la structure de la racine) est en distribution complémentaire avec \**pō-* "boire", ce qui est doublement inexact: \**pō-* signifie "boire" (n'importe quoi), \**h<sub>1</sub>ek-* "boire (de l'eau)", et \**pō-* existe en hittite, dans le présent sigmatique *pā-s-* (\**peh<sub>2</sub>-s-*, à côté de \**peh<sub>2</sub>-ōs-* > *pahhas-* "veiller sur", avec traitement de \**h<sub>3</sub>*, moins résistant que \**h<sub>2</sub>*, par chute et allongement compensatoire) au sens de "avalier". Pour l'importance dialectale des formes hittite et tokharienne, Pedersen, 1925, 40.

29. L'autre est *wes-tara-* "pâtre": Benveniste, 1962, 96-101.

30. Puhvel, 1984, 267; la traduction ici proposée implique une correspondance entre le rite hittite et le mythe grec.

31. Puhvel, 266.

32. Puhvel, 266.



33. Puhvel, 25.

34. Cependant, *\*-dhlo-*, proposé par Puhvel en même temps que *\*-tlo-*, est possible pour la forme en dentale.

35. F.B., 1974, 54.

36. Cette analyse permet de rapprocher, avec un autre vocalisme v.sl. *-telji* (pour Vaillant, 1974, 316, ce suffixe proviendrait "d'un développement slave sur une base balto-slave et germanique").

37. A côté du dénominatif en *-talla-* existe une formation bien différent en *-ala-* de même sens ("warder, guard": Puhvel, 1984, 234). Parmi les formation en *\*-lo-*, il faut distinguer deux types: dans l'un, le suffixe est proprement nominal, et sert à former des noms d'agent (type lat. *bibulus*, en *\*-olo-*), avec une forme en *-i-* correspondante (type *habilis*, en *\*-oli-*); dans l'autre, la formation est un thème pronominal (enclitique) suffixalisé; elle sert d'adjectif "déterminé" en quelque sorte, pour reprendre un terme courant en grammaire slave (où le morphème pronominal appartient au thème *\*yo*, et où la flexion est d'un type particulier: Vaillant, 1958, 496-501). Dans l'adjectif déterminé du slave, le morphème pronominal est agglutiné à l'adjectif d'un syntagme nominal, type "le (vin) nouveau", *novoje*, et est rendu en français par l'article *le*, issu d'une forme pronominale, *ille*, qui contient le thème *le* (*\*i-l-ne*, ou *\*i-l-le*). Ailleurs, le thème *\*le* s'agglutine en valeur substantivante soit à un adjectif (type *Nôla*, nom de ville osque "La-neuve"), soit à un substantif en fonction de prédicat de possession (type *Abella* "La-aux pommes, La (ville) aux pommes"); c'est à ce dernier type qu'appartient le nom du "garde" hitt. *auriyala-*, proprement "le à la garde (*auri*)"; pour *Āpūlia*, §5.1.

38. Dérivé en *\*-ri-* de *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-* "briller, voir", ici au sens de "surveiller"; la forme thématisée qu'offrent *auriya-talla-*, *auriya-la-* a un correspondant dans gr. *αὔριον* "demain", mis en rapport avec le nom de l'"aurore" (c.à.d. issu du sens "briller" de la racine); sur *αὔριον*, Chantraine, DELG, s.u.

39. Kronasser, 1966, 173.

40. *Pūṣyati* est un dénominatif de *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-us-*, réfection sigmatique d'un dérivé en *\*-u-* de la racine *\*peh<sub>2</sub>-*, "paître" (dont est tiré le sens "prosperer"), *\*peh<sub>2</sub>-u-* (à côté de *\*poh<sub>2</sub>-u-*; πῶν "troupeau"), élargi par un suffixe en nasale dans skr. *-pāvan-*, gr. πᾶν(F)ων, nom du dieu des troupeaux Pan (πᾶν); *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-u-* refait en *\*ph<sub>2</sub>-us-* a connu deux traitements phonétiques: *\*pūs-* dans le nom (lui-même en nasale) de *Pūśan-*, de même fonction que Pan; *\*pūs-* < *\*puh<sub>2</sub>s-*, par métathèse de

\*-uh<sub>2</sub>- < \*-h<sub>2</sub>u-, métathèse qui est un traitement préventif à l'amuïssement de la laryngale; celui-ci est l'autre traitement, qui apparaît dans *pūšyati*; on peut donc rattacher *Pūšan-* à \*peh<sub>2</sub>-, tout en gardant le rapprochement usuel avec *pūšyati* (Mayrhofer, KEWA II, 326-7). J'examine les deux noms divins plus en détail dans un article à paraître de la R.Ph. (donné en 1989).

41. Pour skr. -kala-, -kara- et les formes apparentées, voir Wackernagel-Debrunner, 1954, 541 (avec bibliographie); formes osco-ombriennes chez Buck, 1928, §249.2; et voir Lejeune, 1972, pour l'ital. \*-tlo-.

42. F.B., 1978b, 34.

43. Analyse favorisée par les formes germaniques qui reposent sur \*ak<sup>w</sup>-yā, \*ēk<sup>w</sup>-yo- (cf. note 1).

44. Watkins, 1969, 30; Schwyzler, 1953, 727 (où l'on trouvera des dénominatifs thématiques).

45. F.B., 1978b, 34.

46. Et cf. le fr. "il flotte" (familier pour "il pleut"), "il neige", "il grêle". La seule marque verbale est dans l'emploi d'un indice flexionnel ("il"), toutes proportions gardées comme le \*-ti- de *nekuzzi*.

47. Watkins, 1965.

48. Watkins, 1963.

49. F.B., 1976, 31-32.

50. Vaillant, 1977, 192; S.Patri (lettre du 18-I-1990) me signale que les constructions de ce type sont très répandues en russe moderne: *xolod* "c'est le froid" (plutôt qu "il fait froid"); *noč* "c'est la nuit"; *teplo* "le temps est doux"; *žarko* "quelle chaleur"; *sneg* "c'est la neige"; il ajoute: "on ne trouve ce type d'énoncé qu'en dialogue (plan d'énonciation du discours), ce qui peut expliquer qu'on ne le trouve pas dans les documents slaves anciens (qui sont tous de type historique)".

51. Watkins, 1972.

52. F.B., 1988, 183.

53. Lejeune, 1976, 553-559.

54. Pokorny, 78-80 (formes très nombreuses: c'est la racine pandialectale, donc la plus ancienne, pour le nom de l'"eau"); lat. *sūdus* "sec" pourrait lui appartenir, si l'on en faisait un privatif \**se-/so-* + \**h<sub>1</sub>u-d-o*.

55. *Ἐέρον* est une forme à anaptyxe (\**h<sub>1</sub>ow-er-*) de timbre refait (comme dans *eesi*, §2.1); timbre attendu dans *ἄερα*, crétois: de même, de \**h<sub>2</sub>er-h<sub>3</sub>-* "labourer", \**h<sub>2</sub>er-h<sub>3</sub>-otro-* "charrue", le crétois a *ἄρατρον* (avec même timbre de l'anaptyxe que v.irl. *arathar*) à côté de *ἄροτρον*.

56. Avec un certain nombre des notions ici examinées, le texte dit (traduction Darmester): "qu'il pleuve, qu'il neige ou qu'il vente, et qu'il fasse obscur, ou que le jour soit à sa fin".

57. Tischler, 1978, 238-240; Neu, 1981; Eichner, 1982 (cf. note 61); Weitenberg, 1984, 29-31; et cf. note 61.

58. Je consacrerai à cette racine une autre étude, dont j'ai donné un résumé dans les Actes, à paraître, du Colloque en mémoire de P.Chantraine (Septembre 1989).

59. Pokorny, 974; Hoffmann, 1965.

60. Etymologie de Chantraine, DELG, s.u., etc.; la racine est celle qui a donné le nom indo-iranien du *sóma* (§5.4).

61. cf. Eichner, 1982, 18: "*hinik-*" (medial) regnen" (- ai. *siñcāti* nach G.R. Hart) < uridg. \*(s)*h<sub>2</sub>-i-né-k-*: ai. Aor. *ásicat* (thématisiert) < uridg. \*(s)*h<sub>2</sub>aik-* [ce qui est inexact: \**s(h<sub>2</sub>)-i-k-*, à degré zéro attendu pour un aoriste radical athématique]; wegen der Abtrennbarkeit des wurzelschliessenden Tektals ... ist darauf hinzuweisen, daß G.R. Harts Entdeckung gleichzeitig ein plausibles Etymon für das bisher schwierige hethit. Wort. *heus* 'Regen' liefert". Au contraire, pour Neu, 1981, 212, "Eine überzeugende Etymologie für das hethit. "Regen"-Wort steht noch immer aus". Parmi les emplois de *heu-*, noter ceux où le nom, pour n'être pas à lui seul un prédicat, est sujet du verbe "être", au singulier (*hé-e-us e-es-ta*, 3ème p. prêt.), ou au pluriel (*hé-e-u-e-es asandu*), au sens "il pleut": Weitenberg 1984, §20, p.29.

62. Les deux racines homophones \**sh*<sub>2</sub>- "lier" et \**sh*<sub>2</sub>- "se déverser naturellement" ont été phonétiquement distinguées en hittite par le traitement de leur initiales, *s*- dans celles-ci (par un traitement \**sh*<sub>2</sub>- < *ss*- connu à l'intérieur et étendu à l'initiale (*s*)*s*- pour éviter l'homonymie?), *ish*- dans celle-là, avec une "prothèse" à l'initiale, comme dans les racines commençant par deux consonnes (type *ispant*- "verser des libations", cf. gr. σπένδ-), en regard du type \**h*<sub>1</sub>*°k*-, \**h*<sub>1</sub>*°s*- > *ak*-, *as*-.

63. Par cette traduction, je distingue \**sh*<sub>2</sub>- qui s'applique à l'émission de toute sortes de phénomènes physiques (y compris le soleil: §5.8.3) et de sécrétions corporelles, et \**leh*<sub>2</sub>-*u*- (F.B., 1987a), propre à la seule eau, avec aussi des emplois de verbe physique (mer, fleuve, source qui "se déversent, coulent" parfois de manière à inonder) et de verbe corporel en diathèse factitive; "faire se déverser, vider" (des récipients; "déverser, verser des liquides (pour se laver)". La finesse de la distinction sémantique qui oppose ainsi les deux racines "se déverser" a des correspondants ailleurs: \**ter*-*h*<sub>2</sub>- "traverser en perçant"/ \**per*- "traverser en franchissant"; \**pei*-*k*- "être pointu et s'enfoncer"/ \**h*<sub>2</sub>*ek*- "être pointu et ressortir" (F.B., 1987b).

64. Pour l'homologation entre l'eau et les liquides naturels, Lincoln, 1986, particulièrement 17 et 38-39 (pour la sueur et la mer), 17 (pour l'urine).

65. Contre le rapprochement de *sūte* et *suvāti*, cf. Mayrhofer, KEWA III 489 (avec bibliographie); discussion du rapprochement de skr. *suvāti* et de hitt. *suwa*- chez Oettinger, 1979, 297-298. J'ai regroupé ici les lemmes suivants de Pokorny: *seu*- 1. "Saft, Feuchtes", 912-3; *seu*- 2. "gebären", 913-4; *seu*- 3., 914, compris comme "biegen, drehen, antreiben", avec des formes de sens "tourner", celt. *sō*-, et \**seu*-*k*-, que je n'apparente pas aux formes ici étudiées; *s(ū)ek*<sup>w</sup>*os* "pflanzlicher Saft; Harz", 1044-45; *sāuel*- "Sonne", 881-2; faute de place, je n'ai pas discuté *syel*- "schwelen, brennen", 1045, de skr. *svāratī*, etc., qui peut être un dénominatif thématique du type ici étudié. Pour le détail des formes, je renvoie aux dictionnaires étymologiques d'usage.

66. Meillet, 1921, 218; Watkins, 1972, 45-46.

67. Le manque de place m'oblige à rester, avec *aegir*, au seuil de la religion germanique, à laquelle le dédicataire de cette étude a consacré tant de travaux. Mais E.C. Polomé est aussi linguiste; et j'ai axé mes discussions sur deux des problèmes auxquels il s'est intéressé (cf. Bibliographie II). *Aegir* est un nom de divinité qui tire

son nom de la force naturelle qu'il incarne, comme *Sūrya-* et son double *Savitṛet* d'autres, p.ex. les dieux du ciel solaire (\**dy-eu-*) et du ciel d'orage (louv. *Tarhunt-*, gaul. *Taranis*, de \**tṛ-h₂-*, skr. *Parjanya-*, de \**per-g-*; gr. *Képaυvoς* de \**ker-h₂-*); d'autres divinités portent un nom qui ne remonte pas plus haut que la néolithisation, ainsi *Pūšan-* et *Pān*, de \**peh₂-* "paître" (cf. note 40); ou skr. *Aśvinā*, duel elliptique, pour les divinités qui ont rapport aux dernières en date des espèces domestiquées, boeuf et cheval, et patronnent pour cette raison la troisième fonction dumézilienne; etc. Pour des noms de divinités naturalistes, voir en dernier lieu Polomé, 1989, 57.

### Bibliographie

#### I Auteurs autres que E.C. Polomé

Bader, Françoise

1968 : Ortiloque et Orsiloque. REG 81, XVII-XIX

1974 : Suffixes grecs en -m-: recherches comparatives sur l'hétéroclisie nominal: Genève (Droz) - Paris (Minard et Champion)

1976 : Le présent du verbe "être" en indo-européen. BSL 71, 27-111.

1978a : Flexions d'aoristes sigmatiques, in: Etrennes de Septantaine. Travaux de linguistique et de grammaire comparée offerts à Michel Lejeune. Paris: Klincksieck, 29-44

1978b : Latin *Fatuus*, *fatuclus*, in: Jean Collart (& al.). Varron. Grammaire antique et stylistique latine. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 31-41

1980 : Présents moyens hittites à vocalisme -e-, et formations de présents indo-européens, in: Recherches de linguistique, Hommages à Maurice Leroy. Bruxelles: éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 21-40

1984 : Autour de Polyphème le Cyclope à l'oeil brillant: diathèse et vision. Die Sprache 30/2, 109-137

1987a : Autour de myc. *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo*: la racine \**leh₃-u-* "se déverser", in *Tractata Mycenaea*. Proceedings of the Eighth International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies, held in Ohrid ... 1985, P.H. Ilievski & L. Crepajac, edd. Skopje, 29-40

1987b : La racine de ΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ, ΠΙΚΡΟΣ, in: Studies in Mycenaean and Classical Greek presented to John Chadwick = *Minos* XX-XXII, 41-60

1988 : Génitifs-adjectifs et dérivés d'appartenance d'origine pronominale. HS ZVS) 101, 171-210

1989 : La langue des dieux ou l'hermétisme des poètes indo-européens. Pise: Giardini

1990a : Traitements intérieurs de laryngales, in: Actes du Colloque de Liège sur la reconstruction phonologique de l'indo-européen

- 1990b : Liage, peausserie et Poètes-Chanteurs, in: Actes du Colloque P. Chantraine de Grenoble
- 1990c : Pan. R. Ph.
- BENVENISTE, Emile  
 1949 : Sur quelques développements du parfait indo-européen. I. Sur la formation du parfait radical en latin. *Archivum linguisticum* 1, 16-19.  
 1962 : Hittite et Indo-européen. *Etudes comparatives*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve
- BUCK, Carl Darling  
 1928 : *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*. Boston: Ginn & Co. (réimpr. 1974: Hildesheim - New York: Georg Olms)
- CHANTRAINE, Pierre  
 1968-1980 : *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*. Paris: Klincksieck
- DE VRIES, Jan  
 1956 : *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*<sup>2</sup> I. Berlin: W. de Gruyter
- DARMS, Georges  
 1978 : Schwaher und Schwager, Hahn und Huhn. Die Vṛddhi-Ableitung im Germanischen. Munich: Kitzinger
- EICHNER, Heiner  
 1982 : Zur hethitischen Etymologie, in: *Investigationes philologicae et comparativae. Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser*, hg. von E. Neu. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 16-28
- ERNOUT, Alfred - MEILLET, Antoine  
 1959 : *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*<sup>4</sup>. Paris: Klincksieck
- FEIST, Sigmund  
 1939 : *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*. Leiden: Brill
- FRIEDRICH, Johannes † - KAMMENHUBER, Annelies  
 1988 : *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte. II 9/10*. Heidelberg: Winter
- HOFFMANN, Karl  
 1965 : Idg. \*sneigh. *MSS* 18, 13-28 (= Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik 2). Wiesbaden: Reichert, 442-454
- HROZNY, Friedrich  
 1915 : Die Lösung des hethitischen Problems, *MDOG* 56, 17-50
- KAMMENHUBER : voir FRIEDRICH-KAMMENHUBER

KRONASSER, Heinz

1956: *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache I*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

LEJEUNE, Michel

1972: Les dérivés italiens en \*-t/o-. RPh 46, 185-191

1976: Noms osco-ombriens des eaux, des sources et des fontaines. *Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon*. Ecole française de Rome. Palais Farnèse, 551-571

LEUMANN, Manu

1977: *Lateinische Grammatik. I. Laut- und Formenlehre*. Munich: Beck

LEVET, Jean-Pierre

1975: Les présents en \*-st- de l'indo-européen: les données tokhariennes. BSL 70, 91-114

LINCOLN, Bruce

1986: *Myth, Cosmos, and Society. Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction*. Cambridge, Mass. & Londres: Harvard University Press

MAYRHOFER, Manfred

1956-1980: *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. Heidelberg: Winter

1986-1989 (en cours de parution): *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. Heidelberg: Winter

1986: *Indogermanische Grammatik I/2: Lautlehre [Segmentale Phonologie des Indogermanischen]*. Heidelberg: Winter

MEILLET, Antoine

1921: *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale I*. Paris: Champion

NEU, Erich

1981: Noch einmal hethitisch *heu-* "Regen", in *Bono homini donum. Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns*, ed. by Y.L. Arbeitman & A.R. Bomhard. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins. I 203-212

OETTINGER, Norbert

1979: *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums*. Nuremberg: H. Carl

PEDERSEN, Holger

1909: *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen. I*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

1925: *Le groupement des dialectes indo-européens*. Copenhague: B. Luno

POKORNY, Julius

1959: *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Berne & Munich: Francke

PUHVEL, Jaan

- 1984: *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Vol. 1: Words beginning with A. Vol. 2: Words beginning with E and I. Berlin - New York - Amsterdam: Mouton

SCHWYZER, Eduard

- 1959: *Griechische Grammatik*<sup>3</sup> I. Munich: Beck

STANG, Christian. S.

- 1966: *Vergleichende Grammatik der Baltischen Sprachen*. Oslo - Bergen - Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget

TISCHLER, Johann

- 1978: *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. Mit Beiträgen von Gunter Neumann, Lief. 2. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft

VAILLANT, André

- 1958: *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves*. II/2. Flexion pronominale. Lyon - Paris: IAC

- 1974: *ibid.* IV. La formation des noms. Paris: Klincksieck

- 1977: *ibid.* V. La syntaxe. Paris: Klincksieck

VAN WINDEKENS, A.J.

- 1967: *Notes sémantiques*. I. Les notions "eau" et "boire". *Orbis* 16, 234

WACKERNAGEL, Jacob

- 1889: *Das Dehnungsgesetz der griechischen Komposita*. Programm zur Rektoratsfeier der Universität Basel, 1-65 = *Kleine Schriften*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (1969) II 897-961

WACKERNAGEL, Jacob - DEBRUNNER, Albert

- 1954: *Altindische Grammatik*. II/2. Die Nominalsuffixe. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

WALDE, Alois - HOFMANN, Jacob B.

- 1938: *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. I (A-L). Heidelberg: Winter

WATKINS, Calvert

- 1963: Preliminaries to a historical and comparative analysis of the syntax of the Old Irish verb. *Celtica* 6, 1-49

- 1965: Lat. *nox* "by night": a problem in syntactic reconstruction, in: *Symbolae linguisticae in honorem Georgii Kurylowicz*. Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków, 351-358

- 1972: Une désignation indo-européenne de l'eau. *BSL* 67, 39-46

WEITENBERG, Joseph Johannes Sicco

- 1984: *Die hethitischen u-Stämme*. Amsterdam: Rodopi



## II Articles de Edgar C. POLOMÉ

- 1950a : Laryngaaltheorie en Germaanse Verscherping. Handelingen van de Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis 4, 61-75
- 1950b : Réflexes de laryngales en arménien. Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves 10 (Mélanges Henri Grégoire 2), 539-569
- 1952a : Zum heutigen Stand der Laryngaltheorie. RBPh 30, 444-471; 1041-1050
- 1952b : On the origin of Hittite *ḫ*. Language 28, 444-446
- 1953 : Réflexes de laryngales en arménien: notes complémentaires. Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves 8, 669-671
- 1959 : Théorie laryngale et germanique. Mélanges de linguistique et de Philologie. Fernand Mossé in memoriam (Paris: Didier), 397-402
- 1964 : Diachronic development of structural patterns in the Germanic conjugation system. Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists (La Haye: Mouton), 870-880
- 1965 : The laryngeal theory so far: A critical bibliographical study, in: Evidence for Laryngeals, W. Winter ed. (La Haye: Mouton), 9-78
- 1981 : Indo-European Verb Morphology. An outline of some recent views with special regard to Old Indic, in: Ludwig Sternbach Felicitation Volume (Lucknow, Inde: Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad), 851-861 = International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics 9.1: 158-169
- 1989 : Essays on Germanic Religion (= J.I.E.S. Monograph 6). Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man

## SUR LA CONSTRUCTION D'ÁSGARÐR

Régis Boyer

L'ennui, dans l'étude des mythes et légendes de la Scandinavie ancienne - et derrière eux, sans doute, en général, de l'antique Germanie - tient, comme on le sait, à leur "impureté" et/ou à l'ignorance à peu près totale où nous sommes, d'ordinaire, de leur genèse et de leur évolution. Le Nord, est venu tard à l'écriture, deux siècles au moins après la christianisation qui eut lieu, dans l'ensemble, autour de l'an mille, et les documents dont nous sommes contraints de nous servir pour essayer de connaître sa religion païenne (eddas, poèmes scaldiques, sagas de toutes catégories, notamment celles dites "légendaires", *fornaldarsögur*) ou bien nous livrent, comme à leur insu, des éléments qui n'étaient probablement pas plus clairs pour leurs rédacteurs que pour nous (c'est le cas de la *Brymskviða*, dans l'*Edda poétique*, dont on s'accorde pour dire qu'elle fut réécrite aux XIIe ou XIIIe siècles, peut-être par le rédacteur de la version connue du Codex Regius, ou à la rigueur par celui de l'original dont elle s'inspire, voire par Snorri Sturluson en personne), ou bien témoignent d'un souci de réécriture et d'organisation cohérente, visiblement sur des modèles (images, schèmes narratifs, personnages, détail des péripéties) bibliques ou classiques que connaissaient parfaitement les clercs (toujours des clercs, soit stricto sensu, soit parce qu'ils avaient reçu, puisqu'il n'en existait pas d'autre, une instruction de type clérical) responsables de l'état définitif de nos sources: qu'il soit conté par Snorri Sturluson dans son *Edda*, par Saxo Grammaticus dans ses *Gesta Danorum*, ou évoqué par tel poème eddique comme la *Völuspá*, l'épisode de la mort de Baldr est trop lourd de réminiscences proche-orientales ou bibliques pour que nous le prenions sans examen dans sa version scandinave. L'indispensable travail du chercheur actuel est, avant tout, de découvrir la ou les grilles de lecture que, consciemment ou non, les auteurs de nos sources ont appliquées à la réalité qu'ils nous présentent, et donc, à supposer que cette grille ait été correctement identifiée, à déterminer son mode d'application, à l'époque pour dégager enfin le grain des choses de la paille des mots. Pour ne prendre qu'un exemple bien connu, lorsque le diplomate arabe Ibn Fadlân nous dépeint les rites funéraires d'un chef "rûs", sur les bords de la Volga, en 922<sup>1</sup>, il paraît évident qu'il projette en partie sur ce

---

<sup>1</sup> Texte dans Ibn Fadlân: *Voyage chez les Bulgares de la Volga*, traduit de l'arabe et présenté par Marius Canard, Paris, Sindbad, 1988, pp. 77-84. Également, avec commentaires - mais la traduction est faite sur le texte anglais procuré par Brøndsted, - dans R. Boyer: *Les Religions de l'Europe du Nord*, Paris, Fayard, 1974, pp. 49-52.

qu'il rapporte ses propres conceptions de la mort et de l'"au-delà" ("le paradis"), ce qui ne signifie pas que l'ensemble des scènes qu'il relate et, surtout, certains détails qu'il n'entend évidemment pas (cette sacrificatrice qu'il appelle "l'ange de la mort" et qui répond si bien à la *daudafylgja* de certaines autres de nos sources) ne soient pas authentiques. Nous sommes donc tenus de nous livrer, en quelque sorte, à un travail d'archéologie mentale qui entraîne, par définition, de gros risques mais qui paraît indispensable puisqu'en tout état de cause, l'affaire me semble entendue, il n'y a pas à prendre au pied de la lettre, en aucun cas, les textes des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles dont nous disposons pour en déduire de brillantes théories que ne manquera pas de ruiner un regard tant soit peu critique, critique, notamment, dans une perspective diachronique ou comparatiste "horizontale"<sup>2</sup>. Or, cette attitude est une erreur commune.

C'est à partir de ces réflexions que je voudrais envisager ici un des grands mythes cosmogoniques du Nord ancien, celui de la construction d'Ásgarðr.

Toutefois, je voudrais poser en principe, et c'est là bien entendu, qu'il pourra être opportun de faire porter, d'abord, une critique des vues qui vont suivre, un certain nombre de points qui m'apparaissent comme autant de constatations<sup>3</sup>. A savoir que, dans le Nord comme partout ailleurs où les Indo-Européens imposèrent leur vision religieuse du monde, il exista un substrat autochtone sur la nature duquel nous ne pouvons que conjecturer par défaut de témoins explicites, un fonds pré-indo-européen, donc, qui revenait vraisemblablement à la vénération des grandes forces naturelles (soleil - air - eau - terre, celle-ci telle quelle ou symbolisée par quelques-uns de ses "produits" les plus représentatifs, l'arbre, par exemple, ou le roc), sans doute rapidement "personnifiés" par les géants, qui porteront, à cet égard, des noms parlants: *Jörð*, Terre, *Sól*, Soleil, *Ægir*, i.e. littéralement Océanos, *Vindr*, Vent, *Loftr*, Air, etc... tous bien attestés dans l'une ou l'autre des Eddas. Parallèlement, selon toute vraisemblance, en raison de l'importance capitale que conservera jusqu'à nos jours la notion de "famille" (*ætt*, *kyn*) existent les nains, qui sont les morts, les grands ancêtres peut-être<sup>4</sup>. En tout état de cause, forces naturelles plus ou moins anthropomorphisées et

<sup>2</sup> Je m'expliquerai plus loin sur ce qu'j'entends par cet épithète.

<sup>3</sup> Je les ai développés à loisir dans *Yggdrasill. La religion des anciens Scandinaves*. Paris, Payot, 1981. Voyez le bienveillant commentaire qu'en fait E. Polomé dans "Germanic religion and the Indo-European heritage" dans *The Mankind Quarterly* XXVI 1-2, 1985, pp. 27-55.

<sup>4</sup> Rappelons qu'ils ne sont pas "petits" et que leur nom même, *dvergjar*, littéralement "tordus" peut renvoyer à la position du cadavre dans la tombe. Voyez C. Lecouteux: *Les nains et les elfes au Moyen Age*. Paris, Imago, 1988. Je précise toutefois que je n'exploiterai pas ce thème dans le présent essai.

progressivement individualisées<sup>5</sup> me paraissent représenter la couche "archaïque" de cette religion ou son stade "primitif": cela expliquerait qu'elle évolue dans une atmosphère profondément magique, la magie, ici comme ailleurs, marquant le stade le plus reculé de cette religion<sup>6</sup>.

Ce n'est qu'alors qu'interviendraient les Ases, éventuellement en collusion avec les Vanes puisque, pas plus que nos textes de référence eux-mêmes, et malgré une adversation qu'ils tiennent à souligner, mais que je soupçonne de venir, non d'une succession (Vanes-Ases) en diachronie, mais d'une imprégnation des sources classiques, grecques et latines notamment, je ne parviens pas à les distinguer radicalement les uns des autres: tel dieu réputé Ase présente indistinctement les caractéristiques typiques des trois fonctions duméziliennes, comme Óðinn, même si l'accent est visiblement apporté, en l'occurrence, sur la première, tel autre, qui est décidément martial, semble-t-il, comme Þórr, assure également la fertilité-fécondité; à l'inverse, telle divinité vane, comme Freyr, est réputée "amie" du paragon de tout héros, Sigurðr, ou, comme Freyja sa parèdre, ne cesse d'interférer avec des "homologues" ases. Or, selon leur nom, les *Æsir* (sanskrit *asu-*, force de vie) m'ont bien l'air d'avoir été pensés comme des "forces de l'Ordre", des éléments civilisateurs et organisateurs chargés de "mettre en ordre" le chaos ambiant dans lequel ils intervenaient: peut-être est-ce là, en somme, l'apport majeur que les Indo-Européens auront fait à toutes les cultures qu'ils ont recouvertes. Et c'est précisément là que le mythe de la construction d'Ásgarðr peut nous éclairer.

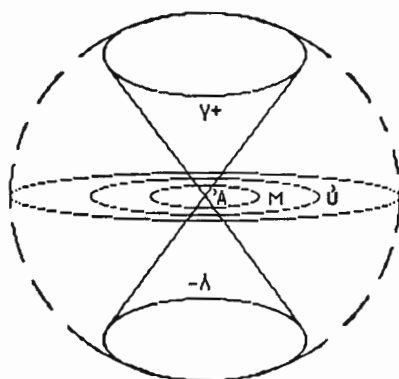
\*  
\* \*

En fait, et très précisément, cette histoire exprime avec bonheur l'une des deux conceptions qu'apparemment s'est faite le Nord de la mise en ordre du monde. Passé le mythe, bien attesté partout, qui part du géant hermaphrodite initial Ymir dont le corps démembré fournit tous les éléments du réel visible, deux principes d'organisation nous sont proposés par nos sources qui, loin de se

<sup>5</sup> J'ai développé, en la prenant sous un autre angle, en vérité fondamental, la même idée à partir de la notion de Terra Mater: "Some reflections on the Terra Mater theme in the Old Scandinavian sources" dans les *Actes du Symposium de Bad Homburg*, à paraître.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. R. Boyer: *Le monde du double. La magie chez les anciens Scandinaves*. Paris, Berg, 1986. J'y avais tendance à imputer aux Sames, que je tenais pour les plus anciens habitants de la part non recouverte par les glaces de Scandinavie, les pratiques magiques, chamanistes surtout, que restituent nos textes. Il n'est pas exclu, toutefois, qu'il faille remonter plus avant, ce qui, cependant, ne modifie en rien ma position sur l'importance même de la magie à ce stade.

contredire, peuvent fort bien se compléter pour offrir de notre univers une image synthétique qu'il est possible d'inscrire dans une sphère: l'image d'Yggdrasill dont les textes laissent entendre qu'il a un correspondant symétrique souterrain peut revenir à la superposition de deux cônes unis par leurs sommets, celle, horizontale et concentrique, de l'ensemble Ásgarðr - Miðgarðr - Útgarðr se plaçant "sur terre", c'est-à-dire à la base visible du tronc d'Yggdrasill finit par déterminer un vaste cercle dont on peut imaginer sans sollicitation abusive que le diamètre recoupe en son milieu la perpendiculaire abaissée du sommet "céleste" d'Yggdrasill à sa cime inverse souterraine. On inscrirait donc le tout dans une vaste sphère:



Ce qui fournit une représentation satisfaisante à la fois pour l'esprit et pour un certain type d'image du monde qui fut bien connue de l'Antiquité. Je ne retiendrai pas ici la "verticale" (Yggdrasill), bien qu'elle puisse donner lieu à des développements similaires, mais l'horizontale qui envisage le monde comme constitué de trois cercles concentriques. Celui du centre est occupé par Ásgarðr ("enclos" ou domaine ase, le terme "enclos", *garðr*, équivalent du slave *gorod*, implique nettement une dée d'enceinte circulaire), entouré de Miðgarðr ou enclos médian, où vivent les hommes, lui-même cerné par Útgarðr ou enclos extérieur qui englobe la mer extérieure où est lové le Grand Serpent de Miðgarðr (Miðgarðsormr), sa gueule mordant sa queue, à la fois, donc, dans un réflexe circulaire et dans un geste cohérent dont on sait les perspectives eschatologiques. C'est aussi dans Útgarðr qu'est censé se situer le monde des géants (Jötunheimr), peut-être en vertu d'une affabulation adventice ou plus récente, peut-être pour manifester que ces créatures ne sont pas naturellement inscrites dans la vision d'un univers bien ordonné.

Fait curieux, Asgarðr n'est pas fréquemment mentionné dans nos textes (*Hymiskviða* 7, *Brymskviða* 18 où il figure en tant que nom commun; également dans une version du Codex Regius /2367,40/ où il est question du bosquet Glasir) mais cela vient certainement du fait que son existence allait de soi et n'appelait pas commentaire. Pourtant, l'*Ynglinga saga* (2, 5, 9) de Snorri - qui assimile Asgarðr à Troie ("Troja") dans sa *Gylfaginning* en raison de sa détermination de faire venir, pour raisons "étymologiques" (paronymiques, en fait) les Ases d'Asie, confirme bien que c'est la résidence des dieux et qu'elle est "antique" (*Gylfaginning* 9). Tous ces textes la donnent pour une forteresse ou un lieu fortifié (*borg*). S'y trouvent Hliðskjálf, le trône d'Óðinn qui peut, de là "voir par tous les mondes" (*Grímnismál*, prose liminaire), Freyr se permettant, d'ailleurs, d'y siéger parfois (*Skírnisfór*, prose liminaire); le "temple" Gláðsheimr<sup>7</sup> réservé aux dieux masculins (*Grímnismál* 8) et le hörgr (un haut-lieu, donc, une colline de pierres) Vingólf, destiné aux déesses (*Gylfaginning* 14), ainsi que la Valhöll (*Grímnismál* 8) dont, à vrai dire, la localisation est moins assurée<sup>8</sup>. Endroit hautement sacré, de toute façon.

Sa construction, pour y venir enfin, fait, chez Snorri, *Gylfaginning* 42, l'objet d'un développement d'une certaine ampleur que je traduis ici. Il s'agit d'expliquer la naissance du cheval merveilleux Sleipnir, monture d'Óðinn:

Hár dit: Tu ne sais rien de Sleipnir et tu ne sais pas comment il se fit qu'il vint au monde, mais tu vas bien voir que cela vaut la peine d'être raconté. C'était aux premiers temps, quand les dieux étaient en train de bâtir, ils avaient fondé Miðgarðr et fait la Valhöll: un maître d'oeuvre vint alors, qui s'offrit à leur construire en trois saisons<sup>9</sup> une si bonne forteresse qu'elle serait sûre contre les géants des montagnes et les pûrs du givre s'ils pénétraient dans Miðgarðr. Mais il dit que pour son salaire, il obtiendrait Freyja et qu'il voulait aussi le soleil et la lune. Alors, les Ases se réunirent et tinrent conseil et ils convinrent avec le maître d'oeuvre qu'il obtiendrait ce qu'il réclamait à condition qu'il bâtisse la forteresse en un hiver. Mais s'il y avait quelque chose d'inachevé dans la forteresse le premier jour de l'été, il perdrait son salaire. Et il ne devait se faire aider par aucun homme dans son

<sup>7</sup> Qui, conformément à ce que nous savons de l'absence de temples, au sens que nous donnons à ce mot, chez les anciens Germains, pourrait bien renvoyer au Glasir de 2367,40, un petit bois, *lundr*, dont nous savons par maintes sources que c'était un des types de lieux de culte germanique.

<sup>8</sup> Elle se situerait aussi, selon d'autres textes, en haut d'Yggdrasill, ce qui recoupe admirablement les suggestions faites plus haut.

<sup>9</sup> Soit un an et demi.

travail. Lorsqu'ils lui dirent ces conditions, il leur demanda de lui permettre de prendre son étalon, Svabílfari<sup>10</sup>, pour l'aider. Et sur les instigations de Loki, ils y consentirent.

Le premier jour d'hiver, il commença à construire la forteresse. Mais pendant les nuits, il transportait des pierres avec son étalon, et les Ases étaient éberlués par la taille des rochers que l'étalon traînait: ce cheval accomplissait des tours de force deux fois plus grands que l'homme. Mais le contrat avait été confirmé par force serments et prises de témoins, car les géants estimaient ne pas pouvoir séjourner en sécurité chez les Ases sans sauf-conduit, pour le cas où Þórr rentrerait. Or il était sur la route de l'Est, parti rosser des trolls<sup>11</sup>.

Lorsque l'hiver tira à sa fin, la construction de la forteresse avança bon train, et cette forteresse était si haute et si forte qu'elle ne pouvait être réduite. Et quand il ne resta plus que trois jours avant l'été, il n'y avait plus, en vérité, que le portail à construire. Alors, les dieux s'assirent sur leurs sièges de jugement, tinrent conseil et s'interrogèrent pour savoir qui leur avait suggéré de donner en mariage Freyja à Jötunheimr et de détériorer l'air du ciel en enlevant le soleil et la lune et en les donnant aux géants: ils convinrent tous que ce conseil, ils l'avaient sûrement reçu de celui qui provoque les plus grands maux, Loki, fils de Laufey, et ils dirent qu'il méritait male mort s'il ne pouvait trouver un expédient pour que le maître d'oeuvre perdît son salaire, et ils se jetèrent sur Loki. Alors, il prit peur et fit serment de faire en sorte que le maître d'oeuvre perdît son salaire, quel que fût le prix que lui, Loki, devait payer pour cela.

Et le soir du même jour, quand le maître d'oeuvre se mit en route pour aller chercher des pierres avec l'étalon Svabílfari, une jument sortit en courant d'un petit bois, vint à la rencontre de l'étalon en se comportant comme un animal en rut. Quand l'étalon découvrit de quelle sorte de cheval il s'agissait, il s'emballa, se détacha et courut à la jument. Pour elle, elle s'enfuit vers la forêt, le maître d'oeuvre suivit pour se saisir de l'étalon, mais les chevaux coururent toute la nuit et il n'y eut rien de fait pour la

---

<sup>10</sup> Autre version, Svabílfæri.

<sup>11</sup> Rappelons qu'il s'agit de géants affreux, des ogres vraisemblablement, et non des lutins du folklore moderne.

construction cette nuit-là. Le lendemain, la construction n'avança pas autant qu'auparavant.

Lorsque le maître d'oeuvre vit qu'il n'aurait pas terminé le travail, il entra dans une fureur de géant. Seulement, quand les Ases se furent assurés que c'était un géant des montagnes qui était venu, les serments ne tinrent plus: ils invoquèrent Þórr qui arriva aussitôt, puis le marteau Mjólnir traversa les airs. Alors, ce fut lui qui versa le salaire pour la construction, non le soleil et la lune, au contraire: il lui interdit de construire et d'habiter dans Jötunheimr et lui asséna le premier coup de telle sorte que son crâne se brisa en menus morceaux: il l'envoya ainsi en bas à Níflheimr.

Mais Loki s'était comporté de telle sorte avec Svaðilfari qu'un peu plus tard, il mit au monde un poulain. Il était gris et avait huit pattes. C'est le meilleur cheval qui existe dans le monde des dieux et des hommes. Voici ce qui est dit dans la *Völuspá*:

25/ Alors tous les dieux montèrent  
Sur les sièges du jugement,  
Divinités suprêmes,  
Et se consultèrent:  
Qui avait rempli  
Tout l'air de poison  
Et à la famille des géants  
Promis l'épouse d'Óðr<sup>12</sup>

26/ Þórr seul combattit là,  
Gonflé de colère  
- Il reste rarement inactif  
Quand il voit de telles choses -.  
Rompus furent les promesses,  
Les paroles et les serments,  
Tous les fermes accords  
Conclus entre eux.

Un très bref excursus s'impose sur les méthodes de travail de Snorri<sup>13</sup>. Admettons qu'il ne s'inspire pas de la *Mappa Mundi* du manuscrit GkS 1812, 40 - XIIe siècle sans doute -, circulaire et

<sup>12</sup> L'épouse d'Óðr est Freyja.

<sup>13</sup> Que j'ai essayé d'analyser beaucoup plus longuement dans *Les sagas islandaises*. Paris, Payot. 2e ed., 1986, chapitre VI.



centrée sur Jerusalem<sup>14</sup>, il est tentant de penser qu'il travaillait tout de même sur des traditions orales plus ou moins lointaines, qu'il pouvait, d'aventure, vérifier par des textes poétiques (ici, la *Völuspá* 25 et 26), à charge pour lui d'inventer "le tissu conjonctif" qui lui permettrait, et d'introduire ces témoins anciens, et d'en justifier l'existence à partir de ces traditions. Quand il ouvre son recueil de *Sagas des Rois de Norvège* par le substantif composé, qui lui a donné son titre, *heimskringla* (l'orbe du monde) il est clair qu'il ne conteste pas la vision circulaire que nous étudions, partant, la forme ronde du *borg* d'Ásgarðr. Ces images, ces idées ont un sens, une valeur qui ne lui apparaissent peut-être pas. On peut tenir, pourtant, qu'elles relèvent d'une conception du monde qui n'est peut-être pas "importée". Partant, le mythe qu'il rapporte peut fort bien être fondé en antiquité, même s'il trouve des équivalents, pour bon nombre de détails, dans l'ensemble du domaine indo-européen.

Je voudrais dégager de ce récit complexe, où intervient de façon décisive l'énigmatique et - pour nous - irritant personnage de Loki, au moins deux composantes: la première, qui tient à un mode de narration et à un type de récit, me paraît typiquement scandinave. Le seconde, qui concerne la thématique envisagée dans ses éléments majeurs, peut relever de l'indo-européen, tout en respectant ou vérifiant les vues diachroniques qui ont été avancées en ouvrant ces pages. De la sorte, nous aurons là matière à une satisfaisante étude de synthèse. Je m'efforcerai d'illustrer ces deux points, dans l'ordre, en rappelant qu'à mon avis, au point de départ d'un mythe, il y a toujours une image et un récit - sans pouvoir décider lequel de ces deux éléments est antérieur à l'autre, en règle générale, mais en soulignant le fait que, chez les Scandinaves, conteurs nés, narrateurs hors pair, il est fort séduisant de considérer que, comme le dira un jour Karen Blixen, "au point de départ, il y a l'histoire".

\*  
\* \*

Car ici, d'évidence, il s'agit bien d'une histoire, au sens comme artisanal du terme: récit bien structuré, composition consciente et pertinente, péripéties congrûment introduites et allègrement enlevées, sans négliger la pointe d'humour si caractéristique de cet auteur, personnages vivants, qu'ils soient symboliques ou hautement typés, bref, création d'une atmosphère immédiatement identifiable, l'ensemble relevant d'un genre dont les lettres de noblesse ne sont plus à dire dans le Nord, celui du conte populaire. Nous sommes bien

<sup>14</sup> Voyez le facsimile dans Omelian Pritsak: *The Origin of Rûs*. I. 1981 p. 512 hors texte. Le postulat a sûrement quelque chose de gratuit: cette littérature encyclopédique était bien connue de tous les lettrés islandais de l'époque.

en présence, en effet, d'un conte parfaitement écrit et attachant en soi, c'est-à-dire indépendamment de ses implications proprement mythologiques. Il s'organise, comme de lui-même, en cinq épisodes:

1) Au point de départ, une prouesse qui paraît impossible à réaliser, même à des dieux. S'ils ont bien "fait" Midgarðr et placé la Valhöll, l'édification d'Ásgarðr en peu de temps paraît impossible à réaliser, elle est hors de leur portée ou plutôt, en fait, au delà de leurs capacités. En même temps, pour plaire à Mircea Eliade, il s'agit bien d'un récit étiologique ou de fondation puisque l'action se situe "aux premiers temps", *in illo tempore* comme eût dit Eliade, c'est-à-dire qu'en fait, elle échappe à la temporalité humaine.

2) Intervient alors un personnage extérieur, masqué en vérité, ce géant qui se donne pour un maître bâtisseur. Par là est marqué l'antagonisme - lourdement souligné par le texte - entre géants (purs du givre) et dieux. En même temps, la supercherie latente, c'est-à-dire la faille introduite, d'emblée, dans la notion, absolument fondamentale en domaine indo-européen, de contrat, n'est pas dévoilée, encore que l'on fasse confiance au lecteur pour en prendre assez rapidement conscience. Les termes exorbitants du contrat, où interviennent des éléments "naturels" fondamentaux (soleil et lune) et leur valence divinisée, Freyja qui est une des figurations patentes de la Terre-Mère, établissent une sorte de circulation, pour la première fois, entre les données successives de cette problématique (éléments naturels - Vanes - dieux), et le caractère contraignant de l'accord (le délai fixé) fournit l'élément merveilleux directement accessible - puisque toute l'histoire ressortit à ce genre - indispensable à cette catégorie de "contes". Enfin, le motif, tout aussi merveilleux et, il me semble, spécifiquement indo-européen, du cheval est introduit doublement: par anticipation en ce qui concerne Loki, ainsi mis en scène, en parfait accord avec sa nature duplice et dès le début, et ouvertement avec le cheval Svaðilfari dont le non, quelle qu'en soit la leçon, convoie la notion de danger.

3) Le troisième épisode sur lequel Snorri s'étend à loisir dépeint la situation critique des dieux lorsqu'ils constatent que la gageure, pour eux impensable, qu'ils avaient proposée risque d'être tenue.

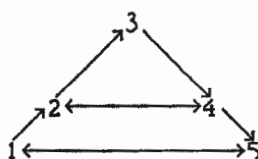
4) Le quatrième temps met alors en scène le véritable personnage moteur de toute l'action, ce Loki fils de Laufey dont, en quelque sorte, les conseils ont induit les Ases en tentation. Suit le thème de la métamorphose en jument, l'ironie salace avec laquelle Snorri fait valoir les causes du changement de situation et la conclusion, attendue, de l'épisode, qui est que le maître d'oeuvre dévoile sa véritable nature et entre dans sa fureur de géant.

5) Dès lors, les conclusions, étroitement liées, se succèdent. La supercherie dévoilée entraîne l'invalidation du pacte et des serments passés; la sanction pour le retour à l'ordre est exécutée brutalement

par le garant - en l'occurrence - de cet ordre, Þórr, en tant qu'ennemi, par définition, des géants. Bien que le prétexte de l'histoire soit d'"expliquer" la naissance de Sleipnir et que, pour l'anecdote pure, elle intervienne à la fin, comme il se doit, je ne suis pas sûr que ce soit là la véritable finalité du récit - qui devrait alors s'achever juste avant la citation des strophes de la *Völuspá*. Le morceau, clairement, s'achève en effet par les deux strophes du poème, où il n'est simplement pas question de la monture d'Óðinn mais où, en revanche, éclate le thème des accords et serments rompus. Autrement dit, deux motifs interfèrent ici, celui, purement anecdotique et narratif, au moins en première analyse, de Sleipnir, et celui, fondamental, d'un tout autre ordre, de la violation de pacte. Il est remarquable, au demeurant, que Sleipnir revienne si peu dans la *Gylfaginning*<sup>15</sup>. C'est apparemment l'amusement de Snorri **conteur mythographe**. Ce dernier propos n'est pas dit, mais il va de soi: Ásgarðr est construit, existe!

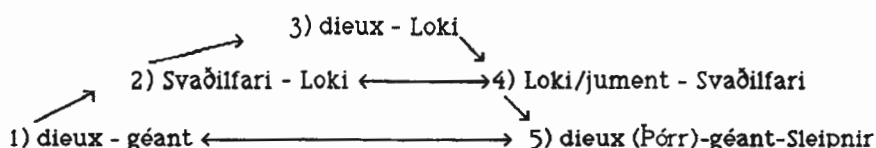
On ne peut qu'applaudir à la symétrie parfaite de cette narration. Inutile de solliciter folkloristes, formalistes ou structuralistes pour constater que ce texte témoigne d'une parfaite distribution:

à 1) prouesse impossible	répond	5) prouesse réalisée
à 2) intervention du géant	-----	4) intervention de Loki
3) servant de pivot dans ce double mouvement successivement ascendant puis descendant:		



puisque 3) constitue l'acmé tragique, l'impensable presque réalisé, les dieux bafoués, le chaos menaçant de régner. Nous pourrions aussi bien partir de "détails" et, compte tenu du fait que Loki est, si j'ose dire, une jument en puissance, établir, sur le même schéma:

<sup>15</sup> Ce qui ne signifie pas qu'il soit en retrait dans l'imagerie scandinave en général, même sans tenir compte de la riche iconographie à laquelle il donnera lieu. Par exemple, ce sera le père de Grani, le cheval de Sigurðr Fáfnisbani, qui est le vrai "héros" d'une des deux "prouesses" majeures dont on crédite le meurtrier du dragon. Etude détaillée dans R. Boyer: *La saga de Sigurðr ou la parole donnée*. Paris, Ed. du Cerf, 1989.



où la résolution géant + / géant - se fait par la série Svaðilfari - Loki - Sleipnir, tous les protagonistes figurant symétriquement aux stades correspondants. Sur le fond, nous obtiendrions une chaîne: serment ("salaire") passé - presque accompli - invalidé - rompu, qui répond aux stades 1 - 2 - 4 - 5, l'acmé 3 assurant le passage de serment + à serment -. Ou encore, par une symétrie plus subtile parce que de type oblique, se répondent Freyja et Þórr.

En bonne narratologie, on notera encore:

-- ou bien une progression consciente de l'intérêt: la situation de départ appelle l'intervention du géant, qui appelle Svaðilfari (sur suggestion de Loki) qui appelle la jument Loki qui appelle la fureur du géant démasqué qui appelle l'intervention magique et définitive de Þórr, la retombée se faisant sur Sleipnir (pour l'anecdote) et sur Þórr (pour la leçon!)

-- ou bien, historiquement si l'on peut dire, nous sommes passés d'Ásgarðr - à Ásgarðr + (ce qu'il fallait démontrer en profondeur) et de Sleipnir - à Sleipnir + (ce qui est l'argument de surface).

-- ou encore, et nous sommes ici aux oeuvres vives, sur le thème absolument primordial ordre / chaos, nous avons:

- recherche d'ordre (dieux)
- faux pacte (géant masqué, chaos latent: rapt de Freyja etc..)
- invalidation (Loki, géant démasqué)
- restauration de l'ordre cette fois consolidé (Ásgarðr, Þórr)

En d'autres termes, nous avons fait des progrès dans la réalisation de l'ordre, tout comme, par voie de conséquence, dans la réduction du chaos, avec, en prime, si l'on peut dire, la création de Sleipnir, cheval de dieu, cheval-dieu. En ce sens, notre texte serait purement ascendant, avec symétries internes au cours de sa progression<sup>16</sup>.

Ces réflexions, uniquement pour faire valoir, s'il en était besoin, que nous avons à faire, ici, à un récit hautement dominé, à une composition tout à fait consciente de ses fins. J'y vois l'inverse exact de je ne sais quel conte légué par tradition orale, avec les inconséquences, ou les ruptures d'argument, ou les reprises lourdes

<sup>16</sup> Mais restons conscients qu'il demeure une faille dont il faudra reparler: après tout, Ásgarðr n'est pas parfaitement achevé: le portail n'a pu être exécuté!

d'articulations qui ne manqueraient pas d'intervenir alors. Snorri, parfait "écrivain"? Sans aucun doute. Ajoutez la rapidité du ton, la virtuosité à traiter l'abondance de matière, l'abstention de presque tout effet, ce dynamisme inlassable qui proscriit les temps d'arrêt, les interventions personnelles, les réflexions adventices, ou jugements, ou interrogations plus ou moins rhétoriques, bref, cette grande économie de moyens mise au service d'un propos comme pressé de courir à son terme: nous sommes bien là au coeur du grand art des sagnamenn (auteurs de sagas et récits apparentés). Au demeurant, de la saga, ce texte a également la structure exactement dramatique: une situation initiale, deux grandes péripéties dont la seconde est le retournement de la première, un dénouement à résonances multiples. J'ose dire que tous ces traits resteront la constante de l'art narratif scandinave, de l'*Íslendinga saga* à Laxness, de H.C. Andersen à K. Blixen, de S. Lagerlöf à S. Delblanc, de Kielland à T. A. Bringsvaerd, pour ne citer que des noms qui viennent spontanément en mémoire. Comme eux tous, Snorri est maître dans l'art du sous-entendu, dans son acception anglaise plus précise d'*understatement*: voyez les arrière-plans des propos du maître d'oeuvre, ou de la présentation du comportement des deux chevaux, notez que c'est Loki qui est, en fait, responsable du contrat et donc, en définitive, de toute l'histoire. Par là, son rôle prend une dimension nouvelle et la création de Sleipnir, une valeur symbolique à laquelle on n'est pas tenu de penser à première lecture: le style allusif de l'auteur excelle à cet élargissement du propos. Et n'oublions pas cet humour latent tellement familier des amateurs de sagas: énormité du salaire réclamé par le maître constructeur, considérations comme dédagées sur le paiement effectif que reçut le géant, manière de noter les résultats des ébats de la jument et de l'étalon...

Oui, s'il est un point indéniablement scandinave dans le récit de la construction d'Ásgarðr, il est là: dans la science de la narration et, plus encore, dans ce bonheur de conter, de raconter qui n'a jamais, jusqu'à aujourd'hui, que l'on sache, délaissé un prosateur du Nord. Car il ne faut jamais oublier que les maîtres islandais du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, s'ils tenaient à un réalisme, à un vraisemblable convaincants, même en contexte merveilleux, écrivaient d'abord, comme ils le disent et redisent à loisir, *til gamans*: pour le plaisir - de leur auditoire, bien entendu, mais d'eux-mêmes aussi.

Je tenais à insister parce que je sais que nous sommes là au coeur d'une culture, d'une civilisation. Edgar Polomé, expert en la matière, attend sans doute davantage de moi: ce texte dense et riche appelle d'autres développements, d'ordre plus "religieux". C'est ce à quoi je me risquerai maintenant.

On l'a déjà entrevu: sous les détails plaisants de l'affabulation, derrière le pittoresque des personnages, une thématique profonde anime le texte de Snorri. J'ai esquissé tout à l'heure, en commençant, ce que je tiens pour les grandes lignes de l'évolution, en bonne diachronie, qui a pu mener les Scandinaves de leur religion originelle, pour nous très obscure, au système organisé et cohérent de mythes, rites et croyances que nous livrent, plus ou moins ouvertement, nos textes.

J'y ajouterai quelques autres considérations qui me paraissent indispensables ici. Par exemple, que, si elle peut être utile, la comparaison avec d'autres cultures, soit à l'intérieur du domaine indo-européen, soit ailleurs (la Bible et ses commentateurs) n'est pas strictement indispensable: on notera le dernier adverbe. Il est vrai que Snorri fait volontiers de l'evhémérisme et qu'il paraît fort pressé, très souvent, d'asseoir ses dires sur un savoir classique qu'il a appris, dans sa jeunesse, à Oddi ou ailleurs, de ses maîtres clercs: ainsi de sa volonté d'identifier Ásgarðr à Troie et, sans doute, derrière le mythe que nous sommes en train d'étudier, de nous inciter à établir, implicitement, une manière d'homologie entre Ásgarðr et Jerusalem, la terrestre ou la céleste, peu importe, mais je tiendrais pour la céleste puisque, délibérément, on nous fait évoluer dans un merveilleux dont on n'éprouve simplement pas le besoin de souligner l'existence. Il est assez clair, également, que Loki a, ici même, des traits sataniques bien marqués: mauvais conseiller, maître en métamorphoses, savant dans l'art de la ruse, au demeurant ambigu, ici comme ailleurs. Ce genre d'influences, pour probables qu'elles soient, ne mérite peut-être pas une attention exclusive, comme voulurent le faire, naguère, certains savants<sup>17</sup>. Je serais enclin à y voir des concordances autour d'une réflexion autrement grave sur des problèmes vraiment essentiels qui échappent à toute identification classée parce qu'ils sont au nombre des invariants de la condition humaine. J'y reviendrai.

Du même, toute l'Eurasie connaît des histoires similaires, des mythes cosmogoniques où le créateur, ou Dieu, ou le diable sont interrompus trop tôt dans leur travail de création, ce qui "explique" les imperfections que nous constatons dans la réalité présente. Snorri, toujours lui, paraît avoir été fasciné par cette question. Voyez, dans les *Skáldskaparmál* 35, comment il "explique" qu'à cause de Loki, bien entendu, le marteau de Þórr a un manche trop court. Les retombées de ce genre d'histoires nourrissent tout un répertoire de

<sup>17</sup> Je pense évidemment ici aux travaux du Norvégien A. Bugge: *Vesterlandenes indflydelse paa nordboernes og saertlig nordmaendenes ydre kultur, leveaet og samfundsforhold i vikingetiden*. Oslo. 1905.

contes populaires, comme on le sait. Il paraît que dans l'Inde ancienne, le rôle intempestif tenu par la mouche dans les *Skáldskaparmál* serait joué par un coq. Pas plus que je ne tiens à établir une stricte filiation, d'ordre "horizontal", en ce qui concerne Loki, entre Bible et *Edda* dite *en prose*, je ne crois utile d'instituer des correspondances immédiates de culture à culture même en ce qui intéresse des détails comme le "sabotage" d'un objet divin. Je préférerais parler de filiation "verticale" où un même archétype, d'une culture à une autre, ou à l'intérieur d'un même complexe de cultures, se traduit de façons différentes, quoiqu'apparentées, en fonction, précisément, des divers substrats autochtones rencontrés - disons: en fonction des mentalités spécifiques auxquelles a dû s'adapter, par la force des choses, un même thème, une même image. Le cas de Baldr (pour ne pas revenir sur Loki, pour le moment) est éclairant sur ce point. Baal, Adonis, le Christ, on n'en finirait pas de citer des dieux beaux, bons et justes qui sont cruellement mis à mort, au besoin par un innocent, sans raison valable<sup>18</sup>. Certes, il se peut qu'une déteinte se soit produite, d'un domaine à un autre, à un moment donné, qui fasse ressurgir, ici et là, la même image, le même mythe ou le même article de foi sous des ciels différents. Il n'est pas davantage exclu que la même idée fondamentale - présence intolérable du Juste dans une société qui, par nature, comme toute société, se sait imparfaite et ne le supporte pas - finisse par engendrer des récits homologues. C'est, en somme, pour jargonner à l'allemande, une affaire de réception, dans l'inconscient collectif, par une communauté donnée, d'un thème archétypique qui ressortit à l'humain en général. Autre serait ma réaction si je m'intéressais aux détails précis d'affabulation, où les techniques duméziliennes font merveille. Mais nous sommes, ici, au niveau des principes et des grands mythes cosmogoniques.

Et scandinaves (ou nord-germaniques). Or, c'est le lieu de revenir, en insistant, à la diachronie qui a été envisagée en commençant. Les vestiges de présence humaine dans le Nord sont attestés à coup sûr depuis quinze mille ans environ<sup>19</sup> (cultures dites de Stellmoor, puis Klosterlund /Danemark/, Fosna et Komsa /Norvège/, Bäckaskog /Suède/ et, après la fonte des glaces (dix mille avant J.C.) de Kongemose au Maglemose /Danemark/). Il faut attendre environ trois mille cinq cents avant J.C. pour voir surgir les Indo-Européens en deux vagues séparées d'un bon millénaire, les "Germains" n'étant bien attestés qu'à partir de 400 avant J.C. Je laisse de côté les problèmes soulevés par les Sames: il y a donc au moins

<sup>18</sup> Mais on sait que le cas de Baldr n'est pas du tout aussi explicite qu'il y paraît. Les scaldes et Saxo nous donnent de lui une tout autre image, guerrière, en fait.

<sup>19</sup> Je suis ici C.A. Moberg: *Innan Sverige blev Sverige*. 2 utg. Stockholm, 1984 ou M. Stenberger: *Sten, Brons, Järn*. 2 utg. Stockholm, 1971.

dix millénaires de présence humaine avant le premier influx (plutôt qu'afflux<sup>20</sup>) indo-européen. Les témoins exhumés par l'archéologie, si rares et difficiles à interpréter qu'ils soient, attestent que ces populations premières avaient une "civilisation" et, donc, une religion. Ici comme ailleurs, l'investissement indo-européen entraîne donc la superposition de deux cultures, la plus récente ayant dû, là aussi, composer avec l'ancienne - si tant est que celle-ci ait été de caractère monolithique, ce qui paraît improbable. Cette "composition" peut rendre compte de bien des phénomènes, évidents pour l'observateur averti. Ainsi, pour ne donner que deux exemples que l'on ne développera pas ici et qui témoignent nettement de résistances autochtones, de la double conception de l'"âme" chez les anciens Scandinaves<sup>21</sup> ou de la double représentation qu'ils se faisaient de la mort et des morts<sup>22</sup>. Sur le plan mythologique et religieux, j'ai déjà suggéré que l'antinomie, si nette dans le texte de Snorri dont nous parlons ici, géants-dieux (qu'ils soient ases ou vanes) traduisait cette succession, les géants, constitutifs de la nature brute exprimée en ses grands éléments, étant probablement des figurations d'une Weltanschauung archaïque, les dieux pouvant représenter l'apport indo-européen. Je dis: pouvant, parce que de nombreux Ases pourraient bien n'être qu'une "indo-européanisation" de géants primitifs - comme Þórr < \*þun[al]raz, qui est donc le Tonnerre. Le raccord n'a rien de spécieux puisque nos textes s'attachent si souvent à donner aux derniers venus une ascendance (une généalogie) de géants.

Tenons maintenant que les Indo-Européens ont apporté leur passion de l'ordre, de l'organisation, d'un monde en place et dûment gouverné; que, pour ce faire, ils ont imposé leur notion du droit, seul capable de susciter (le "bon" droit) et d'institutionnaliser un ordre contre le chaos, que cet ordre s'obtienne par la force (c'est l'apanage de Þórr) ou par le sacrifice mutilatoire d'un pacte (Týr): nous sommes exactement dans notre texte, le principe même de la construction d'Ásgarðr, centre du monde, illustre pleinement cette idée. Et la

<sup>20</sup> Pour une justification plus poussée de cette affirmation, voyez R. Boyer: "Relire Dumézil" dans *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* ...

<sup>21</sup> Une aérienne, *ond*, qui tient du souffle, une, comme inviscérée, qui remonte à l'idée de "forme" interne, *hamr*, ou de "double", *fylgja*. Cf R. Boyer: "L'âme chez les anciens Scandinaves" dans *Heimdal* No 33, 1981, pp. 5-10. Le terme *sál* est un emprunt à l'allemand et ne nous intéresse donc pas ici.

<sup>22</sup> L'une, correspondant à la chrétienne, et qui n'appelle donc pas de commentaires ici, l'autre, qui introduit la curieuse notion de mort-vivant-mal-mort ou *draugr*. Voyez l'article *draug* dans le *Kulturhistoriskt Lexikon för nord. medeltid* ou Cl. Lecouteux: *Fantômes et revenants au Moyen Âge*. Paris. Imago. 1986. chap. II,3 ou encore R. Boyer, dans *Le merveilleux. L'imaginaire et les croyances en Occident*. Sous la direction de M. Meslin. Paris, Bordas, 1984, pp. 148-151 et 178-182.



présence, le rôle déterminant de Þórr s'explique fort bien par là: son attitude, ici, est exactement semblable (si ce n'est qu'ici, il ne se contente pas de menaces) à celle qu'il adopte à la fin de la *Lokasenna*, pour faire taire Loki-le-calomniateur. L'affrontement, ou, en tout cas, la superposition des deux cultures transparait clairement. Les géants sont directement présents en la personne du maître bâtisseur qui entend bien restaurer le chaos en enlevant soleil, lune et Freyja<sup>23</sup> et, par allusion, dans ces *bergrísar* et *hrimpursar* que Þórr est en train de découder. L'enjeu de la confrontation est capital - et nous est clairement donné comme tel - puisqu'en somme, à quoi bon Ásgarðr et tout ce qu'il symbolise si "l'air du ciel" est "détérioré" et la soleil et la lune passent aux géants. Comprenons, au point où nous en sommes: si la nouvelle culture est "récupérée" par l'ancienne? Le danger est évident, à tous les niveaux, dira-t-on. On nous le donne à entendre sans ambages: ce qui est à redouter, c'est bien la "fureur" des géants, fureur destructrice, soit qu'on n'en retienne que son aspect de jouissance grossière (posséder Freyja), soit qu'on l'envisage dans sa globalité, l'effet étant de désorganiser toute une conception de la vie et du monde. Cette "fureur" (*móðr* dans le texte) n'a évidemment rien à voir avec "le" furor (*Wut, óðr*) qui est le propre d'Óðinn et qui est, lui, source de création - de vie dans l'óðr de l'orgasme, de victoire dans l'óðr du combat, de "science" dans l'óðr du *sejðr* et de beauté souveraine dans l'óðr de l'inspiration poétique (scaldique) puisque ce dieu ase possède, patronne et incarne étymologiquement tous ces attributs. Au demeurant, ce n'est certainement pas par hasard que le cheval du géant se soit doté d'un nom littéralement "désastreux", *svaðil (-fari)*<sup>24</sup>.

Dichotomie, donc. Que le mythe s'efforce, me semble-t-il, de résoudre de diverses façons. Deux au moins, sur lesquelles je m'arrêterai un instant - un instant seulement car l'une et l'autre appelleraient de fort longues études!

La première est latente et tient au motif de l'androgynie. Il est présent à deux titres. D'abord en la personne de Freyja, que j'ai toujours le plus grand mal à distinguer, en essence au moins, de son "jumeau" ou parèdre Freyr: le sexe des Vanes, au demeurant, est, pour le moins, incertain<sup>25</sup>. Or "elle" joue un rôle important dans notre mythe. Ensuite et surtout, dans la métamorphose de Loki, non en étalon comme il serait normal, mais en jument. Ce point appellerait

<sup>23</sup> Dans la mesure où la déesse ne retrouve pas le soleil - la soleil, disait-on dans cette culture.

<sup>24</sup> Si *-fari* peut connoter l'idée de voyage, voyageur qui fréquente tel ou tel lieu ou telle situation, la variante *-færi*, sur *færa*: apporter, entraîner, est encore plus explicite.

<sup>25</sup> Rappelons que Njörðr est une femme, Nerthus, pour Tacite, et que sa "femme", Skadi, porte un nom masculin.

une réflexion détaillée, hors de propos ici. Mais il est troublant que l'indétermination sexuelle des dieux vanes, non notée expressément ici, il est vrai, et celle de Loki tiennent une telle place dans ce mythe de fondation: comme s'ils participaient, les uns et l'autre, de deux règnes, de deux univers.

Et c'est finalement là que je voulais en venir. La figure de Loki me semble devoir son ambiguïté extrême au fait que ce dieu pourrait représenter une figure de transition entre les deux cultures que j'ai dites. Géant, il l'a été: on devrait porter bien davantage attention à cet *Útgarða-Loki* (*Utigarthilocus* chez Saxo) dont le nom dit expressément qu'il sévit dans le domaine propre des géants, *Útgarðr*. Par là s'expliqueraient aussi sa nature perverse, sa fausseté, son acharnement à mettre les dieux en défaut (voyez en particulier comment il ridiculise Þórr, dans la *Þrymskviða*, en l'amenant, comme par hasard, à changer de sexe pour le faire passer pour Freyja que, décidément, nous rencontrons constamment dans ce type d'analyse), à les calomnier (*Lokasenna*), à les détruire finalement puisqu'il est directement responsable du Ragnarok par la mort de Baldr dont il est l'artisan. Il est l'anti-Týr ou l'anti-Baldr dans la mesure exacte où il s'oppose au "droit", au "bon", à cet ordre juste dont Týr est le garant ou à cette perfection de "blancheur" et de bonté qu'incarne Baldr. Rien d'étonnant à ce qu'il ne craigne que Þórr - dont on vient de dire qu'il fut peut-être géant comme lui: seule, la force brutale peut le réduire puisque c'est initialement de la force brutale qu'il participa. Car pour le reste, il a des attributs qui le prédisposaient à une promotion divine, son intelligence, son activité (toutefois désordonnée). On comprend qu'il ait fini par passer dans l'autre "famille": il demeure l'indispensable protestataire que requiert ce genre de dialectique, à l'intérieur même de l'ordre assumé. Mais c'est un bâtard. Il est ambivalent à tous les niveaux et je tiens pour déterminantes, dans ce mythe même que nous étudions, ses collusions avec l'une et l'autre cultures.

C'est d'ailleurs pour cela aussi que c'est un grand magicien, si prompt à se métamorphoser: il détient le savoir primitif propre aux géants (*Vafþrúðnir*, *Fáfnir*) et aux nains (*Alvíss*): il ne serait d'ailleurs pas impossible, dans une analyse du même type, de le raccorder aux nains, en fonction de ce que nous avons dit de ces derniers plus haut, en note. Le point qui paraît essentiel est qu'il est mal assis dans un règne donné. Ce n'est pas pour rien que ce texte où il joue un rôle si important baigne tout entier dans la magie: celle du géant maître d'œuvre qui réalise un travail colossal dans un délai d'une brièveté fantastique, celle de son prodigieux cheval, celle qui fait surgir soudain, sur commande, Þórr dont on nous avait dit qu'il était inaccessible. Raisonçons un peu différemment: Loki rassemble en sa personne deux types de magie, la primitive, qui tient à la force de la

terre, à la connivence avec les éléments naturels (ce serait, ainsi, son côté jument en rut) et la "savante", qui vient de science et d'intelligence (ce serait son côté Óðinn dont il se vante, rappelons-nous le, d'être "frère juré" dans *Lokasenna* 9).

Et l'on peut tenir que la confluence de ces deux courants se fait par le personnage-image du cheval dont on a dit la présence déterminante d'un bout du mythe à l'autre, impossible sans Svadilfari, élaboré par la jument Loki, retombant sur Sleipnir. en vérité, le biais est remarquable. Tenons que la domestication du cheval est le trait principal par lequel les Indo-Européens ont, en particulier, imposé leur loi à l'ensemble des territoires qu'a recouverts leur culture. Il faut au moins cette explication au culte que cet animal a rencontré partout, dans le Nord comme ailleurs, et au statut très particulier, très privilégié qu'il a dans toutes nos mythologies. Le Nord n'y échappe pas, depuis le char de Trundholm jusqu'au *Völva þáttr*<sup>26</sup> en passant par les crânes de chevaux que l'archéologie a retrouvés jusque dans l'île de Man ou, sous la poutre de seuil des maisons, un peu partout en Scandinavie<sup>27</sup>. On a également pu essayer de démontrer qu'Óðinn a été originellement un dieu-cheval - en quoi Sleipnir pourrait passer pour l'une de ses hypostases animales. Le rôle que joue le cheval dans notre mythe ne saurait échapper: est-il fortuit que ce soit Loki qui l'assume par métamorphose? En somme, cet animal serait le vecteur de cette "promotion" dont j'ai parlé. Ce géant reliquat de l'ancienne culture est passé à la nouvelle par le truchement de l'animal symbolique de celle-ci. Pas franchement: par inversion de sexe. Mais le résultat, la naissance de Sleipnir, manifeste sans ambiguïté la fusion des deux courants. Par quoi l'ordre du monde est rétabli. Ou plutôt, un ordre nouveau, parti de l'organisation (ou de la réorganisation) de l'ancien état des choses, a pu s'établir. Je vois peu de mythes, en définitive, dans cette culture, qui aillent aussi loin dans la justification d'une nouvelle cosmogonie.

Et nous n'en avons pas terminé encore.

Car le motif profond de notre histoire n'est pas mort avec Snorri Sturluson, tant s'en faut! Comme il arrive si souvent, il s'est "innocemment" perpétué dans le folklore, dans le trésor des contes populaires si vivants dans le Nord, jusqu'à nos jours, pratiquement. C'est le thème de toute une catégorie de ces récits, dits, en suédois, où ils ont eu une vitalité plus grande qu'ailleurs, *kyrkobyggnadssäger*

<sup>26</sup> Traduction dans *Les Religions de l'Europe du Nord*, op.cit. sous note 1 supra, pp. 79 et sq.

<sup>27</sup> Voyez G. Gjessing: *Hesten i førhistorisk kunst og kultur*, in *Viking* VII, Oslo, 1943.

(légendes de construction d'églises). L'argument<sup>28</sup> est simple, sur le fond, quoiqu'il admette plusieurs variantes<sup>29</sup>. Ces contes, bien entendu, sous leur vêtue présente, se déroulent à l'époque chrétienne. Il s'agit toujours de construire une église. La besogne se révèle particulièrement difficile et l'on requiert l'aide d'un géant (toujours un géant en ce cas, notons le point) qui ne sait pas la destination finale de l'édifice. Une fois celui-ci achevé, grâce à son aide, il découvre qu'il s'agit d'une église, entre en fureur (voici un autre raccord avec la construction d'Ásgarðr) et lance sur le bâtiment une énorme pierre qui manque toujours son but - ainsi se trouve expliquée, bien entendu et soit dit en passant, ironie à part, la présence insolite de ces formidables blocs erratiques qui, après la fonte des glaces, parsèment le paysage scandinave. Le lieu avec notre mythe est si manifeste que l'on n'insistera pas, sinon sur le point, fondamental, de la connivence des esprits "paiens" (géants) avec des forces intelligentes et orthodoxes pour ériger le temple du sacré.

En revanche, l'autre version, la plus courante aussi, est encore plus éclairante. Là, un géant - ou le diable, conformément à la technique de l'Eglise qui fut, ici comme partout ailleurs, de reléguer dans le paganisme ce qui était senti comme naturellement contraire au magistère chrétien, dans la démonologie - promet à un saint de bâtir une église en un temps donné contre la promesse d'obtenir les yeux du saint, ou le soleil, ou la lune... Le saint ne pourra être relevé de son engagement à moins que: ou bien la construction de l'édifice ne soit pas achevée à la date dite, ou bien qu'il soit capable de deviner le nom véritable de son auxiliaire<sup>30</sup>, ce qui est souvent la situation de Saint Laurent, particulièrement populaire en Suède: on peut encore contempler, dans la crypte de la cathédrale de Lund, le géant Finn<sup>31</sup> pétrifié au moment où, dans sa rage d'avoir été deviné, il étreint l'un des piliers de l'édifice, visiblement pour le faire s'effondrer. Les rapports avec le mythe de la construction d'Ásgarðr sont, ici, patents, et dans le détail. J'insiste sur la hiérarchie géant-indispensable exécutant / saint-concepteur de l'édifice sacré, ou sur

<sup>28</sup> Meilleures études: I.M. Boberg: *Baumeisersagen*, FFC 151, 1951 ou D. Strömback: *Sågnerna om den första kyrkplatsen. Finnsågnen*, Lund, 1958. Les motifs sont classés par R.T. Christiansen: *The migratory legends*, FFC 175, 1958.

<sup>29</sup> Je ne retiendrai pas ici, parce qu'elle ne concerne pas directement mon propos, la première: pour déterminer l'emplacement d'une église, on attelle des animaux à un chariot, l'endroit où ils finissent par s'arrêter sera le lieu de construction. Voir l'ouvrage de Christiansen dans la note précédente, No 7060.

<sup>30</sup> Ce qui nous introduit dans une autre thématique, éventuellement de nature magique chamanique, qui interdit de nommer le magicien pendant qu'il est dans l'exercice de ses fonctions. Pour un parfait exemple, voyez *Vatndœla saga*, en français *La Saga des Chefs du Val-au-Lac*, trad. R. Boyer, Paris, Payot, 1980, chap. 12 avec les notes de 2 à 8.

<sup>31</sup> Finn remonte à coup sûr à vieux norrois *Finnr* = Same!

le passage: forces primitives-auxiliaires utiles / forces supérieures organisatrices du Sacré, qui reproduit exactement les deux plans sur lesquels évolue le récit de Snorri. Qu'il n'y a pas lieu, que je sache, d'accuser d'avoir voulu adapter aux besoins de la cause qu'il servait dans son Edda une légende chrétienne préexistante. Je dirais plutôt l'inverse: tout donne à penser que les récits modernes prolongent en le travestissant un vieux motif "païen", d'ordre étiologique, donc. Evidemment, le cheval a disparu des légendes chrétiennes et, par là, l'articulation pour moi essentielle, du passage non-indo-européen / indo-européen. Mais cette articulation n'est plus nécessaire: l'affrontement des deux mondes reste nettement marqué par l'antinomie géant - saint et, surtout, le sacré, qui est l'apanage de l'ordre supérieur, s'édifie à partir des forces primitives utilisées, domestiquées et réduites. Ordonnées. Pour un peu, j'y verrais une traduction du passage des deux notions successives de sacré qu'a connues le Nord, de son acception actualisée, traduite en rites, en gestes signifiants (vé < \*wihaz) à son sens plus abstrait, plus contemplatif *heilagr* < \*hailagaz<sup>32</sup>.

En dernière analyse, ne pourrait-on tenir le mythe de la construction d'Ásgarðr pour une méditation, présente, inévitablement, dans toutes nos cultures, sur la notion de Mal? Comme on le sait, "mal" et "bien", avec les connotations que nous avons coutume de conférer à ces termes, n'ont pas, dans le Nord ancien, le sens que nous leur donnons. Le "mal", dans cette Weltanschauung, c'est le chaos, le désordre, l'anarchie. Le "bien" connote les notions strictement inverses. Encore une fois, et les analyses duméziliennes, ici, sont certainement fondées, les Ases apportaient avec eux (les Indo-Européens diffusèrent) cette loi d'organisation, de mise en ordre qui n'a cessé de présider à la présente interprétation. La construction d'Ásgarðr, qui est comme le point final, l'apogée de cette volonté d'agencement cohérent du monde ne pouvait, en somme, qu'appeler un beau mythe immédiatement intelligible par une image éloquente et accessible au moyen d'un récit littéralement fondamental. Il me paraît capital que ce mythe tienne à un pacte. L'idée en était tellement essentielle qu'un autre mythe, tout aussi déterminant, mais encore plus élaboré, celui de Týr engageant sa dextre dans la gueule du loup Fenrir, repose pareillement sur un pacte. Lequel relève semblablement de la supercherie puisque Týr sait pertinemment que le fameux lien dont va enchaîner Fenrir, étant de nature magique, ne rompra pas<sup>33</sup>, tout comme on doit imaginer que Loki, responsable du recrutement du

32 Vues développées avec insistance dans l'"Essai liminaire sur le sacré" dans *Les Religions de l'Europe du Nord* op. cit. note 1 supra, pp. 11-56.

33 Une analyse parallèle à l'étude présente a été faite par R. Boyer "La dextre de Týr" voir Actes . . . (référence à compléter).

maître bâtisseur et de l'acceptation des conditions qu'il pose, entrevoit de quelle façon il déjouera à point nommé les desseins maléfiques de l'entrepreneur. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre il faut assurer l'ordre du monde, établir le triomphe des forces de vie ( *asu-* ) sur celles du chaos (le géant, Fenrir): la valeur symbolique de la disparition évoquée de Freyja, du soleil et de la lune est suffisamment explicite. Ne nous interrogeons pas trop, ici, sur la qualité comme métaphysique de ce pacte qui, dans les deux cas, part d'une mauvaise foi (le géant n'a pas révélé sa vraie nature, Týr n'a pas dévoilé celle du lien Gleipnir). Le résultat est que l'ordre est assuré, que les moyens d'y parvenir soient d'ordre dialectique et magique, ou brutal mais "juste" (l'intervention finale de Þórr). C'est Goethe, je crois, qui disait que tout lui semblait préférable au désordre... Essayons de ne pas pousser trop loin les conséquences, souvent dangereuses, de ce type d'affirmation. Contentons-nous de voir qu'ici, en effet, l'ordre est bien la seule valeur transcendante et qu'elle ne peut être assurée, maintenue que par des forces supérieures, ou restituée que par des entités transcendantes.

Beau mythe riche et complexe, donc, que, s'il faut le dire, la présente petite analyse est bien éloignée d'avoir épuisé. Désormais, Ásgarðr est en place. Les forces du chaos, les dieux des anciens jours ont servi. Nous y avons gagné de nous hausser d'un stade. Mais il est symptomatique que cette promotion soit partie d'un cheval (Svaðilfari) pour aboutir à un autre cheval (Sleipnir) qui est certainement le symbole du dieu de la science suprême, dans toutes les acceptions de ce dernier mot.

## DER WOLF IM 'HELMBRECHT'

Norbert Oettenger

1. Wernher des Gärtners spätmittelhochdeutsche Dichtung 'Helmbrecht' enthält drei mit dem Element wolf- gebildete Eigennamen. Ihre Träger haben eine inhaltlich wichtige Funktion, weshalb wir vermuten können, daß die Namen ein Programm enthalten. Ob dies zutrifft und, wenn ja, welcher Art dieses Programm ist, soll im Folgenden untersucht werden.

Rufen wir uns zu diesem Zweck kurz den Inhalt der Dichtung ins Gedächtnis.

2. Helmbrecht, Sohn eines Bauern, besitzt eine schön bestickte Haube. Sie verführt ihn zu dem Entschluß, den Bauernstand zu verlassen und sich dem Adel anzuschließen. Die Warnungen des Vaters schlägt er in den Wind und nimmt Dienste bei einem Ritter, der ständig in Fehde lebt. Zusammen mit neun Kumpanen führt er für diesen Ritter viele Raubzüge aus. Nach einem Jahr stattet er seinen Eltern einen Besuch ab, bei dem er dem Vater den Lebenswandel seiner Gruppe beschreibt. Die väterlichen Ermahnungen weist er erneut von sich. Er verleitet sogar seine Schwester, ebenfalls den Schutz des Elternhauses zu verlassen und seinen Gefährten Lemberslint zu heiraten. Während der Feier jedoch erscheint ein Richter mit Helfern und verhaftet die Gesellschaft. Die Kumpane Helmbrechts werden gehenkt, während er selbst mit Hand, Fuß und Augenlicht büßen muß. Er kommt zum Vater, der ihn nun von der Schwelle weist. Bauern, die sich an ihm rächen wollen, hängen ihn schließlich im Wald an einem Baum auf.

3. Das furchtbare Ende und vor allem die Abweisung des verkrüppelten Sohnes durch den Vater, die in gewähltem Kontrast zum biblischen Gleichnis vom Verlorenen Sohn steht, haben die Forschung zu der Vermutung gebracht, in diesem Kurzepos lebe hinter christlicher Fassade Heidnisches fort. Man hat dabei unter anderem auf die Träume des Vaters verwiesen, die ihn das unabwendbare Schicksal des Sohnes voraussehen lassen, oder auch

auf die als gewissermaßen magisch geschilderte Macht des Schergen bei der Verhaftung.

Genauere Analysen ergeben jedoch, daß diese Motive leichter aus der Epoche heraus erklärbar sind, in der der Dichter selbst lebte<sup>1</sup>. Auch sonst scheint Wernhers Dichtung ganz in der gesellschaftlichen und literarischen Welt seiner Epoche verankert zu sein und nicht - wie etwa der Nibelunge Not - Petrifakte aus älteren Zeiten mitzuführen.

4. Wir dürfen daher zunächst erwarten, daß Übernamen (Decknamen, Spitznamen) der Kumpane Helmbrechts wie z. B. Lemberslint "Schling", die Lämmer", Küefrāz "Kühefresser", Wolvesguome "Wolfskiefer", Wolvesdrüssel "Wolfskehle" und Wolvesdarm (V. 1185-1221) aus der aktuellen Situation der Dichtung heraus motiviert sind. Vermutlich will Wernher hier das Laster der Völlerei anprangern; und in der Tat wird in dem 1276/77 von einem seiner Zeitgenossen abgefaßten 'Buch der Rügen' dem Stand der Knappen (bzw. Schildknechte) als Sünde vorgeworfen: daz tuot ir allez umb den slunt "das tut ihr alles aus Gefräßigkeit"(V.1199). Es bietet sich daher an, daß hier die Völlerei Helmbrechts und seiner Gesellen, ebenfalls Schildknappen, durch die Namen betont werden soll<sup>2</sup>.

4.1. In anderem Zusammenhang wird aber mit recht von zahlreichen Forschern die Vielschichtigkeit des 'Helmbrecht' hervorgehoben. Deshalb darf man auch in unserem Fall fragen, ob die erwähnte Deutung des Namenbestandteils 'Wolf' bereits die ganze Wahrheit oder nur einen Teil von ihr enthält. Dies gilt um so mehr, als der Begriff 'Wolf' in unserer Dichtung auch selbstständig auftritt, und zwar offenbar in nicht rein kulinarischem Zusammenhang. In V. 1673 ff. sagt Wernher über die Ansicht des Richters folgendes:

ich weiz den rihter sō gemuot:  
ein wilder wolf gaebe im der guot  
bizze er im und allen liuten vihe<sup>3</sup>

Damit ist gemeint: Gäbe der Richter Helmbrecht die Möglichkeit, sich von der Leibesstrafe freizukaufen, so würde dieser doch weiterhin Vieh rauben. Substituierte man hier 'wilder Wolf' durch 'Schlemmer, Vielfraß', so ergäbe sich keine sinnvolle Aussage. Und in der Tat sind die Vergehen der Gruppe um Helmbrecht, die hier gemeint ist, in erster Linie nicht Völlerei,



sondern unrechte Fehde bzw. Raub, Verstümmelung (V. 1243 ff.), Vergewaltigung (V. 1865) und Mord (V. 1250 f.). Dies läßt vermuten, daß dieübertragenen Bedeutungen<sup>4</sup> von 'Wolf' in unserer Dichtung - und damit möglicherweise auch in deren Eigennamen - sich nicht nur auf das Laster slunt 'Freßsucht' (lat. gula) beziehen.

5. Sucht man daher nach weiteren denkbaren Motivationen der mit 'Wolf' gebildeten Namen im 'Helmbrecht', so darf man auch externe Evidenz heranziehen. Im Deutschen (und Germanischen) insgesamt gab und gibt es ja bis heute zahlreiche Personennamen mit ebendiesem Bestandteil, wie z. B. Wolfgang und Wolfram, deren ursprüngliche Motivation eine ganz andere als die oben in 4. diskutierte war. Sie stammen nämlich aus den (ethnologisch zu definierenden) Jugendbünden bzw. Junggesellenbünden der vorchristlichen germanischen Zeit<sup>5</sup>.

5.1. Mittels zahlreicher Belege der älteren Literatur und volkswissenschaftlichen Materials haben Weiser 1927, Höfler 1934 und McCone 1987 die zentrale Rolle dieses Männerbundes bei den frühen Germanen und Kelten bewiesen. Ich kann mich daher zunächst auf Zusammenfassungen ihrer Ergebnisse beschränken.

Beginnen wir mit den altnordischen Berserkern. Ihr Name bedeutet, wie McCone 1987 : 106 wahrscheinlich machen konnte, nicht 'Bärenhaut (tragend)', sondern 'Nackthaut (tragend)'. Man vergleiche Tacitus, Germania 6, wonach das Heer bei den Germanen einerseits aus voll gerüsteten Reitern und andererseits aus nackten Fußsoldaten bestand, die Wurfgeschosse benutzten und eine schnelle jugendliche Kerntruppe bildeten. Weiser 1927 : 44-45 faßt die Sagenberichte über die berserkir so zusammen: "...Sie trugen aber auch Röcke aus Wolfspelz anstelle von Brünnen und hießen deshalb auch úlfhednar... Außerdem haben sie die Fähigkeit, in Ekstase zu geraten, in der sie dann übermenschlich stark und unverwundbar sind. Sie werden gewöhnlich als unverheiratete, gefährliche Haudegen dargestellt. Sie treten meist in Gruppen auf, zu zweit, zu fünf. Sehr häufig sind ihrer zwölf. Gewöhnlich stehen sie im Dienste eines Königs... und bilden seine Kerntruppen. Sie sind die ersten im Kampf...Doch treten sie auch als Räuber und Verbrecher auf eigene Hand auf...Schließlich gibt es aber auch Berserker, die nur in ihrer Jugendzeit das Berser-

kertum ausüben, später aber gute Staatsbürger werden...Der eigentliche Anfall der Berserkerwut heißt altnordisch berserksgangr und wird ziemlich übereinstimmend geschildert, z.B. in der Ygtingsaga 6: 'Seine Mannen kämpften ohne Brünne, und waren rasend wie Hunde oder Wölfe. Sie bissen in ihre Schilde, und waren stark wie Bären oder Stiere. Sie mordeten die Männer, aber weder Feuer noch Eisen konnte ihnen etwas anhaben. Das nennt man Berserkerang'...Die Überlieferung zeigt deutlich, daß dieser Wutanfall mit Tierbesessenheit verbunden war. Die Tierbesessenheit...überfällt den Berserker oft unvermutet...Sie wird aber auch durch das Anlegen von Tierfellen willkürlich hervorgerufen." Ferner "werden die Berserker in der Überlieferung als Heiden dargestellt...Sehr bedeutend ist die erwähnte Gesetzesstelle. Das Verbot des Berserkeranges steht in einer Reihe verpönter heidnischer Kultakte...Daß wirklich einmal Berserker verbannt wurden, erfahren wir aus Norwegen: Erik Jarl (1014) verbannte alle Räuber und Berserker (Gretissaga 19)..."(Weiser 1927:60).

5.2. Die Gleichsetzung von Bersekern mit Wölfen (und ihren Ersatztieren im Kult, den Hunden) legt McCone 1987:103 f, dar: "Ein weiteres Beispiel liefert Hornklofis frühe Eddadichtung, ein Gespräch zwischen Walküre und Rabe: 'Ich will dich nach der Ausrüstung der Berserker fragen...', sagt die Walküre, worauf der Rabe 'Wolfspelze heißen sie (úlfhednar heita)' antwortet. In der Völsungasaga VIII werden Wolfsfelle (ulfshani), die zwei schlafende...Königssöhne auf Bäumen aufgehängt haben, von Sigmund und seinem Sohn Sinfiotli angezogen. Danach leben die zwei Odinshelden eine Zeitlang im Wald in Wolfsgestalt, bis sie ihre Felle verbrennen und in die Welt zurückkehren."

Aber auch außerhalb des Nordgermanischen findet sich die Charakterisierung wilder Krieger als wolfs- oder hundsköpfig. So schildert der lateinische Schriftsteller Paulus Diaconus im 8. Jh. n. Chr. in seiner *Historia Langobardorum* (I,11) äußerst blutrünstige hundsköpfige Krieger (cynocephali) im Heer der Langobarden. Und im 6. Kapitel der angelsächsischen *Gesetze Edwards des Bekenners* wird über Krieger gehandelt, die "ab Anglis 'uuluesheued' (= altenglisch wulfes heafod 'Wolfes Haupt') nominantur". McCone 1987:104 fährt dann fort: "Derartige tierische und vor allem wölfische Vorstellungen

von den wilden Kriegern des \*haryaz erklären wohl das häufige Auftreten von Tiernamen, insbesondere 'Wolf', als Bestandteil germanischer Eigennamen. Mancher Held heißt einfach an. Ūlfr, ae. Wulf, und Verbindungen wie an. Herjōlfr, ae. Herewulf, Wulfhere sind besonders beachtenswert...Wie das bekannte Beispiel des zurückgetretenen und zu einem wohlhabenden Ehemann gewordenen Berserkers Ūlfr bzw. Kvedūlfr 'Abendwolf' zeigt..., wurden derartige Namen auch nach dem Austritt aus dem Männerbund beibehalten...Selbst der gotische Bischof und Bibelübersetzer Wulfila 'Wölfchen' trug einen Namen dieser Art, deren dauernde Beliebtheit durch nhd. Wolfgang, Wolfram usw. bestätigt wird."

6. Die Kirche stand den "Wolfsbünden", die ja wegen ihres teilweise räuberischen Charakters zunächst (s. A. 7) von ihr nicht integrierbar waren, allerorts ablehnend gegenüber. Für den protestantischen Teil des Baltikums bezeugt dies unter anderem ein bei Höfler abgedrucktes Gerichtsprotokoll von 1691, in dem einem lettischen Bauern, Mitglied eines Wolfsbundes, "hart zugeredet" wird, von "solchem teuffelischen unwesen abzustehen" (Höfler 1934:350 f.) Für das Keltische Irland weist McCone 1987:108,113, der für ursprüngliche Unabhängigkeit der keltischen Männerbünde von den germanischen eintritt (skeptisch Untermann 1989:51 A. 4) darauf hin, daß "der Kampf zwischen Kirche und heidnischem Männerbund einen fast gleichen Ausgangspunkt in Irland und Skandinavien bildet." In Island schließlich wird z. B. in der Saga Ketils haegs 5 von dem Berserker Framar berichtet, er sei ein Anbeter heidnischer Götter gewesen. Auch die Erzählung, ein durch das Kreuzzeichen geweihtes Feuer habe Berserker verbrannt, macht die Feindschaft deutlich. Der christliche Eirik Jarl verbannte, wie gesagt, alle Räuber und Berserker (Weiser 1927:60).

Diese Gleichbehandlung von Berserkern (=Wolfsleuten) und Räubern gibt mit Sicherheit die offizielle Haltung der Kirche wieder. Wenn nun auch im 'Helmbrecht' der in einer Art Junggesellenbund lebende "Wolf" mit einem Räuber gleichgesetzt wird, so ähnelt dies dem eben erwähnten Fall vielleicht nicht nur zufällig. Am spätmittelalterlich-christlichen Grundtenor des Helmbrechttextes kann man ja allein schon wegen seines moralisierenden Charakters kein Zweifel bestehen. Eine nicht zu-

fällige Parallelität würde freilich implizieren, daß der Dichter hier auf etwas Bezug nimmt, was nach unseren bisherigen Überlegungen zugleich mit der heidnischen Zeit erloschen war. Der 'Helmbrecht' entstand jedoch gegen Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts, also erst rund 600 Jahre nach der Christianisierung seines Herkunftsgebietes, des niederbayrisch-oberösterreichischen Grenzbereichs. Man wird hier also zunächst keine Spuren von Wolfsbünden erwarten. Aber betrachten wir, was zu dieser Frage die Volkskunde beizutragen hat.

Wir finden hier von der Schweiz bis zum Baltikum eine Fülle von Nachrichten aus den letzten vier Jahrhunderten, von denen Höfler einen großen Teil gesammelt und zutreffend gedeutet hat. Sie lassen sich in folgender Weise gliedern: 6.1. Aussagen über Männer, die nach der Wintersonnenwende nachts in (Wer)wölfe verwandelt ihr Wesen treiben. 6.2. Aussagen über solche, die als Wölfe verkleidet dasselbe tun. 6.3. Aussagen über die 'Wilde Jagd', einen Umzug von Geistern in ebendiesen Nächten. 6.4. Angaben über ähnliche Umzüge verkleideter Männer zur gleichen Jahreszeit. Beispiele hierzu:

6.1. Olaus Magnus berichtet 1555 in seiner *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, daß sich in Preußen, Livland<sup>6</sup> und Litauen zu Weihnachten an einem bestimmten Ort nachts eine Menge "Wölfe" zusammenrotte, die sich aus Menschen verwandelt hätten, und mit großer Wildheit gegen Vieh und Bewohner vorgehe. Diese Wölfe würden auch in Bierkeller eindringen und dort zechen. Als Mutprobe diene ihnen der Sprung über eine bestimmte Mauer; wem er nicht gelinge, der werde von den Vorstehern ausgepeitscht. Es sollen sich unter diesen Wölfen auch viele Männer von Adel befinden (bei Höfler 1934:22 f.). 1840 berichtet ein gewisser Temme über die Stadt Greifswald: "In Greifswald war vor 200 Jahren eine erschreckliche Menge Werwölfe, besonders in der Rokoverstraße. Von da aus überfielen sie alle Leute, die sich abends nach acht Uhr außer dem Haus sehen ließen..." (bei Höfler 1934:313).

6.2. J.J.Hanush veröffentlicht 1859 folgende Notiz: "Wie Vuk Stephanovic erzählt, sind besonders im Winter zur Weihnachtszeit die vlkodlaci (Werwölfe) häufig zu sehen, und in der russischen und rusinischen Weihnachtsfeier spielen Vermummungen

durch umgehängte Wilcuren (Wolfspelze) und ein Herumrennen in denselben durch die Gassen eine Hauptrolle. So wie die zu Wölfen Vermummten niemand in Haus und Hof und auf den Gassen in Ruhe lassen..."(bei Höfler 1934:27).

6.3. Die Zimmersche Chronik berichtet: "Im jar 1550 hat man das wutteshere zu Mösskirch gehört. Das ist in ainer nacht zu herpstzeiten nach den zehen uhren mit einer grosen ungestimme über die Ablach uf Minchsgereut gefaren, und als das ain guete weil daselbs umbher terminiert, ist es die Herdtgassen herabgekommen ...mit aim wunderbarlichen gedöss, lauten geschrai, clingeln..." (bei Höfler 1934:11).

6.4. Rütimeyer berichtet von einer "Räuberbande" im schweizerischen Lötschental, in die nur derjenige aufgenommen wurde, der mit schwerer Beute an einer bestimmten Stelle über den Fluß springen konnte."In garstigen Fetzen, in Schaffellen, scheußlichen Masken mit dröhnenden Treicheln (Kuhglocken) und mit schweren Keulen bewaffnet, überfielen die Scheusale im Dunkel der Nacht die zitternden Bewohner...Im 17. Jahrhundert haben diese Raubzüge aufgehört. Man benützt jetzt die Masken nur noch am fetten Donnerstag und Faschings-Montag und -Dienstag, um damit die Leute zu erschrecken" (bei Höfler 1934:26 f.).

7. Besonders die letzte Quelle macht deutlich, daß es sich um Geheimbünde junger Männer handelt, für die Initiationsriten (Sprung über den Fluß 6.4., über die Mauer 6.1.) und Verkleidungen charakteristisch sind. Infolge der Geheimhaltung, des nächtlichen Auftretens und des in der Bevölkerung ohnedies verbreiteten Geisterglaubens werden sie von den Leuten in älterer Zeit als Zauberwesen angesehen (6.1.; 6.3.); in neuerer Zeit identifiziert man sie oft richtig als verkleidete Menschen (6.2.; 6.4.), fürchtet sie aber um nichts weniger. Im Endstadium der Entwicklung dienen die winterlichen Umzüge der maskierten jungen Männer dann nicht mehr dem Raub, sondern sind zu den bekannten Faschings-umzügen verblaßt<sup>7</sup> (6.4.).

Für unsere Zwecke ist einerseits hervorzuheben, daß die betreffenden Personengruppen ab dem Zeitpunkt, wo man sie jeweils nicht mehr für Vieh raubende Dämonen bzw. Geisterwölfe (6.1.) hält, als "Räuberbanden" (6.4.) empfunden werden, und andererseits die ursprüngliche Koppelung der betreffenden Erscheinung an den

Begriff "Wolf".

8. Die Herkunft der Werwölfe, der Wilden Jagd und der verkleideten Räuber (des Lötschentals) aus den germanischen "Wolfsgekleideten" (ulfhednar = berserkir 5.1.) ist gesichert. Wir haben es also mit einer bis in die Neuzeit reichenden Tradition zu tun. Insofern steht der Annahme, auch im 'Helmbrecht' seien in irgendeiner Form Elemente dieser Tradition enthalten, von chronologischer Seite nichts im Weg.

Fahndet man nun im 'Helmbrecht' nach solchen Zügen, so stößt man jedoch auf ein überraschendes Faktum. Im ursprünglichen deutschen Siedlungsgebiet lebt zwar sowohl die Vorstellung von in Werwölfe verwandelten Menschen als auch diejenige der Wilden Jagd als auch die Tradition verkleideter Räuberbanden bis in die Neuzeit weiter (6.3.-6.4.). Den Ausgangspunkt dieser Traditionen, nämlich Männerbünde, die nicht nur nach der Wintersonnenwende nächtliche Umzüge unternehmen und auch sonst auf Raub aus sind, sondern sich auch explizit als Wölfe bezeichnen und kleiden, sichern die antiken und altnordischen Quellen für die heidnische Zeit der Germanen (5.1.-5.2.), im eigentlich deutschen Altsiedelland ist er jedoch seit der Spätantike nicht mehr nachgewiesen. Er findet sich, hier auf eine eigene ererbte Tradition sowohl der Balten als auch der Slaven zurückgehend, in Mittelalter und Neuzeit nur im (ursprünglich)baltischen bzw. slavischen Raum<sup>8</sup> (6.1.-6.2.). Wernhers 'Helmbrecht' aber fällt aus diesem Befund heraus, denn trotz seiner Herkunft aus dem bajuwarischen Altsiedelland beziehen sich die hier (möglicherweise) auffindbaren Charakteristika gerade nicht auf den dämonischen Werwolf, sondern auf eine Männergruppe, die einem nordgermanischen Berserkertrupp unter anderem darin ähnelt, daß sie mit "Wölfen" gleichgesetzt wird (8.3.).

8.1. Beginnen wir damit, daß vor diesem Hintergrund Namen wie Wolvesguome nun eine zusätzliche Funktion offenbaren könnten. Man muß sich ja darüber klar sein, daß der 'Helmbrecht' eine Dichtung komplexer Mehrfachstrukturen ist, die sich nicht auf eine simple Einheit reduzieren lassen. So meint das Wolfselement in den Namen vordergründig die Völlerei (s. o. 4.), hintergründig aber vielleicht eben die Zugehörigkeit zum Wolfs-

bund der in 5.2. geschilderten Art. Sehen wir uns die Verse, in denen die betreffenden Übernamen eingeführt werden, näher an:

8.2. Auf die Frage des Vaters nach Helmbrechts Gefährten nennt dieser (V. 1185 ff.) zunächst Lemberslint, Slickenwider, Hellesac, Rütelschrīn, Küefrāz und Müschenkelch, die er alle als seine Lehrer bezeichnet. Dann fährt er fort:

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| nū sich herre vater welch         | Nun sieh, Vater, was für                |
| knaben sint an der schar,         | junge Männer zu dem Trupp gehören,      |
| die sehs hān ich genennet gar.    | die sechs habe ich alle genannt.        |
| 1195 mīn geselle Wolfesguome      | Mein Kumpan Wolfesguome,                |
| wie liep im sī sīn muome          | er mag seine Tante mütterlicher-        |
|                                   | seits noch so gern haben,               |
| sīn base sīn ōheim und sīn veter, | seine Tante väterlicherseits,           |
|                                   | seinen Onkel mütterlicherseits          |
| und waer ez hornunges weter       | und den väterlicherseits <sup>9</sup> , |
| er lāt niht an ir lībe            | wäre auch Februar, er läßt ihnen,       |
| 1200 dem manne und dem wībe       | ob Mann oder Frau,                      |
| einen vadem an ir scham           | nichts um ihre Scham zu bedecken,       |
| den fremden und den kunden sam,   | gleich ob fremd oder bekannt.           |
| mīn geselle Wolfesdrūzzel         | Mein Kumpan Wolfesdrūzzel,              |
| ūf tuot er āne slūzzel            | der öffnet ohne Schlüssel               |
| 1205 alliu sloz und īsenhalt.     | jedes Schloß und jede eiserne Kis       |
| in einem jār hān ich gezalt       | In einem Jahr habe ich                  |
| hundert īsenhalt grōz             | hundert große Eisenkisten gezählt       |
| daz ie daz sloz danne schōz       | deren Schloß aufsprang,                 |
| als er von verren gie dar zuo.    | wenn er kaum in ihre Nähe kam.          |
| 1210 ros ohsen und manic kuo      | Pferde, Ochsen und viele Kühe           |
| diu ungezalt sint beliben         | sind dabei nicht mitgezählt,            |
| diu er ūz hove hāt getriben       | die er vom Hof weggetrieben hat,        |
| daz ie daz sloz von sīner stat    | wo immer das Schloß aufsprang,          |
| schōz swenne er dar zuo trat.     | wenn er sich ihm näherte.               |
| 1215 noch hān ich einen compan    | Noch einen Kumpan habe ich:             |
| daz nie knabe gewan               | es hat niemals ein junger Mann          |
| einen namen alsō hovelīch,        | einen vornehmeren Namen erhalten;       |
| den gap im diu herzoginne rīch    | den gab ihm die mächtige Herzogin       |
| diu edele und diu frīe            | aus adligem und freiem Geschlecht       |
| 1220 von Nōnarre Narīe,           | Narie von Nonarre:                      |
| der ist geheizen Wolfesdarm.      | der wird Wolfesdarm genannt.            |

ez sī kalt oder warm  
roubes wirt er nimmer vol...

Sei es kalt oder warm,  
vom Rauben kriegt er nie genug...

8.3. Es sind also gerade die drei "Knaben" (V. 1193), die ausführlich geschildert werden und die mit Helmbrecht als viertem unter Führung bzw. im Auftrag eines fehdeliebenden Ritters Raubzüge unternehmen. Rufen wir uns nochmals Weisers Angaben über die nordgermanischen Berserker ins Gedächtnis (s. o. 5.1.): "...unverheiratete, gefährliche Haudegen... Sie treten meist in Gruppen auf, zu zweit, zu fünf... Gewöhnlich stehen sie im Dienst eines Königs... Doch treten sie auch als Räuber und Verbrecher auf eigene Hand auf..." Es ist daher vielleicht kein Zufall, daß gerade diese drei jungen und eigentlichen

Gefährten Helmbrechts das Element 'Wolf' im Namen tragen<sup>10</sup>. Und auch Helmbrechts<sup>11</sup> Übername Slintezgeu "Verschling" das Land" läßt sich als Wolfsname auffassen. Der gleiche Sinn darf nun auch hinter dem freien Lexem 'Wolf' in der Meinung des Richters, man dürfe einen "wilden Wolf" nicht gegen Bußzahlung freilassen (s. 4.1.), vermutet werden.

9. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist es bedeutsam, wie die von Wernher geschilderte Tätigkeit Helmbrechts eigentlich zu klassifizieren ist. Nach der Ansicht von Schindele 1975:133 begibt sich Helmbrecht aus der familia eines Grundherrn, dem er von rechts wegen als Bauer zu dienen hätte, in diejenige eines anderen, den er als Berittener in Verfolgung seiner häufigen Fehden unterstützt (V. 653 ff.). Er ist somit Schildknappe. Nach Steer 1979:243 hingegen schildert Wernher das Leben Helmbrechts als "Exemplum einer Lebensform, die außerhalb der drei Stände - gebure, ritter und pfaffen... - angelegt ist". Letzteres erscheint mir zutreffend. Denn Helmbrecht wird zwar in der Tat Schildknappe und tritt dadurch in die unterste Stufe des Adels ein, aber erstens bildet dies einen Verstoß gegen seinen ursprünglichen Grundherrn und ist daher illegal, und zweitens bricht Helmbrecht bei der Ausübung seiner neuen Tätigkeit ständig das (normierte) Fehderecht. So beraubt er beispielsweise Frauen (V. 680 ff.), die als Personengruppe von der Fehde ausgenommen sind. Daher werden er und seine Gesellen vom Dichter mit Räubern und Dieben gleichgesetzt (V. 1652). Siestehen insofern wirklich außerhalb der Gesellschaft - auch




dadurch den "Wölfe" genannten Berserkern des Nordens nicht unähnlich.

9.1. Die Parallelen zwischen den vier jungen Männern, zu denen Helmbrecht gehört, und den Berserkern beschränken sich aber nicht auf die Anzahl, die Lebensweise am Rand bzw. außerhalb der Gesellschaft, ihre zwischen Krieger und Räuber angesiedelte Tätigkeit und ihre "Wolfsnamen". Auch die Verleihung dieser Namen erst bei Eintritt in den Bund (zu Slintezgeu V. 1237) ist für Berserker charakteristisch; vgl. McCone 1987:113, Weiser 1927:14). Diese Krieger lassen ihr Haar lang wachsen (vgl. Tacitus, Germania Kapitel 31), ebenso Helmbrecht (V. 10 ff.), was hier zugleich auch wieder eine vordergründige Bedeutung hat, indem es den Wunsch symbolisiert, zum Ritterstand überzuwechseln. In ihre sprichwörtliche Kampfeswut geraten die Berserker teilweise durch das Anlegen von Wolfsfellen und anderen Kleidungsstücken; man vergleiche damit die Szene der Einkleidung Helmbrechts V. 403 ff.:

Dō der sun wart bereit	Als der Sohn fertig war
und er sich hēt an geleit	und die Kleider angelegt hatte,
405 nū hoeret wie der knabe sprach.	hört, was der junge Mann da sagte.
er schutte das houbet und sach	Er schüttelte seine Locken und sah
ūf ietweder ahselbein:	auf seine beiden Schultern hinab:
'ich bizze wol durch einen stein.	"Ich könnte einen Stein zerbeißen
ich bin sō muotes raeze,	Ich kann mich vor Wildheit kaum halten.
410 hei waz ich īsens aeze!...	Am liebsten fräße ich Eisen..."

Ein weiteres Indiz ist die "Verheiratung" der Schwester. Helmbrecht gibt sie ohne Wissen des Vaters an Lemberslint (V. 1434 ff.) Dies war auch bei Berserkern üblich und wird daher im "russischen" Wikingergesetz verboten (Weiser 1927:63).

9.2. Nun zu einer letzten Parallele, die man wohl nur schwer anders als durch eine Reminiszenz an die heidnische Zeit erklären kann. In V. 620-629 berichtet der Vater dem Sohn Helmbrecht den letzten seiner Träume: "Du standest auf einem Baum; von deinen Füßen bis zum Gras waren es wohl anderthalb Klafter; auf einem Zweig über deinem Kopf saß ein Rabe, und neben ihm ei-

ne Krähe. Dein Haar war ganz struppig. Da kämmte dir dein Haupt auf der rechten Seite jener Rabe, und auf der Linken scheitelte es die  Krähe. O weh, Sohn, über den Traum!..."

Am Ende erfüllt sich der Traum: Bauern hängen Helmbrecht im Wald an einem Baum auf. Vordergründig erklärt sich dies so, daß er als Dieb bestraft wird. "Unter den Todesstrafen begegnet in erster Linie das Hängen. Diese Strafe traf den Dieb. Auch Verräter und Überläufer wurden an Bäumen aufgehängt (Tacitus, Germania c. 12). Hier handelt es sich um ein Opfer an den im Sturm daherbrausenden Gott Odin-Wodan, dem der laublose Baum heilig war, an dem er selbst in dem geheimnisvollen Odinsmythos der Edda hängt." (Conrad 1962:51). Daß dem Mercurius, für dessen Gleichsetzung mit Wodan der verehrte Jubilar neue Argumente beigebracht hat (Polomé 1986:296), bei den Germanen auch Menschen geopfert wurden, berichtet Tacitus ausdrücklich in Kap. 9. An unserer Helmbrechtstelle ist der Bezug zu diesem Gott durch Rabe und Krähe, seine Begleittiere, zusätzlich betont. Odin (Wodan) ist aber zugleich auch derjenige Gott, dem die Berserker sich zu weihen pflegten. Und nicht selten - zumindest der Überlieferung nach - geschah dies sogar in der Form, daß sie sich selbst als Hängeopfer an einem Baum aufhängten (Weiser 1927:79, Höfler 1934:203,227 f.). Noch Hans Sachs im Jahr 1557 weiß zu berichten, daß im "wüttend here" Gehenkte zu sehen sind, die den Strick um den Hals tragen (Höfler 1934:228).

Für unseren Zweck braucht nicht erklärt zu werden, warum sowohl Berserker als auch Diebe diesem Gott als Hängeopfer willkommen waren, es genügt, die Tatsache selbst zu konstatieren. An Helmbrecht wird dieses Opfer gewissermaßen in doppeltem Sinne vollzogen, denn er ist einerseits Dieb und kommt andererseits dem, was wir aus altgermanischen, nordgermanischen und osteuropäischen Quellen über Berserker bzw. Mitglieder von Wolfsbünden wissen, recht nahe. Nicht zufällig sitzen also Odins Raben über ihm. Was das Interesse des Dichters anbelangt, so dient ihm diese indirekte Anspielung auf Heidnisches wohl dazu, das Verruchte (Teuflische) im Leben und Sterben seines negativen Helden anzudeuten<sup>12</sup>.

9.3. Was zeichnet sich als Ergebnis ab? Wernhers Dichtung

ist, wie gesagt, ein vielschichtiges Werk. Die Gestalt Helmbrechts dient ihm als warnendes Exempel nicht nur gegen den Versuch, die Klassenschranken zu durchbrechen, sondern ebenso gegen persönliche Habsucht, gegen Gesetzlosigkeit, aber auch gegen Mißachtung des väterlichen Willens (V. 1914 ff.). Und dementsprechend beruht das "Wölfische" der Bande der vier bzw. zehn Gesellen, zu denen Helmbrecht gehört, nicht nur auf ihrer Gier, sondern zugleich auf ihrer Ähnlichkeit mit den alten Wolfsbünden der heidnischen und somit teuflischen Tradition.

Im Baltikum bestanden derartige Wolfsbünde bis in neuere Zeit (s. o. 6.4.). Im ursprünglichen deutschen Siedlungsraum lebte zwar im Spätmittelalter einerseits noch die Vorstellung, daß sich Menschen nachts in Werwölfe zu verwandeln vermögen, und andererseits existierten hier Räuberbanden, deren Mitglieder Masken trugen (6.4.), aber die gemeinsame Ausgangsbasis von beidem, wie sie uns etwa im nordgermanischen, wolfsfelltragenden Berserkertum entgegentritt, schien nach unserer bisherigen Kenntnis die Christianisierung in Deutschland nicht wesentlich überlebt zu haben. Nun aber können wir vermuten, daß sie dem Dichter des 'Helmbrecht' im späten 13. Jahrhundert bekannt war. Dies ist am einfachsten durch die Annahme zu erklären, daß bis weit ins Mittelalter hinein auch im süddeutschen Raum berserkerartige Gruppen bestanden haben, die als 'Wölfe' bezeichnet wurden.

#### Anmerkungen:

- 1) So ist beispielsweise die Verstoßung durch den Vater als Strafe für den Wechsel des Lehensherrn (ungetriuwe) zu erklären; s. Schindele 1975:188 f. Und der magisch wirkende Charakter des Schergen (Krahē 1979:107) dürfte darauf beruhen, daß es sich um einen kirchlichen Richter handelt (Steer 1979:249).
- 2) Vgl. Schindele 1975:136 f.; Steer 1979:243 f. A. 13. Anders Sowinski 1968:239, der Wolvesdarm als typischen Narrennamen einstuft.
- 3) Textstellen und teilweise auch Übersetzungen werden im Folgenden nach Brackert-Frey-Seitz 1972 zitiert. Das Nachwort dieser Edition (105-119) hat übrigens auch das inhaltliche Verständnis

dieses Textes, als dessen Hauptziel sich die Kriminalisierung aufstiegswilliger Bauern zum Schutz des vom sozialen Abstieg gefährdeten niederen Adels erweist, wesentlich gefördert.

- 4) Eine modernere, uns hier nicht betreffende Funktion hat 'Wolf' in 549 "dīn geniuzet der wolf und der ar"; s. Schindele 1975:194 f.
- 5) Aus McCone 1987 (passim) wird implizit deutlich, daß die betreffenden Bünde bei den Kelten im Prinzip die gleiche "staatsbildende Kraft" besitzen, die Höfler 1934:357 ihnen lediglich in der Gesellschaft der Germanen konzедieren wollte. Ein Teil der deutschen Forschung hat in einer bestimmten Epoche die Männerbünde der Germanen ideologisiert. Dies berechtigt uns nicht dazu, sie heute zu ignorieren. Vielmehr bedürfen sie nun, wo Weltkrieg und Nachkriegsordnung der Vergangenheit angehören, einer um objektive ethnologische Maßstäbe bemühten Untersuchungsweise.
- 6) Für Livland vgl. auch das oben in 6. erwähnte Gerichtsprotokoll, das hier das Fortleben der Wolfsbünde bis in die Neuzeit hinein dokumentiert. Wolfsbünde sehr ähnlicher Struktur finden sich außer bei Balten, Germanen und Kelten innerhalb der Indogermania beispielsweise auch bei den Griechen im Rückzugsgebiet Arkadien, wofür Burkert 1972:98-108 einzusehen ist.

McCone 1987 (passim) hat den Versuch, diesen Bündeln urindogermanisches Alter zuzuschreiben, fortentwickelt. Er hat allerdings das Spezifische dieser Bünde bei indogermanischen Völkern gegenüber dem, was wir auch anderswo (Ostafrika, Nordamerika) finden, nicht genügend deutlich gemacht und dadurch die (auf Schlerath gestützte) Kritik bei Untermann 1989:50 f. herausgefordert. Schlerath und Untermann ist m. E. zu konzедieren, daß ein erheblicher Teil der Rekonstruktionsversuche urindogermanischer Kultur auf schwachen Beinen steht. Es gibt jedoch auch Weizen unter der Spreu. McCones Wolfsbünde gehören wahrscheinlich dazu.

Dies gilt trotz der Einschränkung, daß McCones Beurteilung von \*teutā 'Volk(saufgebot)' als gesamtindogermanisch insofern ungesichert ist, als heth. tuzzi- 'Heer' (a.a.O. 115) etymologisch kaum hierhergehört (Oettinger 1986:29 A. 35). Übrigens ist tuzzi- mit keilschrift-luwisch latti- 'Schar, Stamm' verwandt, wie mir Frank Starke freundlicherweise mitteilt.

- 7) Im Einzelnen haben wir uns die Entwicklung, je nach Landschaft zu unterschiedlicher Zeit, folgendermaßen vorzustellen: Zunächst hatte der Junggesellenbund in mehr oder weniger geregelter Weise neben der "normalen" Gesellschaft, nämlich den bereits verheirateten Männern mit ihren Familien, seinen Platz. Wo sich später Fürsten etablierten, da bildeten die "Berserker" zeitweise deren Elitetruppen, zeitweise lebten sie aber auch bei annähernd gleichbleibender Tätigkeit in der Wildnis und somit als Räuber außerhalb der Gesellschaft. Dies dürfte unter den litauischen Jagiellonenherrschern um 1400 n. Chr. nicht anders gewesen sein als früher im ebenfalls noch heidnischen Norwegen. Ab der Christianisierung wurden die Berserker (bzw. Wolfsmaskenträger) zurückgedrängt. Was zunächst vor allem erhalten blieb, waren ihre nächtlichen Maskenumzüge um die Wintersonnenwende, denen das Volk nach wie vor eine Erhöhung der Bodenfruchtbarkeit zuschrieb. Hatte man die so Verkleideten schon früher teilweise als Geister empfunden, so wurden sie nun von kirchlicher Seite Teufeln gleichgesetzt (Werwölfe). Soweit sie außerhalb dieser Nächte aktiv blieben, sah man sie als Menschen und Räuber an (6.4.).

Da die Bevölkerung die Sonnwendumzüge aus den besagten Gründen wünschte, suchte die Kirche sie wenigstens in den christlichen Festkalender zu integrieren, und zwar als ausgelassenes Treiben Verkleideter im Kontrast zur anschließenden Fastenzeit. Aus dieser Intention heraus wurde in Norwegen der bererksgangr (Berserkergang, Amoklauf, wilder Umzug mit Masken) in føstugangr 'Fastnachtsumzug' umbenannt. Im Mittelhochdeutschen ersetzte man dann \*vastganc (so noch mittelniederdt.) durch vastschanc 'Fasten-Ausschank' > Fasching. In der Sache aber ist der Fasching auch weiterhin ein Maskenumzug geblieben. Trotzdem wird wegen der (scheinbar) christlichen Etymologie des Faschings bis heute teilweise mit kirchlichem Ursprung dieses Festes gerechnet. Der Vergleich mit anderen Religionen (Islam usw.) zeigt jedoch, daß unter normalen Umständen nicht vor, sondern lediglich nach dem Fasten gefeiert wird, was gegen christliche Herkunft des Faschings spricht.

Nicht nur Fasching, sondern auch die Begriffe Harlekin (vgl. Wildes Heer), Perchtenlauf, Wilde Jagd, Rahnnächte, Werwolf

Berserker und Wikinger stehen mit den ehemaligen Wolfsbünden in Zusammenhang.

- 8) Die Verzögerung der Entwicklung gegenüber dem deutschen Altsiedelland hängt mit der relativ späten Christianisierung der Slaven und vor allem der Balten zusammen.
- 9) Diese Interpretation der Verwandtschaftsnamen verdanke ich meinem Augsburger Kollegen Hans Wellmann.
- 10) Zum normalerweise stets der Wolfsbundsphäre entstammenden Element 'Wolf' in Personennamen s. Weiser 1927:60.
- 11) Der durch die "Haube" motivierte Name Helmbrecht setzt mit seinem Hinterglied ahd. beraht 'hell, glänzend' fort; hierzu Lühr 1982:395. Es liegt ein Determinativkompositum der Bedeutung 'helmgläzend, mit dem Helm glänzend' vor; ungenau Weydt 1932:266.
- 12) Schindele 1975:189 nimmt an, Helmbrecht werde nur in seinem letzten Lebensjahr im Wald gewissermaßen als Werwolf charakterisiert. Nun ist es zwar in der Tat so, daß infolge der Stellung der Werwölfe außerhalb der Gesellschaft auch einmal ein einzelner "outlaw" als Werwolf eingestuft werden kann (Literatur bei Puhvel 1986:154 A. 5), aber das Ursprüngliche und Normale ist hier die Gruppe. Außerdem wird Helmbrecht durch seine Verstümmelung hilflos und kann so gerade ab dieser Zeit nicht mehr "wölfisch" wirken.

#### Literatur:

- Brackert, H., Frey, W., Seitz, D. 1972. Wernher der Gartenaere, Helmbrecht. Mittelhochdeutscher Text und Übertragung. Frankfurt/M.
- Burkert, W. 1972. Homo necans. Interpretation altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen. Berlin.
- Conrad, H. 1972. Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte, I. Karlsruhe.
- Höfler, O. 1934. Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen. Frankfurt/M.
- Krahé, P. 1979. Slintezgeu Helmbrecht. In: Euphorion 73:106-120.
- Lühr, R. 1982. Studien zur Sprache des Hildebrandliedes, II. Frankfurt/M.

- McCone, K. 1987. Hund, Wolf und Krieger bei den Indogermanen. In: Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz. Hgg. von W.Meid. Innsbruck. 101-154.
- Oettinger, N. 1986. "Indo-Hittite"-Hypothese und Wortbildung. (IBS V 37). Innsbruck.
- Polomé, E.C. 1986. Germanentum und religiöse Vorstellungen. In: Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht. Hgg. von H.Beck. Berlin - New York. 267-297.
- Puhvel, J. 1986. Who were the Hittite hurkilas pesnes? In: o-o-pe-ro-si. Festschrift für E.Risch. Hgg. von A.Etter. Berlin - New York. 151-155.
- Schindele, G. 1975. Heimbrecht. Bäuerlicher Aufstieg und landesherrliche Gewalt. In: Literatur des Feudalismus. Hgg. von D.Richter. Stuttgart. 131-212.
- Sowinski, B. 1968. Heimbrecht, der Narr. In: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 90: 223-242.
- Steer, G. 1979. Rechtstheologische Implikationen der Heimbrecht-Dichtung Wernhers des Gartenaere. In: Poesie und Gebrauchsliteratur im deutschen Mittelalter. Hgg. von V.Honemann u. a., Tübingen. 239-250.
- Untermann, J. 1989. In: Kratylos 34:45-54.
- Weiser, L. 1927. Altgermanische Jünglingsweihen und Männerbünde. Buhl/Baden.
- Weydt, G. 1937. Zur Deutung und Namengebung des "Heimbrecht". In: Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie 62: 264-302.

## WAS HABEN DIE GERMANEN UNTER EINER BRAUT VERSTANDEN?

Elmar Seebold

In einer Auseinandersetzung mit Otto Behaghels Behandlung der altsächsischen Genesis (*Der Heliand und die altsächsische Genesis*. Gießen 1902) macht Wilhelm Braune eine wichtige methodische Bemerkung (1907,9):

Hier möchte ich nur die allgemeine regel ins gedächtnis rufen, dass es nicht angängig ist, nach einer vorgefassten meinung oder nach einer von aussen hergeholten etymologie die bedeutung eines wortes in einer bestimmten sprachstufe zu erschliessen. Vielmehr soll man zuerst nach der alterprobten philologischen methode durch eingehende erforschung des internen sprachgebrauchs aus dem zusammenhange der texte feststellen, welches die reale bedeutung zu der betreffenden zeit war. Erst dann kann man fragen, wie sich diese bedeutung mit der geltung zu anderer zeit und an anderen orten oder mit der etymologischen herkunft des wortes vermitteln lasse.

Es geht dabei um das Wort *Braut*, bei dem Behaghel nicht erkannt hatte, daß es im Altsächsischen - im Gegensatz zum Gebrauch in allen modernen germanischen Sprachen - 'verheiratete Frau jeglichen Lebensalters' bedeutet. Und Braune führt an dieser Stelle und in einem darauf bezogenen Aufsatz nun mustergültig vor, wie eine solche von ihm geforderte Textanalyse auszusehen hat. Allerdings verfällt er auf der nächst-höheren Analyse-Ebene demselben Fehler, den er an Behaghel tadelt: Da es für ihn nicht auf der Hand liegt, daß Bedeutungsübergänge strengen Regeln folgen (wie das bei Lautgesetzen selbstverständlich ist), hat er für die Deutung der Zusammenhänge zwischen den von ihm herausgestellten Einzelbedeutungen keinen gleich strengen methodischen Maßstab und richtet sie deshalb nach der von ihm bevorzugten (und ziemlich sicher falschen) Etymologie aus - in einem Ausmaß, das ihn sogar die Beschreibung der einzelnen Bedeutungen verzerren läßt. Dies und der Umstand, daß seit Braunes Aufsatz einiges andere, das Thema Erhellende (vgl. die Literaturliste) zum Vorschein gekommen ist, läßt es angemessen erscheinen, die Fragestellung erneut aufzugreifen.

### I Die 'rechtmäßige Gattin'

Beginnen wir mit der eben erwähnten Besonderheit: In der altgermanischen Dichtung, und fast ausschließlich nur in dieser, kann das Wort *Braut* die Bedeutung 'rechtmäßige Gattin' haben, wobei das Alter der so Bezeichneten oder die Länge der bereits vergangenen Zeit ihrer Verheiratung keine Rolle spielen. Im einzelnen ist dies in der altsächsischen Bibeldichtung die normale Bedeutung des Wortes (an keiner Stelle muß für as. *brūd* eine andere Bedeutung angesetzt werden, obwohl an einigen Stellen auch 'junge Frau am Tag der Hochzeit' denkbar ist). Selbst as. *brūdi-gomo* 'Bräutigam' scheint zur Bezeichnung eines schon längst Verheirateten möglich zu sein (*Heliand* 509). Wichtig für die Frage, ob das Wort auch allgemeiner 'Weib, verheiratete Frau' bedeuten kann, ist die Stelle *Heliand* 2706 - 2714, an der berichtet wird, wie Johannes den Herodes dafür tadelt, daß er die Frau seines Bruders zu sich genommen hat:

Biude imu be theru brudi, thiū er sines broder uuas  
idis an ehti antat he ellior skoc  
uuerold uueslode. Tho imu that uuif ginam



the cuning te quenun; er uuarun iro kind odan,  
 barn be is broder. Tho bigan imu thea brud lahan  
 Iohannes the godo, quad that it gode uuari,  
 uualdande uuidermod, that it enig uuero frumidi,  
 that broder brud an is bed nami,  
 hebbie si imu te hiuun.

‘Dieser lebte mit der *BRAUT*, die vormalis seines Bruders gewesen war, die Gattin in dessen Besitz, bis dieser sich anderswohin begab, die Welt wechselte [d.h. starb]. Da nahm sich das Weib der König zur Frau. Schon zuvor hatte diese Kinder bekommen; Kinder von dessen Bruder. Da begann die *BRAUT* zu tadeln Johannes der Gute; er sagte, daß es Gott dem Waltenden im Sinn zuwider wäre, daß irgendein Mann das vollbringe, daß er die *BRAUT* seines Bruders in sein Bett nähme und sie als Ehefrau hätte’. Hier ist der letzte Beleg klar: ein Mann soll nicht die ‘rechtmäßige Gattin’ seines Bruders zur Frau nehmen; auch der erste scheint mir lediglich eine syntaktische Umstellung zu sein, eine stilistische Überhöhung der sonst klaren Variation: ‘Er lebte mit [der Frau], die vormalis seines Bruders rechtmäßige Gattin gewesen war, die Ehefrau in dessen Besitz’; kritisch ist lediglich die mittlere Stelle. Hier ist dem Sinn nach ‘Weib, Frau’ gemeint, aber das scheint mir nicht auszureichen, dies dem Wort auch als Teilbedeutung zuzuweisen. Ich würde eher daran denken, daß der Dichter hier dem Sinn nach etwa sagen will: ‘Da begann Johannes die Frau in Bezug auf ihre Eigenschaft als “rechtmäßige Gattin” zu tadeln’. Bei der Häufigkeit, mit der Wörter für ‘Frau’ in *Heland* und *Genesis* vorkommen, scheint mir diese einzige Stelle, in der auch *brūd* diese Bedeutung zu haben scheint, nicht ausreichend zu sein, um weiterreichende Schlüsse zu ziehen.

Derselbe Wortgebrauch erscheint in der altenglischen Dichtung - in der *Genesis* wird vor allem Sara, die Patriarchin, die *BRAUT* Abrahams genannt; auch im *Beowulf* kommt der Gebrauch einige Male vor; sonst ist er selten. Im Altnordischen zeigen *Edda* wie *Skaldik* die gleiche Möglichkeit; auch hier scheint mir die von den Wörterbüchern angegebene Bedeutung ‘Weib im allgemeinen’ nicht ausreichend gestützt zu sein. Von den angegebenen Stellen läßt sich ein Teil ohne weiteres mit ‘Gattin’ übersetzen, ein anderer mit dem gleich zu besprechenden ‘Jungfrau’, ein dritter schließlich ist unklar. Nahegelegt wird ‘Weib, Frau’ als Übersetzungswort vor allem in *Atlaquida* 8,1f., wo den Burgunden gerade die Einladung *Atlis* verkündet worden ist - *Gunnarr* ist abgeneigt, und *Högni* spricht:

Hvat hygg þú brúdi bendo, þá er hon ocr baug sendi,

...

‘Was dünkt dich die *BRAUT* anzudeuten, damit, daß sie uns einen Ring sandte, ... (mit einem Wolfshaar)’. Nun ist *Gudrun* die rechtmäßige Gattin *Atlis*, aber an dieser Stelle gibt der Bezug darauf keinen rechten Sinn (vielleicht: Will uns *Gudrun* vor *Atli* warnen, obwohl sie doch *Atlis* rechtmäßige Gattin ist?). ‘Frau, Weib’ würde natürlich passen; es scheint mir aber mißlich zu sein, für solche kryptischen (und im übrigen auch in der Überlieferung verderbten) Stellen einfach sonst unbeweisbare Wortbedeutungen anzunehmen, um sie unserem Verständnis anzupassen. Ich halte die Bedeutung ‘Weib im allgemeinen’ bei an. *brúdr* für unerweislich, wenn auch einige Textstellen zugebenermaßen in die Nähe einer solchen Auslegung kommen.

In der althochdeutschen Dichtung schließlich haben wir die bekannte Stelle des *Hildebrandsliedes* 19f.:

her furlaet in lante luttila sitten  
 prut[i] in bure, barn unwahsan,

'er ließ zurück im Land als Kleines sitzen, der rechtmäßigen Ehefrau in ihrem Gemach, ein unmündiges Kind' - aber die Stelle ist nicht völlig klar. - Auch in einer Notker-Stelle (Martianus Capella, ed. James C. King. Tübingen 1979, 4,5; vgl. Notker latinus. Tübingen 1986, S. 8 zur Stelle) scheint die gleiche Bedeutung vorzuliegen, zumindest entspricht das Wort dort einem l. *femina* der Vorlage.

Dieser Wortgebrauch ist - abgesehen vielleicht von der angeführten Notker-Stelle - außerhalb der Dichtung und in späterer Zeit nur im Mittelniederdeutschen zu finden (wie Braune im einzelnen gezeigt hat). Überall sonst ist er offenbar archaisch.

## II Die 'Frau am Tag ihrer Hochzeit'

Wenden wir uns nun der Bedeutung zu, die wir besser kennen, und die auch die normale ist: 'Frau am Tag ihrer Hochzeit' (wobei die zeitliche Abgrenzung in den einzelnen Traditionen unterschiedlich geregelt ist). Dieser Wortgebrauch gilt in allen modernen germanischen Sprachen, und er ist in keiner der älteren ausgeschlossen. Wenden wir uns den 'Abgrenzungsschwierigkeiten' im einzelnen zu:

### A 'Jungverheiratete'

Besonders im Englischen kann die jungverheiratete Frau noch einige Zeit nach ihrer Hochzeit als Braut bezeichnet werden. Wie lange, ist unklar - teilweise wird ein Jahr angegeben, teilweise bis zur Geburt ihres ersten Kindes oder anderes. Hier geht es nur darum, ob diese weitere Bedeutung ursprünglich oder sekundär ist, und es spricht alles für eine nachträgliche Ausweitung. Zum einen ist - je nach Brauchtum - unklar, wie lange die Hochzeit überhaupt dauert; aber das ist natürlich nur eine Sache von Tagen oder allenfalls Wochen. Zum anderen ist Sprache immer eher beharrend und konservativ und neigt deshalb dazu, eine Bezeichnung noch beizubehalten, wenn sie eigentlich schon nicht mehr gilt; und das trifft besonders auf Ausdrücke zu, die positiv besetzt sind (was hier der Fall sein dürfte). Dabei ist vor allem darauf hinzuweisen, daß Wörter für 'Verlobte, Verlobter' sich auf Grund desselben Mechanismus sehr leicht zu Wörtern für 'Verheiratete, Verheirateter' entwickeln, besonders wenn sie ursprünglich 'versprochen' bedeutet haben (ich nenne das den Bezeichnungstyp SPONSA). So ist ahd. *gimahalo*, -a ursprünglich 'der Verlobte, die Verlobte' und wird erst seit spät-althochdeutscher Zeit zu 'Ehemann, Ehefrau' (nhd. *Gemahl, Gemahlin*). Ganz entsprechend wird lt. *sponsa, sponsus* 'Verlobte, Verlobter' auf dem Weg in die modernen romanischen Sprachen z. B. zu frz. *époux* 'Gemahl', *épouse* 'Gemahlin'.

### B 'Verlobte'

Besonders im Deutschen wird die Verlobte vielfach als *Braut* bezeichnet (und z.B. so vorgestellt). Zur Beurteilung dieses Gebrauchs hat Braune die notwendigen Argumente bereits zusammengetragen: Es kommt einerseits darauf an, wie stark das Verlöbnis als Bestandteil der Hochzeit angesehen wird, und das kann z.B. der Fall sein, wenn die beiden Ereignisse sehr rasch aufeinanderfolgen. Ferner kommt es darauf an, wie hoch das Verlöbnis bewertet wird und auf ähnliches. In diesem Bereich kann es nun sehr starke Verschiebungen geben. Braune (1907,260f.) zitiert etwa eine Zuschrift von Gallée, wonach in dessen Heimat die junge Frau ursprünglich erst dann *Braut* hieß, wenn sie (im Zuge der Eheschließung) vom Haus ihrer Eltern in das Haus des Mannes geholt wurde. Als in der Napoleonischen Zeit aber die öffentliche Einschreibung und der öffentliche Aushang dieser Einschreibung für vierzehn Tage eingeführt wurde, galt die Bezeichnung als *Braut* schon vom Tage dieser Einschreibung an. Solche Verschiebungen des Brauchtums und der gesetzlichen Regelungen kommen immer wieder vor und bedingen dann auch eine Reaktion des Wortgebrauchs (in welcher Weise auch immer).

Aufschlußreich ist auch die Bemerkung des OED zu *bride*:

The term is particularly applied on the day of marriage and during the 'honeymoon', but is frequently used from the proclamation of the banns, or other public announcement of the coming marriage.

Diese Umstände ändern nichts am Grundsätzlichen: Daß von der Bedeutung 'Frau am Tage ihrer Hochzeit' auszugehen ist, und daß lediglich die Zeitbestimmung 'am Tage ihrer Hochzeit' nach Bedarf und Sitte variiert wird. Im übrigen hat Braune für den neuhochdeutschen Gebrauch festgestellt, daß er wohl in Ostmitteldeutschland entstanden und seit Luther bezeugt ist.

#### C 'Schwiegertochter'

Ein weiterer häufiger Bedeutungsübergang, besonders bei den Entlehnungen in die romanischen Sprachen, ist der zu 'Schwiegertochter'. Dieser Bedeutungsübergang ist aus der Bezeichnungssituation heraus gut zu verstehen. Die Bezeichnung der jungen Frau als *Schwiegertochter* hat besonders in der älteren Zeit erhebliche negative Konnotationen, und es ist rücksichtsvoll, diese (zunächst oder überhaupt) zu vermeiden. Das naheliegende Hüllwort ist in diesem Fall die Bezeichnung, die die junge Frau an dem Zeitpunkt hat, an dem sie ihre Rolle als Schwiegertochter beginnt, nämlich *Braut*, und es liegt nahe, diese einfach beizubehalten.

#### D 'Jungfrau'

Damit kommen wir nun zu einer außerordentlich kritischen Teilbedeutung, nämlich 'Jungfrau' (sowohl im Sinne von 'Mädchen', wie auch von 'unberührtes Mädchen'). Kritisch deshalb, weil die Bedeutungen 'Braut' und 'Jungfrau' einander zwar vielfach berühren, eine Bedeutungsentwicklung aber immer von 'Jungfrau' zu 'Braut' verläuft und (vielleicht abgesehen von scherzhaften und dichterischen Bezeichnungen) nie umgekehrt. Wenn also im Germanischen die Bedeutung 'Jungfrau' für das Wort *Braut* nachweisbar ist, dann zieht das eine unumgängliche etymologische Schlußfolgerung nach sich, nämlich daß 'Jungfrau' die Ausgangsbedeutung ist.

Nun - diese Bedeutung ist vorhanden. Sie ist zum einen in der altnordischen Dichtung mehrfach anzusetzen, vor allem wenn Walküren, Riesinnen und andere (halb-)mythische Wesen *brúdr* genannt werden, vielfach im Wechsel mit *mey*, *mær* 'Jungfrau'. Da man aber natürlich eine Jungfrau dieser Art auch als *Weib* oder *Frau* bezeichnen kann, läßt sich keine Stelle nachweisen, aus der sich die Bedeutung 'Jungfrau' zwingend ergibt. Daß auch die altenglische Dichtung diese Bedeutung aufweist, ist nicht völlig sicher; aber man könnte z.B. in Crist 35 - 37 daran denken, wo von der Jungfrau Maria die Rede ist:

Wæs seo fæmne geong,  
mægd manes leas, þe he him to meder geceas;  
þæt wæs geworden butan weres frigum,  
þæt þurh bearnes gebýrd bryd eacen weard.

'Das Mädchen war jung, eine Jungfrau ohne Falsch, die er sich zur Mutter erkor; dies geschah ohne eines Mannes Liebkosung, daß die Jungfrau schwanger wurde und ein Kind gebar' (oder 'durch Empfängnis eines Kindes'? Die Formulierung der letzten Zeile ist nicht ausreichend klar; vgl. aber Crist 74 - 77).

Ganz deutlich ist die Bedeutung dann im Mittelenglischen - ob sie nun aus dem Altenglischen selbst oder aus nordischem Einfluß zu erklären ist. Der Befund ist allerdings kompliziert (vgl. das *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath & Sherman M. Kuhn, vol. I, Ann Arbor 1956, S. 876f., 884ff., 1164): Das Wort *brid(e)* selbst bedeutet normalerweise 'Braut', gelegentlich offenbar auch 'rechtmäßige Gattin', daneben 'Mädchen, Jungfrau, Liebste' (die Kontexte lassen nicht klar genug erkennen, was im Einzelfall gemeint ist). Daneben gibt es nun ein *birde* '(edle) Jungfrau', für das normalerweise eine andere Herkunft angesetzt wird (vgl. etwa auch OED *burd*). Das *Middle English Dictionary* stellt zunächst fest, daß dieses Wort fast ausschließlich dichterisch ist (und vor allem in Stabreimdichtung auftritt), daß es vermutlich auf eine Variante von *birthe* 'Geburt' zurückgeht und als Teilsynonym von *bride* mit diesem teilweise zusammengeworfen wird. Diese Darstellung bedarf einer gewissen Korrektur:

Beginnen wir mit *birthe*: Es ist als Wort für 'Geburt' eindeutig - die Bedeutungsausweitung, mit der wir es hier zu tun haben, zielt auf 'von (edler) Geburt' - 'Stamm, Frucht, Sproß' (in gehobener Sprache) - 'Abstammung, Familie' und ähnliches. Werden Personen so genannt, so handelt es sich verständlicherweise um Söhne (wie im MED auch angegeben). Das Wort *birde* nun, als Wort der Dichtersprache in einer Lautform, die nicht notwendigerweise der regionalen Lautung des betreffenden Textes entsprechen muß, ist in einer ganzen Reihe von Gebrauchsweisen ganz eindeutig ein Nachfolger von ae. *bryd*; auch in der Zusammenstellung *bride and barn* 'Weib und Kind', die eben auf ae. 'rechtmäßige Gattin' zurückgreift. Daneben ist die Bedeutung 'Jungfrau' (auch für die Jungfrau Maria) ganz eindeutig, und sie muß die gleiche Herkunft haben, denn wie ausgeführt, kommt man von 'Geburt' eher zu 'Jüngling, Sohn' als zu 'Jungfrau'. Wenn 'edle Jungfrau' vorauszusetzen ist (das ist keineswegs völlig sicher), dann ist wohl ein Einfluß von *birthe* anzunehmen. Die Belege, die das MED schließlich für 'a man of noble birth, scion, lord, any young person' angibt, können teilweise dem Bereich 'Mädchen, Jungfrau' zugeschlagen werden, die übrigen (die Bezeichnungen für männliche Wesen) gehören schon dem Kontext nach deutlich zu *birthe* und sind gegebenenfalls untypische Schreibweisen - eine Vermischung von *birde* und *birthe* braucht dabei nicht ausgeschlossen zu werden.

E ? 'Beischläferin'

Damit kommen wir zu einer Auseinandersetzung mit Braunes 'Grundbedeutung' und mit seiner Auffassung, daß das Wort BRAUT ursprünglich eine rein sexuelle Bedeutung hatte (was ihm fast niemand geglaubt hat). Er sagt:

Denn *brūt* ist hinsichtlich des rechtlichen verhältnisses ganz indifferent, ... es bezieht sich rein auf das sexuelle, physiologische verhältnis zum manne, es ist das weib, welches dem manne beiligt oder eben im begriff ist ihm beizuliegen.

Diese Deutung, über deren Ansatzpunkte gleich zu reden sein wird, beruht auf einer krassen Fehlbeurteilung der möglichen Bedeutungsübergänge. Braune selbst räumt ein (1907, 47), 'dass in allen lebenden neugermanischen schriftsprachen das wort *brūt*, *braut* sich heute nur auf das legitime verhältnis bezieht'. Nun ist es ganz geläufig, daß ein anrüchiges Verhältnis mit einem positiven Ausdruck sprachlich verhüllt wird, was dann bei häufiger Wiederholung dazu führt, daß der ehemals positive Ausdruck absinkt, daß seine Bedeutung sich verschlechtert. Daß aber ein negativer Ausdruck, oder ein neutraler, der negativ beurteilte Verhältnisse in sich schließt, zu einem durchaus positiv besetzten und auch rechtlich relevanten zentralen Terminus wird, ist kaum denkbar und müßte im Einzelfall mit massivem Nachweis der besonderen Gründe für eine solche Entwicklung belegt werden.

Eine solche Annahme ist aber im vorliegenden Fall gar nicht notwendig. Stellen wir zunächst fest, daß die Hauptmasse der Belege ohnehin die bereits besprochenen Normalbedeutungen zeigt, und wenden wir uns nur den Sonderfällen zu, die in der Tat höchst aufschlußreich sind. Zuerst der Tristan des Heinrich von Freiberg, wo erzählt wird, wie Tristan im Gedanken an Isolde sich der Isolde Weißhand zuwendet und sie heiratet ohne 'die Ehe zu vollziehen'. Diese besondere Situation beschreibt der Dichter in verschiedenen Variationen: Isolde ist eine *wānbrū*, eine Braut in Gedanken, eine vermeintliche Braut;

irs magettuoms sie maget bleip.  
ob sie des willen were ein brut,

'ihre Jungfräulichkeit blieb ihr erhalten, wenn sie auch eigentlich eine Braut sein wollte' (836f.). Oder (867-869):

ouch gienc Isot, Tristandes trut,  
die mit dem namen was ein brut  
und noch der werke was ein maget,

'es ging auch Isolde, Tristans Liebste, die bereits als *Braut* bezeichnet werden konnte, aber der Sache nach noch eine Jungfrau war'. Es ist klar, daß der Dichter an diesen Stellen einen Gegensatz zwischen *Jungfrau* und *Braut* herausarbeitet, und daß dieser Gegensatz daran hängt, daß Tristan nicht mit Isolde geschlafen hat; aber ein anderes Merkmal ist genau so wichtig: Er hat ihr damit auch nicht ihre Jungfräulichkeit genommen, und es ist ersichtlich, daß es an dieser Stelle nicht einfach um den Geschlechtsverkehr, sondern um die Jungfräulichkeit geht.

Das gilt genau so für die zweite Stelle, ein namenloses Gedicht aus der Leipziger Liederhandschrift (Deutsche Liederdichter des 13. Jahrhunderts, ed. Carl von Kraus, Tübingen 1952, 38n1), in dem ausgeführt wird, daß die Frauen (*wīp*) genau so zu preisen sind wie die Jungfrauen, denn

würd uz der meide niht ein wip  
so würde ouch nimmer mannes lip  
geborn von keiner meide.  
da von ist wip der höhste nam.  
der meide keiniu sich des scham:  
da von sint si der manne trut.  
würd uz der meide niht ein brut,  
so wære ez kranc getreide.

'würde aus der Jungfrau nicht ein Weib, so würde auch nie ein Mensch aus ihr geboren. Deshalb ist auch *Weib* der höchste Name - seiner braucht sich keine Jungfrau zu schämen. Dessenwegen sind sie auch die Liebsten der Männer. Würde aus der Jungfrau keine *BRAUT*, so wäre das ein ärmlicher Gang der Dinge.' Die Stelle ist aufschlußreich, weil auch sie einen Gegensatz zwischen JUNGFAU und BRAUT herstellt - im übrigen kann man das Wort hier ganz normal mit *Braut* übersetzen.

Kritisch wird es mit einer Stelle aus Hartmanns Gregorius, wo der Bruder die Schwester verführt, und sie sich überlegt, wie sie sich verhalten soll (385 - 387):

Sie gedachte: 'swige ich stille  
so ergat des tiuvels wille  
und würde mines bruoder brut,

'Sie dachte: 'bleibe ich ruhig, so ergeht des Wille des Teufels, und ich werde die BRAUT meines Bruders'. Hier scheint tatsächlich eine Bedeutung 'Beischläferin' vorzuliegen, aber nur bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung. Für die Schwester steht zweierlei auf dem Spiel: der Inzest und der Verlust ihrer Jungfräulichkeit; und es kann nach dem seither Besprochenen kein Zweifel daran sein, daß sie hier vom Zweiten redet, selbst wenn das Erste das Wichtigere und im Vordergrund Stehende gewesen sein mag.

Das gilt nun durchweg, auch von der Verführung der Susanna, die ja ebenfalls ihre Unschuld verlieren würde, auch von der Bedrohung Kudruns durch Hartmut (Kudrun 1029) *wer hienge mich darumbe, ob ich iuch gewunne mir ze einer briute?* 'Wer würde mich dafür hängen, wenn ich euch zu einer BRAUT gewönne?', d.h. zu einer Frau machen würde, die Jungfräulichkeit rauben würde. Dem widerspricht nicht, daß Kudrun das wiedergibt mit *in Hartmuotes lande kebese wære* 'in Hartmuts Land Kebse wäre' - sie denkt eben an den Zustand danach. Und das gleiche gilt schließlich auch für die Übertragung auf das Tierische in dem von Braune angeführten Schwank (1907, 46 f. und 562).

Nicht anders ist es bei den nordischen Belegen. Als in der Völundarqvida Völundr die Königstochter geschwängert hat, und dann nach dem Verbleib der Königskinder gefragt wird, verlangt er vor einer Antwort den heiligen Eid,

at þu qveliat qvæn Völundar  
ne brúdi minni at bana verðir

'daß du das Weib Völunds nicht ermordest, nicht meiner BRAUT zum Töter wirst'. Warum Völundr will, daß Niduds Schande erhalten bleibt, ist eine Frage für sich; aber daß seine Ausdrucksweise sich im Rahmen des seither besprochenen hält, ist klar: Er hat Bödvilds Unschuld geraubt, deshalb ist sie seine *brúdr*. - Ob all diese Gebrauchsweisen nun Übertragungen der Normalbedeutung von *Braut* sind oder eine Sonderbedeutung 'diejenige, die (eben jetzt) ihre Unschuld an einen Mann verloren hat', und *die Braut von X* = 'diejenige, die ihre Unschuld an X verloren hat' erfordern, kann hier zunächst offen bleiben.

Anders zu beurteilen ist der Umstand, daß die Ableitung *brüten* vor allem im niederdeutschen und niederländischen Bereich zu einem Wort für 'beschlafen' geworden ist. Die alte Bedeutung des Verbs etwa im Mittelhochdeutschen ist ganz klar: 'das Beilager in der Brautnacht halten'. Daß ein solches Wort sich leicht als verhüllende Bezeichnung anderer Fälle von Beischlaf hergibt, dürfte einleuchten - daß es ein vulgäres Wort geworden ist, kann nicht überraschen. Nur: der umgekehrte Weg ist so gut wie ausgeschlossen - ein vulgäres Wort kann nicht zur Bezeichnung eines gesellschaftlich und rechtlich relevanten Brauchtums werden.

### III GATTIN und BRAUT

Damit ist zunächst klar, daß wir für das germanische Wort BRAUT von zwei Bedeutungskernen auszugehen haben: einmal 'rechtmäßige Gattin' und zum andern 'Jungfrau -) Frau am Tag der Hochzeit (- Verlobte, Jungverheiratete, Schwiegertochter - Frau, die eben ihre Unschuld verloren hat), und ich habe bereits darauf hingewiesen, daß bei einem Nebeneinander von 'Jungfrau' und 'Frau am Tag der Hochzeit' die Bedeutung 'Jungfrau' regelmäßig die ältere ist. Es stellt sich nun die Frage, wie diese beiden Bedeutungskerne miteinander zusammenhängen, und hier scheint die Antwort zunächst einfach zu sein: Ein Bedeutungsübergang von 'Braut' zu 'Gattin' ist ganz geläufig; die Beispiele *Gemahl(in)* und *sponsa/épouse* habe ich schon erwähnt. Nur: Dieser Bedeutungszusammenhang setzt regelmäßig voraus, daß das Wort für 'Braut' aus

dem Bereich 'verlobt, versprochen' kommt (und das ist hier nicht der Fall). Zum andern wirkt sich dieser Zusammenhang in der Regel so aus, daß eine Entwicklung von 'Braut' zu 'Gemahlin' stattfindet, wobei die alte Bedeutung zurückgedrängt wird und dann schließlich ausstirbt. In unserem Fall liegt etwas anderes, fast der umgekehrte Fall, vor: Die Bedeutung 'Gattin' ist ersichtlich archaisch und stirbt nach der frühen Überlieferung praktisch aus, während 'Braut' bis in die moderne Zeit erhalten bleibt. Es erhebt sich also die Frage, ob es nicht noch eine weitere Möglichkeit der Erklärung dieses Bedeutungszusammenhangs gibt, da der eben angegebene Weg wohl kaum beschreibbar ist.

Bei der Nachprüfung stellt sich schnell heraus, daß eine ähnliche Schwierigkeit in der Deutung solcher Zusammenhänge lange Zeit die griechische Wortkunde beschäftigt hat. Es ging dabei darum, daß ein Wort, das seiner Wortbildung nach eigentlich 'jungfräulich' bedeuten müßte (nämlich *koyrídios* zu *koýrē* 'Mädchen, Jungfrau, Tochter'), bei Homer und in anderen frühen Texten in Zusammenhängen gebraucht wird, die uns unverständlich erscheinen, etwa neben *álochos* 'Gattin' (auch bei längst verheirateten Frauen, wie Helena in Bezug auf Menelaos im Trojanischen Krieg), *pósis* 'Ehemann' und *dōma* 'Haus'. Man hat es zunächst mit 'jugendlich' versucht, dann festgestellt, daß es um 'ehelich' in einem rechtlich relevanten Sinn gehen muß; die etymologischen Zusammenhänge und den Sinn der Bezeichnung hat dabei F. Bechtel (1914, 209 f.) herausgestellt: der *koyrídios pósis* ist 'der erste Gemahl im Gegensatz zum späteren'; die *koyridiē álochos* ist 'die rechtmäßige Frau im Gegensatz zur *pallakis*, zur 'Kebse'; das Haus, in das sie dem *koyrídios pósis* gefolgt ist, ist das *koyridion dōma*. Als die zugrundeliegende sittengeschichtliche und rechtliche Auffassung stellte er heraus, daß 'zur Vollziehung der legalen Ehe eines Mädchens gehört, daß sie als *koýrē* in das Haus des Neuvermählten geht und ihm dort das Opfer ihrer Jungfräulichkeit darbringt'. Diese Erklärung steht im übrigen bereits in den Scholien (Thieme 1963, 220), was zeigt, daß den späteren griechischen Gelehrten diese Zusammenhänge durchaus noch bekannt waren.

Paul Thieme hat dann in einer großangelegten Untersuchung (Thieme 1963) gezeigt, daß gewisse indische Verhältnisse und Ausdrucksweisen dem genau entsprechen, und daß die indischen Grammatiker klar zu erkennen geben, wie die entsprechenden Wörter zu verstehen sind. Thiemes zusammenfassendes Ergebnis ist (1963, 167):

1. Die rechtmäßige Gattin (*kaumār̥ patnī*) ist die, und nur die, die als Jungfrau in die Ehe tritt. ...
2. Der rechtmäßige Gatte (*kaumāra pati*) ist verpflichtet zum Schutz der rechtmäßigen Gattin. ... Auch die Forderung nach ehelicher Treue des Mannes wird als sittliches Ideal aufgestellt.
3. Nur die Kinder der rechtmäßigen Gattin sind echtbürtig und voll erbberechtigt.

Den Ausgangspunkt für diese Auffassung sieht Thieme im Naturrecht; spätere Verhältnisse, besonders die Sitten einer 'fürstlichen Gesellschaft', einschließlich der Festlegung und Vererbung ihres Besitzes, lassen eine Regularisierung solcher Verhältnisse als ratsam erscheinen, und die Forderungen eines priesterlichen Kultes tun ein übriges, um die naturrechtliche Vorstellung der Begründung einer rechtmäßigen Ehe durch die Hingabe der Jungfräulichkeit an den Mann in ein andersartiges Ritual überzuführen, bei dem die Jungfräulichkeit der Braut zu einer bloßen moralischen Forderung an die Frau wird.

Mit dieser alten Vorstellung sind eine Reihe von wohl bekannten Bräuchen wie die Kinderheirat und die Witwenverbrennung zu verknüpfen. Thieme befaßt sich besonders mit der indischen *gāndharva*-Eheschließung, die darauf beruht, daß der Liebesakt mit einem Mädchen, das noch Jungfrau ist und noch unter der Botmäßigkeit ihres Vaters steht, vollzogen wird. Sie ist rechtlich voll gültig, die aus ihr stammenden Kinder sind voll erberechtigt.

Thieme behandelt dann noch lt. *maritus*, das er überzeugend als '(legitimer) Ehegatte', 'durch eine legitime Ehefrau charakterisiert' erklärt. Dem Wort liegt seiner Auffassung nach ein \**mar* 'Jungfrau' zugrunde, so daß die Ausgangsbedeutung als 'durch eine Jungfrau charakterisiert' anzusetzen wäre. Dies würde zu den griechischen und altindischen Verhältnissen gut passen - es ist semantisch wie auch morphologisch und etymologisch plausibel (vgl. etwa lit. *marti* 'Jungfrau, Braut'), läßt sich aber nicht mit der gleichen Prägnanz nachweisen wie die griechischen und indischen Entsprechungen.

Kehren wir nun zurück zum Germanischen: Wenn wir diese im indogermanischen Bereich als weit verbreitet nachweisbaren Verhältnisse zugrunde legen, dann müßte der Zusammenhang der Teilbedeutungen von germanisch BRAUT so zu verstehen sein, daß von einer Bedeutung 'Jungfrau' auszugehen ist, die einerseits zu 'Braut' weiterentwickelt wurde, andererseits eine Bedeutung 'Frau, die ihrem Mann als Jungfrau angehört hat, rechtmäßige Ehegattin' hervorbrachte. Es ist eine kleine formale Schwierigkeit dabei: die indischen und griechischen Wörter, die die 'rechtmäßige Gattin' bezeichnen, sind nicht das gleiche Wort wie das jeweilige Wort für Jungfrau, sondern von ihm abgeleitete Adjektive - im Germanischen scheint dagegen das gleiche Wort vorzuliegen. Dazu kommt natürlich das sachliche Problem: Die Annahme eines solchen Eheverständnisses bei den Germanen ist nicht folgenlos, so daß wir uns fragen müssen, ob wir zugunsten der Erklärung eines Bedeutungszusammenhangs derart weitreichende Behauptungen aufstellen dürfen.

Befassen wir uns zunächst mit der sachlichen Wahrscheinlichkeit. Zugunsten der Annahme einer solchen Konstituierung der Ehe durch die Preisgabe der Jungfräulichkeit spricht zunächst Tacitus. Abgesehen von seinem allgemeinen Preis der Keuschheit der Germaninnen, der auf einem Topos der Barbarenbeschreibung beruhen mag, sagt er von einem Teil Germaniens nachdrücklich:

melius quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. sic unum accipiunt maritum quo modo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium ament.

'Noch besser sind bisher allerdings diejenigen Staaten daran, in denen nur Jungfrauen heiraten und mit der Hoffnung und dem Eheversprechen der Gattin ein für allemal abgeschlossen wird. So erhalten sie *einen* Gatten, wie sie nur einen Leib und nur ein Leben haben. Über ihn hinaus sollen sie sich nach keinem anderen Manne sehnen, nicht weitere Gelüste haben, sie sollen gleichsam nicht den Mann, sondern gleichsam die Ehe lieben'. (Übersetzung nach Fehrle-Hünnerkopf 1959).

Weiteres könnte sich aus unserem Wissen über die sozialen Einrichtungen der Germanen ergeben, doch sind die Anhaltspunkte hier dürftig und teilweise umstritten. Umstritten ist vor allem die Deutung der sogenannten germanischen Friedelehe, so daß ich nicht weiter auf sie eingehen will, Diskussion und frühere Ansichten sind bei Köstler (1943) zu finden. Die alte Ansicht, daß eine solche Ehe durch den bloßen Vollzug des Liebesaktes geschlossen wurde, würde der Beschreibung der indischen Gandharven-



Ehe immerhin so ähnlich sein, daß auch für das Germanische angenommen werden könnte, das Merkmal der Jungfräulichkeit sei (wie dort) für die Ehe mit-konstituierend gewesen. Auch die Sitte der Witwenverbrennung, die letztlich auf den Gedanken zurückgeht, daß eine Frau nur einmal ihre Jungfräulichkeit verlieren und damit nur einem Manne rechtmäßig angehören kann, ist ja zumindest bei den Nord- und Ostgermanen (wenn auch spärlich) bezeugt.

Die Text-Überlieferung könnte an einigen Stellen auf entsprechende Anschauungen verweisen. So etwa, wenn auf einem Runenstein, der einen sehr komplizierten Erbgang beschreibt (bei dem die Stamm-Mutter schließlich allein übrig bleibt und alles erbt), gleich zu Beginn ausdrücklich gesagt wird, daß sie als Jungfrau heiratete (was die Rechtmäßigkeit der Ehe und ihre Erbberechtigung klarstellt): KAIRMUNTR FIK KAIRLAUK MAYTUMI 'Geirmund heiratete Geirlaug in ihrer Jungfräulichkeit' (Hillersjö, Uppland 29).

Auch das altenglische *meowle* 'Jungfrau' scheint gelegentlich so gebraucht zu sein, daß es in den hier behandelten Rahmen paßt. Am auffälligsten scheint mir das Hapax *io-meowle* im Beowulf zu sein (Z. 2928 - 2932):

Sona him se froda fæder Ohtheres,  
eald ond eges-full, ondslyht ageaf,  
abreot brim-wisan, bryd aheorde,  
gomela io-meowlan golde berofene,  
Onelan modor ond Ohtheres;

'Als bald gab ihm der erfahrene Vater Ohtheres, alt und schrecklich, den Gegenschlag, errettete seine "rechtmäßige Gattin", der Alte seine ALT-JUNGFAU, beraubt ihres Goldes, die Mutter Onelas und Ohtheres'. Die Übersetzungsversuche für *io-meowle* als 'Frau einer vergangenen Zeit, Frau der Vorzeit' sind natürlich alles andere als semantisch überzeugend; dagegen wäre 'diejenige, die damals (als er sie heiratete) eine Jungfrau war' im Licht des oben Ausgeführten hoch bedeutungsträchtig und eine genaue Ergänzung zu *bryd* in der vorhergehenden Zeile.

Alles zusammengekommen, scheint es mir zwar nicht mit Sicherheit nachweisbar zu sein, daß auch die Germanen die Vorstellung einer Begründung der Ehe durch Preisgabe der Jungfräulichkeit hatten, aber die Hinweise, die auf eine solche Möglichkeit zielen, sind recht stark, und sie scheinen mir für die Annahme ausreichend zu sein, daß für die Bedeutung 'rechtmäßige Gattin' bei BRAUT auf 'eine, die als Jungfrau ihrem Manne angehört hat' zurückzugehen ist. Es bleiben die formalen (und etymologischen) Probleme, denen wir uns zum Schluß noch zuwenden wollen.

#### IV Die Etymologie von gm. \*brūdi- 'Braut'

Ich gehe davon aus, daß der gesamte hier behandelte Komplex auf gm. \*brūdi- (f) zurückgeht (wobei im Gotischen möglicherweise der grammatische Wechsel zurückgenommen ist - mit Sicherheit läßt sich das nicht feststellen, weil der Auslaut vor Vokal nicht auftaucht). Abweichende Formen scheinen mir auf Überlieferungszufällen zu beruhen, besonders ahd. *proatun* Gl. I,216,21, das wohl (wie im Althochdeutschen Wörterbuch vermutet) zum folgenden Glossen-Komplex gehört und etwas anderes bedeutet.

Da nun der Anlaut *br-* lautgesetzlich auf *mr-* zurückgehen kann, und die Lautung *mar-* zumindest im Litauischen mit der Bedeutung 'Braut' auftritt, scheint es mir angemessen zu sein, in diesem Umfeld die Etymologie zu suchen. Die in Frage kommende Sippe

wird allgemein auf eine Bedeutung 'Junge' - 'Mädchen, Jungfrau' zurückgeführt; doch kann man noch einen Schritt weiter zurückgehen: Wörter für 'Junge' und 'Mädchen' gehen häufig auf eine (adjektivische) Bedeutung 'jung' oder 'frisch' oder 'neu' oder ähnliches zurück, und eine solche Bedeutung kann auch hier vorliegen. Sie ist bezeugt in ahd. *murwi* 'zart, frisch' neben ahd. *maro*, ae. *mearu* gleicher Bedeutung. Diese gehören wohl als Verbal-Adjektive zu heth. *\*marija-* 'schmelzen, auflösen, weichmachen'; besser bezeugt sind die Ausdrücke mit eher negativer Konnotation, zu denen etwa auch *morsch* und *zermürben* gehören. Zum Bedeutungsverhältnis vgl. bei der Parallelwurzel *\*mel-d-* ne. *to melt*, gr. *meldō* 'schmelze' und *\*m(e)ldu-* 'weich' etwa in aksl. *mladz* 'jung, zart, sanft, frisch', *mladenz* 'Kind, Knabe' usw.

Bei den uns hier interessierenden Ableitungen haben wir nun von einer Grundlage *\*mer-jo-*: ai. *márya-* (m) 'junger Mann, Liebhaber, Freier' (auch erweitert *maryakā-*) und - bereits mit Betonung des Weiblichen - gr. *meîrax* 'Mädchen' (das Maskulinum erst sekundär und in Ableitungen). Dann zu *\*mer-k/-g-* lit. *mergā* 'Mädchen, Jungfrau, Liebste' (lett. auch 'Braut'), die Bedeutung 'Jungfrau' heute vorwiegend bei Erweiterungen, und cymr. *merch* 'Mädchen, Tochter'. Zu *\*mor-* cymr. *morwyn* 'Mädchen, Jungfrau'.

Nun die formal und semantisch näher bei unserem Wort stehenden Bildungen: lit. *marti* 'Braut, junge Frau, Schwiegertochter, Schwägerin' (daraus entlehnt finn. *morsian* 'Braut'). Die Stammbildung weist auf den *devē*-Typ, doch kann hier wegen der Bedeutung keine Motionsbildung vorliegen, am ehesten ist die Flexion aus einem *i*-Stamm umgebildet. Hierzu kann gehören krim-gt. *marzus* 'nuptiae', doch ist dieses schon in seiner Lesung unklar - seine Morphologie ist dementsprechend undurchsichtig; daß aber ein Wort für 'Hochzeit' aus einem Wort für 'Braut' abgeleitet sein soll, hat keine Schwierigkeiten. Kaum zugehörig ist *Britomartis*, kretischer Beinamen der Artemis.

Weiter lt. *marŭtus* 'Ehemann einer legitimen Ehefrau', vielleicht ursprünglich = 'durch (die Heirat mit) eine(r) Jungfrau charakterisiert'. Falls alb. *she-mërë* 'Nebenfrau, Rivalin' dazugehört, könnte etwa von 'die mit der legitimen Ehefrau zusammen ist' ausgegangen werden. Der Stammvokal des lateinischen Wortes müßte entweder auf 'r sonans vor Vokal' oder auf eine außerhalb der Ablautreihe stehende Tiefstufe zurückgehen; für das litauische Wort kommt - falls von einer Tiefstufe auszugehen ist - nur das zweite in Frage; der Vokalismus bei dem letztlich zugrundeliegenden germanischen Adjektiv (*murw-/marw-*) zeigt wohl, daß von einer Variation in der Tiefstufen-Realisierung auszugehen ist.

Wie steht es nun mit *brūdi-*? Das *ti*-Element kann in unserem Zusammenhang nichts anderes sein, als das Element, das auch in ai. *yuvati-* 'Mädchen, Jungfrau' auftaucht: Es ist eigentlich das Formans eines Adjektiv-Abstraktums (vgl. mit dem indischen Wort nhd. *Jugend*, das ihm lautlich genau entspricht), kann aber auch personal gebraucht werden, so wie wir auch eine *Schönheit* für 'eine schöne Frau' sagen können. Davor steht nun offenbar das im Germanischen bezeugte Adjektiv für 'zart, jung', wobei die Stammsilbe unsilbisch geworden ist (vgl. etwa ai. *gru-* neben *guru-* 'schwer' bei einem entsprechend gebauten Wort). Woher kommt aber die Vokallänge? Nun - genau erklärbar ist das nicht, aber wir haben Parallelen: Bei dem eben angeführten ai. *guru-* 'schwer' haben wir ebenfalls eine Folge von 'r sonans + u'. Diese wird im Lettischen und Italienischen mit einem *t*-Formans erweitert, wobei das *r* sonantisch und das *u* gelängt wird: lt. *brūtus* 'schwer, schwerfällig' (wohl in oskisch-umbrischer Lautform), lett. *grūts* 'schwer'. Dasselbe kann bei gm. *\*brūdi-* vorliegen - ob es sich nun um einen Lautwandel in besonderer Umgebung oder um eine morphologische Erscheinung handelt. Die Bildung würde also von der Etymologie und Wortbildung her 'Zartheit, Jugend' bedeuten, und das kann in unserem Fall ohne weiteres zu 'Jungfräulichkeit' ge-

worden sein.

Im übrigen kann lit. *marti* im Prinzip die gleiche Bildung sein, wenn sie auf das archaische Bildungsverfahren zurückgeht, bei dem das Abstraktum nicht aus dem Adjektiv, sondern aus dessen Wurzel gewonnen wird (nachträglich müßte dieses *\*marti-* dann in der Flexionsklasse umgeformt worden sein). Lt. *mart* dagegen wäre wohl am ehesten ein substantiviertes feminines Adjektiv 'die Zarte, Junge', 'die Jungfrau'.

Damit wären Etymologie und Wortbildung einigermaßen aufgeheilt - aber wie steht es mit den beiden Bedeutungen? Im Indischen und Griechischen ist der Ausdruck für 'rechtmäßige Gattin' aus einem Wort für 'Gattin' und einem Adjektiv mit der Bedeutung 'jungfräulich' gebildet; im Germanischen wäre dafür wohl ein Kompositum eingetreten. Die wahrscheinlichste Annahme scheint mir nun zu sein, daß im Germanischen etwa *\*brūdi-būri-* 'Frauengemach' eine Entsprechung zu gr. *koyridion dôma* war, und daß die Entsprechung zu gr. *koyridē áluchos* ein Kompositum war, das wir nicht mehr erhalten haben, das aber in der dichterischen Sprache in epischer Variation aufgelöst wurde (neben praktisch allen unseren Belegen für *BRAUT* in der Bedeutung 'rechtmäßige Ehefrau' stehen in epischer Variation andere Wörter für 'Frau, Weib'). Da in einem Teil der Gebrauchsweisen ('zur Frau nehmen/geben' u.ä.) beide Bedeutungen verwendet werden konnten, wurde schließlich - als die Bedeutung 'rechtmäßige Ehefrau' veraltete - das einfache Wort in beiden Bedeutungen gebraucht, bis schließlich die zweite ('rechtmäßige Ehefrau') ausstarb. Wenn diese Annahmen auch im einzelnen nicht beweisbar sind und vielleicht eines Tages durch bessere ersetzt werden müssen, zeigen sie doch - wie ich glaube - auf welche Weise derartige Zusammenhänge bestanden haben können, und wie die Entwicklung vorstellbar ist.

Damit also: Was haben die Germanen unter einer *BRAUT* verstanden? Im Lichte der vorangegangenen Ausführungen: 'eine Frau, die (ihrem Mann am Tag ihrer Hochzeit) ihre Jungfräulichkeit opfert (geopfert hat) und damit zu seiner "rechtmäßigen Gattin" wird (geworden ist)'. Auf Grund einer im einzelnen nicht mehr voll durchschaubaren Entwicklung hat das Wort dann in der Dichtersprache zusätzlich die Bedeutung 'rechtmäßige Gattin' bekommen.

#### Literatur:

Bechtel, Friedrich (1914): *Lexilogus zu Homer*. Etymologie und Stammbildung homerischer Wörter. Halle (Nachdruck Darmstadt 1964). (S. 200 f.).

Braune, Wilhelm (1907): Nhd. *Bräut* in den germanischen Sprachen. In: *BGDSL* 32, S. 30 - 59. Ausgehend von der Auseinandersetzung mit Behaghel im gleichen Band S. 6 - 9. Vgl. auch die 'Nachträge zu *Braut*', im gleichen Band S. 559 - 562.

Domaszewski, A. von (1893): Das deutsche Wort *Braut* in lateinischen Inschriften. In: *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 3, S. 193 - 197.

Fischer, Andreas (1986): *Engagement, Wedding and Marriage in Old English*. Heidelberg.

Gundermann, G. (1901): Das deutsche Wort *Braut* bei Römern und Griechen. In: *ZdW* 1, S. 240 - 246.

van Helten, W. (1909): Zur Etymologie von *Braut*. In: *BGDSL* 35, S. 306 - 310.

Kauffmann, Friedrich (1910): *Braut* und Gemahl. In: *ZdPh* 42, S. 129 - 153.

- Kluge, Friedrich (1909): Zur deutschen Etymologie. III (Braut). In: *BGDSL* 34, S. 561 - 566.
- Köstler, Rudolf (1943): Raub-, Kauf- und Friedelehe bei den Germanen. In: *ZRG, gm. Abt.* 63, S. 92 - 136.
- W. Krogmann (1932): Frutis. In: *Glotta* 20, S. 175 - 180.
- ders. (1934): Brautlauf und Braut. In: *WuS* 16, S. 80 - 90.
- Loewe, Richard (1906): Altgermanische elemente der Balkansprachen. I Griechisch. A Vermittlung durch das Latein. 5. Mgr. *brūtis*. In: *ZvS* 39, S. 376 - 280.
- Markey, T. L. (1985): Possession and 'Own' (in Indo-European and Beyond). In: Hansjakob Seiler & Gunter Brettschneider (eds.): *Language Invariants and Mental Operations*. Tübingen. S. 124 - 134.
- ders. (1987): The Lexical Semantics of Western Indo-European 'Girl'. In: *Aspects of Language. Studies in Honour of Mario Alinei*, ed. N. Århammar & A. Hagen. Amsterdam. S. 275 - 288.
- Thieme, Paul (1963): 'Jungfrauengatte'. In: *ZvS* 78, S. 161 - 248.
- Wiedemann (1902): Etymologien. 2. Got. *brūps* und andre idg. verwandtschaftsnamen. In: *BKIS* 27, S. 205 - 226 (speziell bis 218).

# ZUR VORGESCHICHTE DES KELTISCHEN UN GERMANISCHEN

Karl Horst Schmidt

Die gegenwärtige Diskussion um Herkunft der Indogermanen und Ausgliederung ihrer Sprache ist durch zwei Merkmale bestimmt: 1. durch den Versuch einer Koordinierung linguistischer und archäologischer/vorgeschichtlicher Daten; letztere liegen bis zu 3000 Jahre vor den um 2000 v. Chr. angesetzten anatolischen Namen auf den kappadokischen Tafeln der altassyrischen Handelskolonien als ältester datierbarer Überlieferung des Indogermanischen (Idg.)<sup>1</sup>; 2. durch das Bemühen, die idg. Einzelsprachen in den vorhistorischen und historischen Etappen ihrer Entwicklung so konkret wie möglich zu rekonstruieren. Die Konfrontation dieser Modelle mit den älteren Ansätzen des 19. Jh.s und der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jh.s, zu denen u.a. die klassischen Theorien von C. Lottner (1858), A. Schleicher (1861; <sup>3</sup>1871: 7ff.), J. Schmidt (1872), A. Leskien (1876: XV), A. Meillet (1908), E. H. Sturtevant (1926-1951)<sup>2</sup> und schließlich W. Porzig (1954) gehören, bleibt vorerst Desiderat. Eine historiographische Zusammenstellung der wichtigsten Ansätze sollte die jeweilig verfügbare

---

<sup>1</sup>Aus der dialektischen inneranatolischen Differenzierung dieses Materials schließen Gamkrelidze/Ivanov, daß die Abspaltung des Anatolischen vom Idg. und der damit verbundene Beginn der Ausgliederung nicht später als ins 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr. zu datieren ist (1984: 861: "ne pozdnee IV tysjacheletija do n.è., a vozmozhno i znachitel'no ranee"). Der von Piggott (1980: 80) gegebene Ansatz "for our undivided Indo-European homeland in the third millenium B.C." ist demgegenüber zu jung.

<sup>2</sup>Vgl. die Literaturangaben bei Schmidt (1983: 346-348), darunter Sturtevant (1962)

Materialgrundlage, die theoretischen Prämissen und die Ergebnisse der Analyse berücksichtigen.

Merkmal 1, die Koordinierung linguistischer und vorgeschichtlicher/archäologischer Daten, kann sowohl von der Archäologie als auch von der Sprachwissenschaft zur Grundlage weitergehender Schlußfolgerungen gemacht werden. Wichtige Verfahren bei der archäologischen Altersbestimmung geologischer und vorgeschichtlicher Gegenstände sind Radiokarbon C 14 (cf. Libby 1955; Ehrich 1965) und Dendrochronologie, Methoden, die dazu geführt haben, daß die "archaeologists can now speak of historical age for the last 8000 years - as far back as ca. 6200 B.C." (Gimbutas 1982: 2). Umgekehrt nimmt die *linguistische Paläontologie* ihren Ausgangspunkt in der Sprache, indem sie aus den Inhalten des rekonstruierbaren Protolexikons die relevanten prähistorischen Fakten wie Flora, Fauna, Urheimat, materielle Kultur, Religion, Ökonomie, Gesellschaft usw. erschließt<sup>3</sup>. Einen detaillierten Versuch zur Rekonstruktion des idg. Baumsystems hat Friedrich (1970) unternommen. Sein *Conjunctive Approach* basiert auf der Interdependenz von "the tree names, their meanings, and the botanical realities to which they

---

<sup>3</sup>Vgl. z.B. Schrader (1929: 480), später Thieme (1964: 594ff.), Scherer (1968) und letztlich Gamkrelidze/Ivanov (1984: Bd.II), Watkins (1985: XVIIff.). Die Gegenargumente von Renfrew (1988: 77ff., besonders 80) berücksichtigen nicht den Unterschied zwischen *Grundwortschatz* und "Borrowed Names for Borrowed Things" (Wild 1970) und stellen überdies die Grundlagen der Rekonstruktionsprozesse mit 1. Ausscheidung von Lehnwörtern, 2. Identifikation sprachlicher Einheiten nach Form und Inhalt (Benveniste 1966: 102) in Frage. Die klassische Untersuchung zu Prozeß 1 ist Hübschmann 1875.

corresponded" (2).

Als besonders einflußreich erweist sich jedoch die von Gimbutas seit 1956 in zahlreichen Untersuchungen<sup>4</sup> entwickelte *Kurgan*-Theorie, deren Grundlagen sich folgendermaßen darstellen: Indogermanisierung des neolithischen und kupferzeitlichen voridg. Europas, einer matriarchalischen Ackerbaukultur, durch die in drei Wellen (4400-4200; 3400-3200; 3000-2800) eindringenden kriegerischen Kurgan-Leute, Träger einer mit den frühen Indogermanen identischen patriarchalischen Kultur von Viehzüchtern und Nomaden, deren älteste Kurgan-Gräber aus den Steppen zwischen Don und Ural nördlich des Kaukasus und des Kaspischen Meeres bezeugt sind (1970: 174). Welle II führt zur Entstehung einer zweiten protoidg. Urheimat in Zentraleuropa, die zum Ausgangspunkt neuer Expansionen nach 3000 v. Chr. wird: "The new upheaval was caused by Kurgan Wave No.3, the incursion of Dniepr-Volga steppe ("Jamna") pastoralists" (1986: 7). Durch Vermischung mit der voridg. Bevölkerung erfolgt die Aufspaltung der europäischen Indogermania: (a) Ausgliederung von Germanen und Balten im Norden sowie Griechen im Süden; (b) Differenzierung der übrigen Indogermanen in Zentraleuropa um die Mitte des zweiten Jahrtausends. Weitere ethnogenetische Prozesse führen zur Entstehung von Keltisch, Italisch, Venetisch, Illyrisch, Phrygisch, Slavisch, Albanisch und Armenisch (1986: 7). Die *Kurgan*-Theorie besticht durch ihre Geschlossenheit, doch entsprechen die späteren Zuordnungen nur in begrenztem Maße, d.h. im Falle der engeren Verwandtschaft von Keltisch und Italisch, dem gegenwärtig weitgehend anerkannten sprachgeschichtlichen Befund, während die nicht

---

<sup>4</sup>Cf. die Bibliographie in Skomal/Polomé (1987: 384-396).

unbeträchtlichen Übereinstimmungen zwischen Griechisch, Armenisch, Phrygisch (und Indo-Iranisch) oder die späten westidg. und noch jüngeren kelto-germanischen Isoglossen *prima vista* nicht unmittelbar mit dem Modell in Einklang gebracht werden können. Es bleibt eine offene Frage, in wieweit bei Abweichungen dieser Art Vorgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft einander korrigieren können.

Wesentlich anfechtbarer als die *Kurgan*-Theorie ist das von Renfrew 1987 entwickelte *wave of advance model* (1988: 150), bei dem "the new economy of farming allowed the population in each area to rise, over just a few centuries from perhaps 0,1 persons per square kilometre to something like 5 or 10 per square kilometre. As the model predicts, with only small, local movements of twenty or thirty kilometres, this would gradually result in the peopling of the whole of Europe by a farming population, the descendants of the first European farmers" (l.c.). Wie Meid (1989: 10) kritisch bemerkt, entspricht die Theorie "einer unter britischen Archäologen verbreiteten Einstellung zur Prähistorie, die Christopher Hawkes 'Immobilismus' nennt". "It keeps prehistoric populations essentially static. It lets only traders move about. Innovation or change in social habit, or social structure, will either be spontaneous or induced by peaceful influence, from other peoples, near or far, who communicate ideas" (Hawkes 1987: 203f.). Eine der negativen Konsequenzen der Hypothese besteht in der weitgehenden Ignorierung der Ergebnisse der historischen Sprachvergleichung. So wird z.B. bei der in neun Transformationen (Tra.) vorgenommenen Entstehungsgeschichte der europäischen idg. Sprachen das Keltische zwar in Verbindung mit dem Germanischen (Tra.3), "the early Celtic (or pre-Celtic) languages of France" (Tra.8) und "the early languages of Britain and Ireland" (Tra.9) genannt (p.160f.), aber



nicht in Verbindung mit dem Italischen (Tra.6) und "the early languages of Spain and Portugal" (Tra.7).

Außerdem ist die chronologische Anordnung der Transformationen nicht immer nachvollziehbar, da z.B. die keltisch-italischen Kontakte, sprachwissenschaftlich gesehen, älter sind als die keltisch-germanischen (Tra.3).

Was Merkmal 2, die Rekonstruktion der vorhistorischen und historischen Entwicklungsetappen der ausgegliederten idg. Einzelsprachen angeht, so erfolgt die Diskussion entweder - wie z.B. bei Gamkrelidze/Ivanov 1984 oder Adrados 1982 - auf der Basis des idg. Rekonstruktionsmodells oder - wie letztlich bei Neumann 1988 - auf der Basis einer Einzelsprache. Gamkrelidze/Ivanov 1984 haben in ihrem monumentalen, über 1300seitigen *opus magnum*<sup>5</sup> ein Ausgliederungsmodell mit zwei Arealen entwickelt: Areal B ist unterteilt in *Germano-Balto-Slavisch + Arisch-Griechisch-Armenisch*, während Areal A *Anatolisch + Tocharisch + Italo-Keltisch-Illyrisch* umfaßt (p.398f.). In Areal A sind es das Anatolische, gefolgt von dem Tocharischen, die den Verband zuerst verlassen, während in Areal B die oben angezeigte Spaltung am Anfang steht. Auch bei dem Ausgangspunkt von Adrados (1982), einer diachron-typologischen Variante des Sturtevantischen *Indo-Hittite*, steht die Ausgliederung des Anatolischen als einzig verbliebenem Relikt eines "monothematisch flektierenden Indoeuropäisch" (6) am Anfang der Prozesse. Zur Stützung der These über die frühe Abwanderung der Tocharer aus dem (aus Westidg. sowie Balt., Slav., Tochar. bestehenden) nördlichen Verband des (nach Abzug der Anatolier) verbliebenen

---

<sup>5</sup>Vgl. die Diskussion des Werkes in *JIES* 13/1+2 (1985) und *VJa* 1988/4; außerdem R. Stempel: *AArmL* 10 (1989) 85-94

Idg. wird dem Tocharischen als Archaismus ein unterentwickeltes Kasussystem zugesprochen (19). Adrados übersieht dabei allerdings, daß hier die Aufgabe der adverbialen Kasus zugunsten einer agglutinierenden Kasusform nur als Ergebnis von Interferenz erklärt werden kann<sup>6</sup>.

Als Modell für den nachfolgenden Versuch einer Darstellung vorhistorischer Entwicklungen im Keltischen und Germanischen ist Neumann 1988 insofern besonders geeignet, als dieser Vf. seine Studie auf zwei Sprachen begrenzt, "wobei die Vorgeschichte und Geschichte des Phrygischen (und des Griechischen) in fünf Epochen eingeteilt wird" (5): "1. Vorgeschichtliche Zeit auf dem Balkan": beinhaltet sowohl die im Griech. und Phryg. bewahrten Archaismen (6ff.) als auch besonders alte gemeinsame Innovationen (10ff.), die nach Leskiens wichtigem Prinzip (1876: XIII) "die Kriterien einer engeren Gemeinschaft" darstellen; "2. Mykenische Epoche des Griechischen" (16): beendet "die Zeit der engsten Nachbarschaft von Phrygern und Griechen" (16); "3. Abwanderung und neue Landaufnahme der Phryger, einschließlich der Zeit des phrygischen Reiches" (16ff.): Einwirkung des "hethitisch-luwischen Substrates auf das Phrygische" (18), besonders in der Namengebung (17); "4. Hellenisierung Kleinasiens" (19ff.): "'Nebenüberlieferung' des Phrygischen, die sich in griechischen epigraphischen und literarischen Texten findet" (19); "5. Untergangsphase des Phrygischen in der römischen Kaiserzeit" (22f.): Neuphrygische Inschriften aus dem 2. und 3. Jh. n.Chr.

Damit sind wir bei unserer oben angezeigten Thematik angelangt, die das Problem der Differenzierung vorhistorischer Epochen im Keltischen (A) und

---

<sup>6</sup>Vgl. Schmidt (1969; 1987; 1988)

Germanischen (B) zum Gegenstand hat. Die ältesten feststellbaren Sprachkontakte gehen den häufig diskutierten Rahmenmodellen - Alteuropäisch, Westidg., Keltisch-Germanisch I (auf der Basis von Wortgleichungen), Keltisch-Germanisch II (auf der Basis von Entlehnungen)<sup>7</sup> - chronologisch voran. Der Beitrag schließt mit einigen Bemerkungen zu konvergenten Entwicklungen im Keltischen und Germanischen.

A. Das Keltische wird gegenwärtig allgemein als westidg. Sprache mit archaischen Merkmalen definiert. Die archaischen Merkmale beziehen sich (a) auf Syntax: Fehlen einer voll ausgebauten Infinitiv-Kategorie und eines synthetischen Begriffes für *haben*; *Tmesis* und Belege von *Basic Word Order Subjekt-Objekt-Verbum* (letztere lassen sich prototypisch aus dem archaischen Irischen *e r s c h l i e ß e n*, während sie im Festlandkeltischen, besonders Keltiberischen, klar bezeugt sind); archaische Doppelsetzung der Konjunktionen *\*k<sup>w</sup>e*, *\*nek<sup>w</sup>e*, *\*u<sup>ǵ</sup>e* in der keltiberischen Inschrift von Botorrita<sup>8</sup>; (b) Zu den morphologisch-lexikalischen Archaismen des Keltischen gehören: (a) die Bewahrung der Differenzierung von '3' und '4' nach maskulin und feminin, die in den Britannischen Sprachen noch heute relevant ist: Kymrisch *tri*, *tair*; *pedwar*, *pedair*; Bretonisch *tri*, *teir*; *pevar*, *peder*; (ß) eine Reihe von Isoglossen mit dem Italischen und Indo-Iranischen, darunter die Wörter für 'König' (*\*rēǵ-s*), 'Königin' (*\*rēǵ-nih<sub>2</sub>*), 'glauben' (*\*kred-dheh<sub>1</sub>*) und 'trinken' (*\*pi-ph<sub>3</sub>-e-t-i*), die Kretschmer (1896: 142) durch "uralte Wanderungen" erklärte, während man seit Vendryes (1918: 284) darin eher archaische, in

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Schmidt (1984; 1986b)

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Schmidt (1986: 200f.) mit weiteren Hinweisen und Literaturangaben zur Syntax (außerdem Koch 1983); zu Botorrita vgl. letztlich de Hoz (1986); Eska (1989)

Marginalposition bewahrte, "mots techniques de caractère religieux" zu sehen glaubt<sup>9</sup>; (γ) Archaismen im Verbalssystem, darunter 1. das \*sje-/sjo-Futurum (mit set-Entwicklung bei Wurzeln auf Sonant) als Isoglosse mit dem Indo-Iranischen, Baltischen, Slavischen, vielleicht auch Griechischen: Ved. *kar-i-ṣyá-ti* 'er wird machen', *vak-ṣyá-ti* 'er wird sprechen', avest. *vax-šyā* 'ich werde sprechen', lit. *dúo-siu* 'ich werde geben', abg. *byšęšteje*, *byšqšteje* < \*bhū-sjo-nt- *tò μέλλον*, griech. *κείοντες κοιμηθησόμενοι* Hes. < \*kei-a<sub>1</sub>-sjo-nt- = ved. *śay-i-ṣyá-nt-* (Hollifield 1981): gallisch (Chamalières) : *bissfiet* 'er wird spalten' : \*bheid-, *bhid-*; *pissfiu mi* 'ich werde sehen' : altir. *ad-cí* 'sieht' < \*k<sup>w</sup>is-e-t; *tonçnaman toncsifonťio* 'die den Eid schwören werden' (Schmidt 1986a: 174f.); 2. Das auf das Indo-Iranische und Keltische (Altirische) begrenzte Desiderativum, eine reduplizierte thematische Bildung auf -se-, die - wie Wilhelm Schulze 1904 in einer klassischen Untersuchung nachgewiesen hat - bei Wurzeln auf Sonant (in gleicher Weise wie die eben besprochene sje/o- Formation) durch einen eingefügten Laryngal zusätzlich charakterisiert ist: Skt. *cikīrṣati* : *kar-* 'machen', Part. Prät. Pass. (PPP) *kṛtá-*, *śuśrūṣate* : *śru-* 'hören', PPP *śrutá-*; altir. *celid* 'verbirgt' : Fut. *céla* < \*ki-k<sup>h</sup>h-se/o- (Schmidt 1986a: 173); (δ) das Paradigma des Relativpronomens auf \*jo-, das das Keltische mit dem Indo-Iran., Griech., Phryg. und Slavischen teilt.

Die Überprüfung dieses Materials (a-δ) führt zu meiner These, daß die Merkmale (γ) und (δ) weniger als Archaismen zu werten sind denn als Indizien für frühe Kontakte des Keltischen mit ostidg. Sprachen (Arisch,

---

<sup>9</sup>Weitere Literatur zur Diskussion des Keltischen (besonders Irischen) als archaischer (Marginal-) Sprache vgl. bei Schmidt (1986: 201).

Griech., Armen., Phryg., Balt., Slav.)<sup>10</sup>.

Für diese Theorie sprechen folgende Argumente:

1. Nach der Identifikation und Analyse des archaischen Anatolischen<sup>11</sup> kann das arisch-griechische Modell nicht länger als eine Art modernisierter Fortsetzung der idg. Grundsprache gewertet werden<sup>12</sup>; 2. die Merkmale ( $\gamma$ ) und ( $\delta$ ) sind auf ostidg. Sprachen plus Keltisch beschränkt; 3. die Merkmale ( $\gamma$ ) und ( $\delta$ ) fehlen insbesondere dem Italischen, obwohl dieses andere Merkmale mit dem Keltischen teilt und die Frage des Italo-Keltischen noch immer diskutiert wird; 4. Merkmal ( $\gamma$ ) bezieht sich auf Suffixbildungen, die durch sekundäre Innovationen modifiziert worden sind: (a) Einfügung eines Laryngals bei Wurzeln auf Sonant; (b) Erweiterung des Morphems \*s, eines alten Modusindikators, durch das Suffix \*-ie-/\*-io- im Falle von \*sie-/\*sio- (cf. Schmid: 1962; 1963). Diese Innovationen, die das Keltische mit den genannten ostidg. Sprachen teilt, sind nach dem oben genannten Prinzip von Leskien (1876: XIII) als frühe "Kriterien einer engeren Gemeinschaft" zu werten. Zwei Zusatzargumente seien hinzugefügt: 5. Sowohl Gamkrelidze/Ivanov als auch Szemerényi sind geneigt, das Relativpronomen \*io- als Merkmal der ostidg. Sprachen zu werten: Gamkrelidze/Ivanov (1984: 394, 10a) begrenzen sein Vorkommen auf Indo-Iran., Griech.,

<sup>10</sup>Wenn man das oben zitierte Modell von Gamkrelidze/Ivanov (1984) zu Grunde legt, gehört zu "Areal B" auch das Germanische; doch muß die Frage so früher kelt.-germ. Kontakte vorerst offen bleiben.

<sup>11</sup>Vgl. letztlich besonders die Arbeiten von E. Neu, e.g. (1976); (1989).

<sup>12</sup>Vgl. z.B. Hoffmann (1970: 41): "aufgrund des Vedischen und Griechischen ergibt sich ein geschlossenes System, und es spricht m.E. alles dafür, daß dieses Verbalsystem das urindogermanische gewesen ist".

Slavisch, Phrygisch und übersehen dabei das keltische Material; Szemerényi erklärt "das Relativum \*yos" als "eine Neuerung der Satemsprachen und des Griechischen" (1989: 223) und fügt als Anmerkung hinzu: "Dagegen muß yo- im Hispano-Keltischen (s. K.H. Schmidt, BCS 26, 1976, 385) und im Keltischen im allgemeinen als unabhängige Neuerung angesehen werden" (1989: 224).<sup>13</sup>

6. Den Ergebnissen der Punkte 1-5 steht die Theorie von Wagner nahe: "that of all western *Centum*-languages Celtic has the closest connections with the Satem-group of the South-east. To locate the Celtic homeland in an area west or north-west of the Thracian domain is, therefore, justified" (1969: 227).<sup>14</sup> Fassen wir zusammen, so scheinen die sechs vorgetragenen Argumente eher dafür zu sprechen, daß die Kelten vor ihren Westkontakten (Alteuropa, Westidg. Sprachen, Keltisch-Italisches, später Keltisch-Germanisch) intensive Beziehungen zur östlichen Indogermania (Indo-Iran.-Griech.-Phryg. bzw. auch Baltisch-Slavisch) gehabt hatten.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup>Auch H. Kurzová nennt unter den "Sprachen mit yo-Pronomen" lediglich "die indoiranischen Sprachen, das Griechische und die baltoslavischen Sprachen" (1981: 54). Ihre These, "daß die Syntax der yo-Sprachen mit ihrer reichlichen Verwendung der Partizipien ..... im ganzen als ursprünglich für die indoeuropäische Sprachstruktur zu betrachten ist" (1981: 58) wird durch die inselkeltischen Sprachen nicht mehr bestätigt (cf. Schmidt 1988a).

<sup>14</sup>Vgl. auch die Entwicklung der *Mediae Aspiratae* (Schmidt 1988b: 244) und von \*g<sup>wh</sup> sowie den Zusammenfall von \*ō und \*ā in ā in nichtauslautender Silbe (Schmidt 1986: 203); außerdem das Problem der Isoglossen zwischen Keltisch, Baltisch und Slavisch (Schmidt 1985).

<sup>15</sup>Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang auch Piggott (1980: 179)

B. Gamkrelidze/Ivanov (1984: 398f.) stellen das Germanische einerseits zu dem Areal B der eher östlichen idg. Sprachen Arisch-Griechisch-Armenisch und Germanisch-Baltisch-Slavisch (s. oben), während sie ihm andererseits im Konsonantensystem (zusammen mit dem Armenischen, Anatolischen und Tocharischen) wegen der Bewahrung der Stimmlosigkeit (bei der von ihnen als *glottoklusiv*, in der traditionellen Schule als *stimmhaft* angesetzten Serie) konservatives Verhalten zugestehen: "In diesem Sinne befindet sich die angezeigte Sonderstellung des Konsonantismus dieser Dialekte in Übereinstimmung mit dem universal geltenden Prinzip der Sprachgeographie, nach dem eine archaische Besonderheit an der Peripherie eines bestimmten Areals bewahrt wird" [V étom smysle ukazannaja osobennost' konsonantisma étiikh dialektov nakhoditsja v sootvetstvii s universal'no znachimym principom lingvo-geografii, po kotoromu arkhajcheskaja osobennost' sokhranjaetsja na periferii opredelennogo areala: 1984: 400]. Unabhängig von der Frage der Akzeptabilität der Glottaltheorie<sup>16</sup> ist auch unser Jubilar wiederholt für die Definition des Germanischen als archaische idg. Sprache eingetreten (e.g. 1979; 1983; 1987). Als archäologische Basis verweist er auf die Theorie einer "Northern Bronze Age culture, which appears to have been developed relatively independently from about 1700 BC until the middle of the first millenium B.C." (Polomé 1987: 218f.), ein kulturelles Areal, dessen Kern man nach dieser Theorie in Südsandinavien ansetzt und das während "the last two of the six periods into which it was divided by the Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius" (219) Einflüsse der eisenzeitlichen Hallstattkultur erfahren hat. Folge davon war das Aufkommen der frühgermanischen

---

<sup>16</sup>Vgl. die Kritik von Job (1989)

Jastorf-Kultur (zwischen 600 und 300 v. Chr. in Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg, Westpommern, Brandenburg und Niedersachsen) (219). Frühe Südbewegungen der Germanen werden durch Sprachkontakte bewiesen: "they were the neighbors, not only of the ancient Balts and proto-Slavs, but also of the ancestors of the Italic and Venetic tribes prior to their migration southwards during the Urnfield period towards the end of the second millenium B.C." (217f.)<sup>17</sup>.

Polomé's wichtigste sprachwissenschaftliche Argumente für die frühe Ausgliederung des Germanischen stützen sich auf das kategorienarme Verbalsystem, das er mit dem archaischen Modell des Hethitischen vergleicht: "Hittite merely shows a 'minimal' system with an active and medio-passive, two moods (indicative and imperative), and two tenses (present and preterit) - a situation rather similar to that of Gothic, with an active and a passive, three moods (indicative, imperative, optative), and two tenses (present and preterit)" (1979: 683). Als Basis für beide Systeme setzt der Jubilar Erich Neus dichotomisches Diathesensystem an, das auf der Opposition von *Activum* und *Perfectum* aufbaut (Neu 1976: 234) und typologisch an die Differenzierung zwischen dynamischen und statischen Verben in Westkaukasischen Sprachen

---

<sup>17</sup>Zur Kritik an der "nordeuropäischen Genese der Germanen" vgl. Reichert (1989: 119), der davon ausgeht, daß die Ethnogenese der Germanen "um die Mitte des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends im Zusammenhang mit der Herausbildung der sogenannten 'Jastorfkultur' zwischen Dänemark und Böhmen zu sehen ist" (120).



erinnert<sup>18</sup>. Zweifellos würde dieses Modell ausgezeichnet zu der Theorie des Protoidg. als Aktivsprache passen<sup>19</sup>. Andererseits sind dabei jedoch einige Schwierigkeiten nicht zu übersehen: (a) die Existenz eines verlorengegangenen Aoristes kann für das Germanische nicht ausgeschlossen werden; (b) das dichotomische Modell impliziert das Fehlen des Aspektes "als eine frühe Kategorie, ja sogar eine Kategorie, die dem Tempus vorangeht" (Szemerényi 1989: 337), was mir aus zwei Gründen nicht einleuchtend zu sein scheint: (a) die Präsensstambildungen im Anatolischen und Germanischen bezeugen die frühe Existenz der markierten imperfektiven Komponente eines morphologischen Aspektes, des. sog. *aspect flexionnel* (zum Terminus vgl. Holt 1943); (b) das Vedische beweist, "daß der morphologische idg. Aspekt, d.h. die Opposition von perfektivem Aorist und imperfektivem Präsensstamm, bereits in die (formal durch noch nicht entwickelte Primärendungen und fehlendes Augment charakterisierte) Injunktivperiode zurückreicht" (Schmidt 1989: 345). Die Aktualität der Frage nach der Ethnogenese der Germanen zeigt auch der letztlich von Schmid (1986) vorgelegte Beitrag, in dem dieser das Gemeingermanische außerhalb Skandinaviens und in Nachbarschaft des Baltischen ansiedelt und "vor die bekannten Südwärts-Bewegungen der germanischen Stämme ... eine Ost-West-Bewegung bzw. Ost-West-Nord-Bewegung ihrer Vorväter" ansetzt (1986: 167).

---

<sup>18</sup>Vgl. z.B. Rogava/Keraševa (1966: 101): "Dynamische Verben drücken aus die Tätigkeit, den Prozeß der Tätigkeit" [Dinamicheskie glagoly vyrazhajut dejstvie, process dejstvija]; "statische Verben drücken aus den Zustand, das Resultat der Tätigkeit" [Sticheskie glagoly vyrazhajut sostojanie, resul'tat dejstvija].

<sup>19</sup>Vgl. Schmidt (1977: 111 = 1979: 343f.); Gamkrelidze/Ivanov (1984: 267ff.)

Eine Konsequenz dieser Expansionen sind die keltisch-germanischen Sprachkontakte mit den sich daraus ergebenden Interferenzen, unter denen den Wortgleichungen besondere Bedeutung zukommt. Die erneute Diskussion dieses Materials (vgl. z.B. Schmidt 1984; 1986b), das von unserem Jubilar wiederholt mit großem Sachverstand besprochen worden ist (vgl. u.a. letztlich 1987; 1989), kann an dieser Stelle nicht geleistet werden.

Abschließend erwähnt seien die konvergenten Entwicklungen, die in germanischen und keltischen Einzelsprachen in historischer Zeit stattfanden. Auf phonologischer Ebene sind vor allen Dingen die partiellen Vokalassimilationen zu nennen (mit gewissen Parallelen im Lateinischen) (cf. Schmidt 1989a), außerdem durch den Initialakzent bedingte Transformationen. Morphologisch bedeutsam ist der Synkretismus von Dativ und Instrumental im Plural mit anschließendem Ersatz des Dativmorphems durch das Instrumentalmorphem, ein Prozeß, der im Keltiberischen, Lepontischen und älteren Gallischen noch nicht stattgefunden hat (vgl. Schmidt 1986c).

## Bibliographie

Adrados, Francisco R.

- 1982 *Die räumliche und zeitliche Differenzierung des Indoeuropäischen im Lichte der Vor- und Frühgeschichte.* (Innsbruck: Inst. f. Sprachwiss. d. Univ. Innsbruck)

Beck, Heinrich (Hrsg.)

- 1986 *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht.* (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter)

Benveniste, Émile

- 1966 *Problèmes de linguistique générale* (Paris: Gallimard)

Ehrich, Robert W.

- 1954 *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press)

Eska, Joseph F.

- 1989 *Towards an Interpretation of the Hispano-Celtic Inscription of Botorrita* (Innsbruck: Inst. f. Sprachwiss. d. Univ. Innsbruck)

Friedrich, Paul

- 1970 *Proto-Indo-European Trees* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press)

Gamkrelidze, T.V./ Ivanov, V.V.

- 1984 *Indoevropskij jazyk i indoevropejcy.* 2 Bde. (Tbilisi: Izdatel'stvo Tbilisskogo Universiteta)

## Gimbutas, Marija

- 1956 *The Prehistory of Eastern Europe. Part 1. Mesolithic, Neolithic and Copper Age Cultures in Russia and the Baltic Area* (Cambridge/Mass.: Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Bulletin No. 20; <sup>2</sup>1958)
- 1970 "Proto-Indo-European Culture: The Kurgan Culture during the Fifth, Fourth, and Third Millenia B.C.", in: Cardona, G./ Hoenigswald, H.M./ Senn, A. (edd.): *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press) 155-197
- 1982 "Old Europe in the Fifth Millennium B.C.: The European Situation on the Arrival of the Indo-Europeans", in: Polomé: 1-60
- 1986 "Remarks on the Ethnogenesis of the Indo-Europeans in Europe", in: Bernhard, W./ Kandler-Pálsson, H. (Hrsgg.): *Ethnogenese europäischer Völker* (Stuttgart-New York: Gustav Fischer) 5-20

## Hawkes, Christopher

- 1987 "Archaeologists and Indo-Europeanists: Can they Mate? Hinderances and Hopes", in: Skomal/ Polomé: 203-215

## Hoffmann, Karl

- 1970 "Das Kategoriensystem des indogermanischen Verbums", *MSS* 28: 19-41

## Hollifield, Henry

- 1981 "Homeric *κείω* and the Greek Desideratives of the type *δρᾶσείει*", *IF* 86: 161-189

## Holt, J.

- 1943 "Etudes d'aspect". København, *Acta Jutlandica* IX/2

de Hoz, Javier

- 1986 "La epigrafía celtibérica", in: Fatás, G. (Hrsg.), in: *Actas de la reunión sobre epigrafía hispánica de época romano-republicana* (Zaragoza: Diputación provincial de Zaragoza) 43-102

Hübschmann, Heinrich

- 1875 "Ueber die stellung des armenischen im kreise der indogermanischen Sprachen", *KZ* 23: 5-49 (= *Kleine Schriften zum Armenischen*, hrsg.v. R. Schmitt (Hildesheim-New York: Georg Olms 1976) 1-45)

Job, Michael

- 1989 "Sound Change Typology and the 'Ejective Model'", in: Vennemann, Th. (Hrsg.): *The New Sound of Indo-European. Essays in Phonological Reconstruction* (Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter) 123-136

Koch, John T.

- 1983 "The Sentence in Gaulish", *PHCC* 3: 169-215

Kretschmer, Paul

- 1896 *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht)

Kurzová, Helena

- 1981 *Der Relativsatz in den indoeuropäischen Sprachen* (Praha: Československé Akademie VĚD)

Leskien, August

- 1876 *Die Declination im Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen* (Leipzig; Nachdruck 1963: Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik)

Libby, Willard F.

- 1955<sup>2</sup> *Radiocarbon Dating* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)

Meid, Wolfgang

- 1989 *Archäologie und Sprachwissenschaft. Kritisches zu neueren Hypothesen der Ausbreitung der Indogermanen.* (Innsbruck: Inst. f. Sprachwiss. d. Univ. Innsbruck)

Neu, Erich

- 1976 "Zur Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Verbalsystems", in: Morpurgo Davies, A./ Meid, W. (edd.): *Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo-European Linguistics offered to L.R. Palmer.* (Innsbruck: Inst. f. Sprachwiss. d. Univ. Innsbruck): 239-254
- 1989 "Zum Alter der personifizierenden -ant-Bildungen des Hethitischen", *Hist.Sprachforsch.* 102: 1-15

Neumann, Günter

- 1988 *Phrygisch und Griechisch* (Wien: Österr.Ak.d.Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Sitz.ber., 499.Bd.)

Piggott, Stuart

- 1980 *Ancient Europe* (Edinburgh: At the University Press 1965, First paperback ed. 1973, Repr. 1980)

Polomé, Edgar C.

- 1979 "Creolization Theory and Linguistic Prehistory", in: Brogyanyi, B. (Hrsg.): *Studies in Diachronic, Synchronic, and Typological Linguistics. Part II* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V.) 679-690
- 1982 (Hrsg.) *The Indo-Europeans in the Fourth and Third Millenia* (Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.)
- 1983 "The Dialectal Position of Germanic within West-Indo-European", in: Hattori, Sh./ Inoue, K. (edd.): *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Linguists* (Tokyo: Gakushuin University, Mejiro 1-5-1, Toshima-ku, Tokyo, Japan-171) 733-742
- 1987 "Who are the Germanic People?", in: Skomal/ Polomé: 216-244
- 1989 Besprechung von Untermann/ Brogyanyi (1984): *Kratylos* 34: 112-116

Porzig, Walter

- 1954 *Die Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebiets* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter)

Reichert, H.

- 1989 Besprechung von Beck (1986): *Kratylos* 34: 117-121

Renfrew, Colin

- 1988 *Archaeology and Language. The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (London: Jonathan Cape 1987; Repr. 1987; 1988; 1988)

Rogava, G.V./ Kerasheva, Z.I.

- 1966 *Grammatika adygejskogo jazyka* (Krasnodar-Majkop: Krasnodarskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo)

Scherer, Anton (Hrsg.)

- 1968 *Die Urheimat der Indogermanen* (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges.)

Schmid, Wolfgang P.

- 1962 "Lit. *kláusti* 'fragen' und das altind. Futurum", *IF* 67: 1-15  
 1963 "Baltische Beiträge", *IF* 68: 47-64  
 1987 "'Indo-European'- 'Old European' (On the Reexamination of Two Linguistic Terms)", in: Skomal/ Polomé: 322-338  
 1986 Alteuropa und das Germanische", in: Beck: 155-167.

Schmidt, Karl Horst

- 1969 "Agglutination und Postposition im Tocharischen", *MSS* 25: 105-112  
 1977 "Probleme der Ergativkonstruktion", *MSS* 36: 97-116  
 1979 "Reconstructing Active and Ergative Stages of Pre-Indo-European", in: Plank, Fr. (Hrsg.): *Ergativity. Towards a Theory of Grammatical Relations* (London: Academic Press) 333-345  
 1983 "Indogermanisch als Diasystem", in: *Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Sprachtypologie und Textlinguistik. Fs. für Peter Hartmann* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr) 341-348  
 1984 "Keltisch und Germanisch", in: Untermann/ Brogynayi: 113-153  
 1985 "Keltisch, Baltisch und Slavisch", in: Melena, J.-L. (Hrsg.): *Symbolae Ludovico Mitxelena septuagenario oblatae* (Vitoria-Gasteiz: Instituto de Ciencias de la Antigüedad) (Veleia, Anejo 1) Pars prior: 23-29  
 1986 "The Celtic Languages in their European Context", in: Evans, D.E./ Griffith, J.G./ Jope, E.M. (edd.): *Proceedings of the*



- Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies* (Oxford: D. Ellis Evans, Jesus College) 199-226
- 1986a "Zur Rekonstruktion des Keltischen. Festlandkeltisches und inselkeltisches Verbum", *ZCP* 41: 159-179
- 1986b "Keltisch-germanische Isoglossen und ihre sprachgeschichtlichen Implikationen", in: Beck: 231-247
- 1986c "Probleme der Kasusbildung", *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 17: 193-198
- 1987 "Zur semantischen Differenzierung des indogermanischen Kasussystems im Tocharischen", *TIES* 1: 139-151
- 1988 "Probleme der tocharischen Deklination", in: Kosta, P. (Hrsg.): *Studia Indogermanica et Slavica. Festgabe für Werner Thomas zum 65. Geburtstag* (München: Sagner) 215-222
- 1988a "Zur Entwicklung indogermanischer Partizipien im Keltischen", *Linguistique Balkanique* 31: 25-29. In memoriam V. Georgiev
- 1988b "On the Reconstruction of Proto-Celtic", in: MacLennan, G.W. (Hrsg.): *Proceedings of the First North American Congress of Celtic Studies* (Ottawa: Chair of Celtic Studies, University of Ottawa) 231-248
- 1989 Besprechung von Szemerényi (1989): *ZDL* 56: 344-345
- 1989a "Uririsch und Spätbritannisch", in: Heller, K./ Panagl, O./ Tischler, J. (Hrsgg.): *Indogermanica Europaea. Fs.f. Wolfgang Meid* (Graz: Inst.f. Sprachwiss. d. Univ. Graz) 285-300

Schrader, Otto

- 1929 *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*. Zweiter Band. 2. Auflage.  
Hrsg. von A. Nehring (Berlin und Leipzig: de Gruyter)

Schulze, Wilhelm

- 1904 "Lit. *kláusiu* und das indogermanische Futurum", *BSB* 1904: 1434-1442 = *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 21966) 101-109

Skomal, Susan Nacev/ Polomé, Edgar C. (edd.)

- 1987 *Proto-Indo-European: The Archaeology of a Linguistic Problem. Studies in Honor of Marija Gimbutas* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man)

Szemerényi, Oswald

- 1989 *Einführung in die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* (<sup>3</sup>Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges.)

Thieme, Paul

- 1964 "The Comparative Method for Reconstruction in Linguistics", in: Hymes, D. (ed.): *Language in Culture and Society. A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology* (New York: Harper & Row) 585-598

Untermann, J./ Brogyanyi B. (Hrsgg.)

- 1984 *Das Germanische und die Rekonstruktion der indogermanischen Grundsprache* (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins)

Vendryes, Joseph

- 1918 "Les correspondances de vocabulaire entre  
l'indo-iranien et l'italo-celtique", *MSL* 20:  
265-285

Wagner, Heinrich

- 1969 "The Origin of the Celts in the Light of  
Linguistic Geography", *TPS* 1969: 203-227

Watkins, Calvert (Hrsg.)

- 1985 *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-  
European Roots* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin)

Wild, John Peter

- 1970 "Borrowed Names for Borrowed Things",  
*Antiquity* 54: 125-130

# THE GERMANIC HYPERMETRIC LINE IN INDO-EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE\*

Seiichi Suzuki  
*Hiroshima University*

## 1. Introduction

According to Meillet (1923), Jakobson (1952), Watkins (1963), and others, Indo-European had two distinct verses: shorter verse and longer verse. Functionally speaking, the shorter verse "is used for a less elevated, and the longer for a more elevated style" (Watkins 1963: 210). On the formal dimension, the shorter verse consists of two parts, namely, the initial and the cadence, while the longer counterpart is tripartite, i.e. the initial, the middle, and the cadence. Furthermore, both verses are structurally related: the shorter verse is derived by suppressing the middle colon of the longer verse. Or, conversely, the longer verse is composed by inserting an extra colon in the middle.

The comparative investigations, to which we owe the above-mentioned insights among others, have been primarily concerned with Vedic, Greek, Slavic, and Old Irish. The meters of these four languages or language groups are thus assumed to be paradigm continuations of Indo-European metrics. Recently, however, Suzuki (1988) has shown that Germanic alliterative verse also retains Indo-European metrical features in its formal fundamentals. More specifically, concentrating on the normal verse of Germanic alliterative poetry, Suzuki has proposed that the verse in question may be identified as a reflex of the Indo-European shorter verse.

In this paper, in the light of Indo-European metrics I will be concerned with the Germanic hypermetric line as opposed to the normal line. Specifically, I would like to show that the hypermetric line retains a crucial formal property of the Indo-European longer verse in opposition to the shorter counterpart, and thereby to advance a further case for the Indo-European basis of Germanic alliterative verse.

## 2. Indo-European Longer Verse

Although in section 1 I have summarised the representative view on the structural relationship between the Indo-European shorter and longer verses, it has not met with universal acceptance. At issue in particular is a specific location wherein an extra colon is added to form the longer verse.

Ananthanarayana (1973) and Vigorita (1976), among others, have proposed an alternative view that the additional colon is attached at the end of the shorter verse. And Nagy (1974) has postulated the suture at the beginning or at the end of the shorter verse. Their argument is based chiefly on how the meters in question are realized in syntactic and lexical terms, and where syntactic or word breaks most often stand. Although I do not intend to discredit their

observations, according to our primary concern with metrical issues here, metrical considerations should be given the first priority.

The following sections, then, are intended to justify the internal expansion on purely metrical grounds.

## 2. 1. Vedic

In Vedic metrics the verse or metrical line is classified into two types according to the length, or the number of constituent syllables. The shorter verse, called dimeter, usually consists of eight syllables. On the other hand, the longer counterpart, trimeter, consists of eleven or twelve syllables.

The structure of the stanza, the next higher metrical unit above verse, offers further classificatory criteria. *Gāyatrī* stanza consists of three dimeters (i.e. 8 x 3), while *anuṣṭubh* comprises four dimeters (i.e. 8 x 4). *Triṣṭubh* is based on four trimeters of eleven syllables each (i.e. 11 x 4), and *jagatī* is constituted by four twelve-syllable trimeters (i.e. 12 x 4). The four meters just mentioned are characterized by the uniform verse structure (exclusively either dimeter or trimeter). In addition, stanzas based on the cooccurrence of di- and trimeters also exist, which are called by a cover term 'lyric meters'. Lyric meters are limited to earlier dates. For details on lyric meters and other metrical types, see Arnold (1905: 8).

Let us turn to the internal structure of verse. Dimeter, as suggested by the name, is divided into two parts ('the opening' and 'the cadence'), each of which consists of four syllables: [4 | 4]. Trimeter, by contrast, has a twofold organization. First, it is tripartite and analyzed into three constituents: 'the opening', 'the break', 'the cadence'. The opening, like dimeter, consists of four syllables. The following three syllables constitute the break. The remaining four or five syllables (depending on whether the line has eleven or twelve syllables) form the cadence. Thus, trimeter may be schematically represented as [4 | 3 | 4] or [4 | 3 | 5]. Second, on the basis of the caesura, trimeter is divided into two parts. According to the location of the caesura, which comes either after the fourth syllable or the fifth, the overall structure may be schematized as follows (|| denotes the caesura): [4 || 7], [4 || 8], [5 || 6], [5 || 7]. In this way, the two different criteria may result in partly conflicting segmentations. More concretely, when the caesura follows the fifth syllable, the first syllable of the break is separated from the following two by the intervening caesura.

The important point to be noted, however, is the differing extent to which each of the two criteria determines the overall metrical pattern of trimeter. The bipartition is metrically of limited significance. The place of the caesura contributes to the metrical determination only locally by affecting internal configuration of the break in terms of metrical values; the caesura favors the two successive short syllables immediately after it; the remaining syllable, whether it stands before or after the caesura, counts as long. Put another way,

the initial four syllables, whether the caesura comes before or after the fifth syllable, conform to the identical metrical patterning (cf. Smith 1980-81: 454-456). Thus, it may be concluded that in Vedic verse the tripartition constitutes the basic pattern, on which the bipartite structure is imposed, bringing about local adjustment only.

Each constituent thus delimited has characteristic metrical patterns based on the quantity of the syllable. Typically, the opening has  $\sim - - -$ ,  $\sim - -$ ,  $\sim -$ , or  $\sim \sim -$ . (For the frequency of each variant, see below.) In its normal form the break is structured as  $|| \sim \sim -$ , or  $- || \sim \sim$ . By contrast, the cadence is more regularly structured and is subject to a lesser degree of variation:  $\sim - - \sim$  for dimeter, and for trimeter  $- \sim - \sim$  (the eleven-syllable variant) or  $- \sim - \sim \sim$  (the twelve-syllable variant). This fixity of pattern reflects what may be characterized as an Indo-European metrical principle (cf. Meillet (1923), Jakobson (1952), Watkins (1963)). Moreover, the initial and the final positions (represented as  $\sim$  above) are indifferent to the syllable quantity, another Indo-European metrical feature.

The following examples taken from *The Rig-Veda* 8.29.1 (1) and 8.29.10 (2) (both in lyric meter) show the principal characteristics of Vedic verse outlined above:

- (1)  $\begin{array}{ccccccc} - & - & & - & - & - & - \\ \text{babhrúr} & & \text{éko} & \text{vísuṇah} & & \text{sūnáro} & \text{yúvā} \\ - & - & & - & - & - & - \\ \text{añjī} & \text{añkte} & & \text{hiraṇyáyam} & & & \end{array}$
- (2)  $\begin{array}{ccccccc} - & - & - & - & & - & - \\ \text{árcanta} & \text{éke} & & \text{máhi} & \text{sāma} & & \text{manvata} \\ - & - & & - & - & - & - \\ \text{téna} & \text{sūryam} & & \text{arocayan} & & & \end{array}$

Our primary concern here is the formal relationship between dimeter and trimeter from a synchronic point of view: how should one be characterized in connection with the other in formal-structural terms? More specifically, if trimeter is to be analyzed as an expanded form of dimeter, which particular place does that expansion involve? Or conversely, if dimeter is to be derived from trimeter by the reduction of the latter (cf. Watkins 1963), where is that process to be located? Of paramount importance here, then, is not so much the mode of derivation (i.e. expansion vs. reduction) as the place of derivation. In what follows, however, for the sake of presentation I simply assume that trimeter is derived from dimeter by expansion.

In logical terms, each constituent (i.e. the opening, the break, the cadence) of trimeter may be a possible candidate for the extra structure (colon) which

In logical terms, each constituent (i.e. the opening, the break, the cadence) of trimeter may be a possible candidate for the extra structure (colon) which has been added to dimeter to create trimeter. Accordingly, trimeter may be expanded in three different ways: left-hand juxtaposition (at the beginning), or embedding (in the middle), or right-hand juxtaposition (at the end).

Under the hypothesis that dimeter and trimeter stand in a derivational relationship, it may naturally be expected that both meters share certain metrical features. Furthermore, given the bi- and tripartite constituency of the meters in question, it may plausibly be assumed that that part of trimeter (if there is one) which is metricaly regulated in a way quite extraneous to dimeter should be identified as the added colon. In other words, metrical characterizations of the three constituents of trimeter in comparison with dimeter may be expected to lead us to the identification of the extra colon and consequently the place of derivation.

Let us consider in detail metrical properties of each constituent. On the basis of Arnold (1905: §§185, 212, 215), the frequencies of variants for each constituent are given in a simplified manner as follows: (It should be noted that we are here concentrating on Arnold's Group I, i.e. hymns of archaic period based on lyric meters)

(3) Preferred Types of Opening and Cadence in Dimeter and Trimeter

Dimeter		Trimeter	
Opening:		Opening:	
- - - -	39.2%	- - -	40.3%
- - - -	28.7%	- - - -	33.7%
- - - -	11.4%	- - - -	10.3%
Others	20.7%	Others	16.7%
Total	100%	Total	100%
Cadence:		Cadence:	
- - - -	92.0%	- - - -	84.9%
Others	8.0%	Others	15.1%
Total	100%	Total	100%

(4) Preferred Types of Opening and Break in Trimeter

Trimeter [4    8]		Trimeter [5    7]	
Opening:		Opening:	
- - - -	33.7%	- - - -	46.0%
- - - -	29.0%	- - - -	34.1%
- - - -	12.9%	- - - -	9.0%
Others	24.4%	Others	10.9%
Total	100%	Total	100%

Break:		Break:	
- -	46.9%	-    -	51.4%
Others	53.1%	Others	48.6%
Total	100%	Total	100%

It should be obvious that the openings of dimeter and trimeter are more or less isomorphous; in both meters  $\sim - - -$  and  $\sim - \sim -$  constitute preferred patterns, although the correspondence is less than perfect. The isomorphism becomes clearer when we concentrate on [4 || 8] to the exclusion of [5 || 7] (cf. (4)). Here, as in dimeter,  $\sim - - -$  is most preferred, followed then by  $\sim - \sim -$ .

The marked preference for  $\sim - \sim -$  over otherwise expected  $\sim - - -$  in the type of [5 || 7] may be ascribed to the tendency to avoid the four consecutive  $- - - -$ . It should be noted that normally in dimeter the three  $- - -$  in succession is maximal as realized in a dimeter  $\sim - - - \sim - \sim -$ . For [5 || 7], by virtue of the caesura the fifth syllable is strongly biased toward  $-$  (cf.  $- || \sim -$ ). Of the second, third, and fourth syllables the third one seems to be least inclined to  $\sim$ , as observed in the above table (3). It is therefore the third syllable that is most likely to assigned  $\sim$  to avoid the undesirable  $- - - -$ .

In conclusion, then, the openings of dimeter and trimeter follow basically the same patterning. The openings of both meters are thus structurally analogous.

With respect to the cadence, the diametrically opposed patterns present themselves: iambic for dimeter and trochaic for trimeter. Thus, one might be tempted to conclude that the cadences of dimeter and trimeter are divergently structured. Upon closer examination, the contrary turns out to be true. Giving numbers to each position of the cadences, we find the following structures:

(5) Dimeter:	$\sim - \sim -$	
	5 6 7 8	
Trimeter:	$\sim - - \sim$	$- \sim - \sim$
	8 9 10 11	8 9 10 11 12

Thus, the underlying pattern emerges:  $\sim$  for the odd-numbered positions, and  $-$  for the even-numbered positions. In other words, the cadences of both dimeter and trimeter are governed by the same metrical principle, but they fail to show the identical patterning on the surface simply because of the different starting place of the cadence within the line. Therefore, insofar as they follow the same underlying metrical principle, the cadences of dimeter and trimeter should be characterized as identical.

We are then left with the break. The break cannot be regarded as part of the cadence; it is not regulated by the principle whereby  $\sim$  and  $-$  are assigned to



odd-numbered positions and even-numbered positions, respectively. As shown in (4), the typical patterns of the break are  $\parallel \sim \sim -$  and  $- \parallel \sim \sim$ . Nor can it be associated with the opening; the two consecutive short syllables, which is characteristic of the break, is far from regular in the opening (cf. Arnold 1905: §183). Thus, the break, whose metrical pattern is irreducible to the opening or the cadence, must be characterized as autonomously structured. It constitutes an independent unit, which is metrically extraneous to dimeter.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, we may be justified in isolating the break as an extra structure, which is unknown to dimeter. We are led to conclude therefore that in Vedic metrics trimeter is established by embedding into dimeter a metrically independent additional unit, namely the break.

## 2.2. Slavic (Serbo-Croatian)

The opposition of the Indo-European shorter vs. longer verse is reflected most transparently in Serbo-Croatian laments (Jakobson 1952: 427ff.). The shorter verse is composed in the form of [4 | 4], as illustrated below:

- (6) Jâ nijèsam tûžilica

The longer verse, on the other hand, is of the structure [4 | 4 | 4]:

- (7) Jòš se nâdâm u mìlosna bràta môga

Jakobson (1952: 428–429) observes that the longer verse has an additional colon in the middle position. This characterization is supported by his statistical examination of the accentual patterns of each colon. According to his account, the cadence shows the strongest, and the middle colon the weakest, tendency to a trochaic accentual patterning. This observation brings to light the extraneous nature of the middle colon in that the colon in question is least affected by the accentual pattern working on both shorter and longer lines.

## 2.3. Old Irish

According to Watkins (1963), Old Irish verse forms that continue the Indo-European shorter verse are, among others, of the following structures: [4 | 3], [5 | 3], [3 | 3]. Examples are as follows (Watkins 1963: 222ff.):

- (8) a. [4 | 3]: cia deilm dremun derdrethar  
 b. [5 | 3]: mairg Ulltu mad ol Boínn bet  
 c. [3 | 3]: ní huchtat óenmaige

On the other hand, the following verses are considered to be reflexes of the Indo-European longer verse (Watkins 1963: 242ff.):

- (9) a. [4 | 4 | 3]: atabonar trebh ar teidhmnech turranach  
 b. [5 | 4 | 3]: i ngaibter tagra uidech tresach turbadach  
 c. [3 | x | 3]: fo cen breth breithemun brighach nimglinde  
 (x stands for a variable number of syllables.)

How are these two types of verse forms related in structural terms? Watkins (1963: 244) states correctly that the longer forms have an additional colon in the middle position. This characterization is motivated by the isomorphism between the shorter lines and the longer ones in terms of the number of constituent syllables within a colon. More concretely, the initial part consists of three (cf. (8c) and (9c)), four (cf. (8a) and (9a)) or five syllables (cf. (8b) and (9b)), respectively. The cadence, on the other hand, is limited to just three syllables. Thus, the shorter lines, expanded with a middle colon (| 4 | or | x |), would produce the well-formed corresponding longer lines.

By contrast, if one assumed that the longer verse is composed by adding an extra structure in initial or final position (or that the shorter verse is created by suppressing the initial or the cadence of the longer counterpart), one would be led to expect counterfactually the presence of \*[4 | 4], \*[5 | 4], \*[4 | 3 | 3], \*[5 | 3 | 3], and others.

In this way, only by assuming the internal expansion can we account for a full range of well-formed verse forms in a straightforward manner. This explanatory power, then, provides crucial support for Watkins' observation on the structural relationship between the shorter and the longer verses in Old Irish.

#### 2.4. Greek

Glyconic among others constitutes a reflex of the Indo-European shorter verse (Watkins 1963; West 1973: 165ff.), which is of the form,  $\sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim$ , as exemplified in the following (West 1982: 32):

- (10)  $\sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim$   
 τὰν δ' ἔγω γὰρ ἀμειβόμεν  
 χαίρουσ' ἔρχεο κἀμεν

The verse form in question, along with other forms, has expanded or longer counterparts. Of several possible modes of expansion, 'by expansion from within' (West 1982: 32) is of particular interest here. Most commonly, the sequence  $\sim \sim \sim$  or  $\sim \sim \sim$  is embedded into the shorter form. The following example is a glyconic expanded with  $\sim \sim \sim$  (West 1982: 32):

- (11)  $\sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim$   
 μέμναισ' οἶσθα γὰρ ὥς σε πεδήπομεν.

### 3. The Germanic Hypermetric Line

In addition to normal lines, Germanic verse has hypermetric or expanded lines. First, consider the following example taken from *Beowulf* (Klaeber 1950):

- (12) Blæd is āræred  
geond wīdwegas, wine mīn Bēowulf,  
ðīn ofer þēoda gehwylce. Eal þū hit gelydum healdest,  
mægen mid mōdes snyttrum. Ic þē sceal mīne gelæstan  
frēode, swā wit furðum spræcon. Ðū scealt tō frōfre weorþan  
eal langtwīdig lēodum þīnum,  
hæledum tō helpe. (Beowulf 1703b–1709a)

1. As the name suggests, normally the hypermetricality involves the line as a whole, rather than the half-line in isolation. In other words, the combination of the normal and the hypermetric half-lines is exceptional.

(13) / × / × / ×  
mægen mid mōdes snyttrum (*Beowulf* 1706a)

3. More often than not, hypermetric lines appear in groups, although they may be employed in isolation.

4. With rare exceptions, the number of alliterating lifts does not exceed two for the *a*-verse. For the *b*-verse, it is obligatorily limited to one.

5. Predominantly, the first and the second lifts of the *a*-verse, and the second lift of the *b*-verse alliterate:

- (14) /     ×    / ×    / ×                 /    ×    / ×    / ×  
frēode, swā wit furðum spræcon.      Ðū scealt tō frōfre weorþan  
(Beowulf 1707)

In addition to the canonical alliterative pattern thus regulated, supplementary alliteration may occur involving a sound other than the one of primary (obligatory) alliteration (for details, see Hieatt 1974: 240ff.).

6. From a synchronic point of view, the hypermetric half-line may be analyzed as consisting of the two well-formed normal half-lines sharing the two metrical positions in the middle:<sup>2</sup>

(15) AA [ / × [ / × ] / × ]:

A: / × / ×

A: / × / ×

AA: / × / × / ×

e.g. gān under gyldnum bēage (*Beowulf* 1163a)

AD<sup>3</sup> [ / × [ / / ] × × ]:

A: / × / ×

D: / / × ×

AD: / × / / × ×

e.g. girwan up swæsendo (*Judith* 9a)<sup>4</sup>

AE [ / × [ / × ] × / ]:

A: / × / ×

E: / × × /<sup>5</sup>

AE: / × / × × /

e.g. healdað hāligra feorh (*Guthlac* 90a)

BB [ × / [ × / ] × / ]: unattested.<sup>6</sup>

BC [ × / [ × / ] / × ]:

B: × / × /

C: × / / ×

BC: × / × / / ×

e.g. to hynþum heofoncynige (*Christ* 1513a)

CA [ × / [ / × ] / × ]:

C: × / / ×

A: / × / ×

CA: × / / × / ×

e.g. ealle him brimu blōdige puhton (*Exodus* 573a)

CD<sup>7</sup> [ × / [ / / ] × × ]: unattested.

CE [ × / [ / × ] × / ]:

C: × / / ×

E: / × × /

CE: × / / × × /

e.g. *wlitige to woruldneyte* (*Genesis* 1016a)

This analysis rules out the following logically possible but unattested concatenations involving three lifts and three drops:

(16)  $\begin{array}{ccccccc} / & / & / & \times & \times & \times \\ / & / & \times & / & \times & \times \\ / & / & \times & \times & / & \times \\ / & / & \times & \times & \times & / \\ \times & \times & \times & / & / & / \\ \times & \times & / & \times & / & / \\ \times & / & \times & \times & / & / \\ / & \times & \times & \times & / & / \\ \times & \times & / & / & / & \times \\ \times & \times & / & / & \times & / \end{array}$

Furthermore, the following set of combinations which satisfies the compositionality out of normal half-lines is excluded by the above-mentioned restriction on the number of lifts and drops per half-line:

(17)  $AB : / \times // \times /$  Cf.  $A : / \times / \times$   
 $B : \times / \times /$   
 $AB : / \times // \times /$   
 $AC : / \times // / \times$  Cf.  $A : / \times / \times$   
 $C : \times // \times$   
 $AC : / \times // / \times$   
 $BA : \times // / / \times$  Cf.  $B : \times / \times /$   
 $A : / \times / \times$   
 $BA : \times // / / \times$

BE: x / / / x /	Cf. B: x / x /
	E: / x x /
	BE: x / / / x /
CB: x / / / x /	Cf. C: x / / x
	B: x / x /
	CB: x / / / x /
CC: x / / / / x	Cf. C: x / / x
	C: x / / x
	CC: x / / / / x
DA: / / / x / x	Cf. D: / / x x
	A: / x / x
	DA: / / / x / x
DB: / / x / x /	Cf. D: / / x x
	B: x / x /
	DB: / / x / x /
DC: / / x / / x	Cf. D: / / x x
	C: x / / x
	DC: / / x / / x
DD: / / / / x x	Cf. D: / / x x
	D: / / x x
	DD: / / / / x x
DE: / / / x x /	Cf. D: / / x x
	E: / x x /
	DE: / / / x x /
EA: / x / / / x	Cf. E: / x x /
	A: / x / x
	EA: / x / / / x
EE: / x / / x /	Cf. E: / x x /
	E: / x x /
	EE: / x / / x /

Concentrating on lifts, now, the typical or most preferred structure of the hypermetric line may be schematically represented as follows:

(18) [ a [ a ]<sub>A</sub> x ]<sub>A</sub> · | [ x [ a ]<sub>B</sub> x ]<sub>B</sub> ·

Key:

a: alliterating lift;

x: nonalliterating lift;

- [ ]: normal half-line with a subscript value for reference;  
 A, A': *a*-verse; B, B': *b*-verse;  
 | : caesura.

### 3.2. Recent Analyses: Hoover (1985) and Russom (1987)

Before providing explanations for the properties of the hypermetric line as summarized in the previous section, it is necessary here to point out inadequacies inherent in some alternative analyses recently proposed. By doing so, I argue for the validity of the traditional account and thereby claim that the characteristics of the hypermetric line identified within the traditional framework are real and deserve explanation. The analyses to be discussed in what follows are Hoover (1985) and Russom (1987).<sup>8</sup>

Hoover (1985: 158) contends that the hypermetric line is in no way different from the normal line in purely metrical terms; the difference between the two is simply stylistic. Thus, in his theory hypermetric half-lines receive analyses that are indistinguishable from those for normal counterparts. Such full reduction of hypermetric lines to normal counterparts follows from the theoretical insignificance of the nonalliterating lift within Hoover's theory. Therefore, the hypermetric half-line, which after all has the same number of alliterating lifts as the normal line fails to constitute a metrically distinct class of its own. The situation is illustrated by the following examples (in Hoover's notation, A stands for an alliterating lift, and n, for any number of nonalliterating syllables including nonalliterating lifts):

(19)	Bliss	Hoover
	A (with double alliteration) AA, AD, AE, EB, EC	AnAn
	B (with single alliteration) C (with single alliteration) aA, aD, aE	nAn
	A (with anacrusis) BB, BC	nAnAn
	C (with double alliteration) CA, CE	nAAn

The reduction of the traditionally distinct classes, however formally elegant it may appear, runs into empirical difficulties. The hypermetric and the normal lines show distinct patterns in the way of realizing n, a concatenation of nonalliterating syllables. This distinct patterning reveals that something significant is left unexpressed and unexplained in Hoover's apparently simplified representations.

Let us consider some instances. First, as indicated above, in the *a*-verse, in addition to nAnAn, which is of the maximal length, AnAn and nAAn, consisting of four constituents, provide a basis for the composition of hypermetric half-lines. Why then does the other string of the same length, namely, nAnA, fail to equally build hypermetric half-lines? This divergence among the concatenations of four constituents remains unaccounted for.

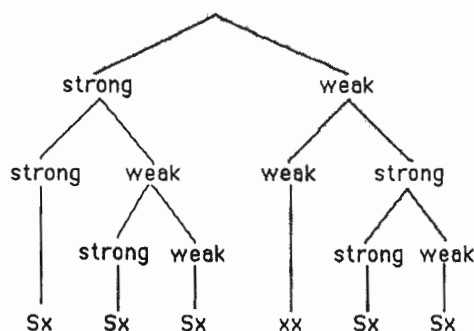
Second, in the *a*-verse, for the traditional Type AA, which is now reanalyzed as AnAn in Hoover's conception (cf. (19)), it is primarily the second n that receives expansion. It remains unexplained why the first n or both n's systematically fail to be expanded to form hypermetric half-lines.

Third, in the *b*-verse, normally by expanding the initial n, nAn realizes hypermetric half-lines as well as normal counterparts (traditionally, Types B and C). By contrast, nAn with a heavy second n, creates only normal half-lines (traditional Types B and C among others). This asymmetry finds no expression in Hoover's system.

Thus, the subsumption of the hypermetric line under the normal line fails to take a full account of significant class-internal distinctions that remain still observable within Hoover's reductionist theory.

Russom (1987) is less radical in that he accepts such traditional notions as anacrusis, (non)alliterating lifts, and resolution. For the hypermetric line he sets up the following hierarchical structure: (S = a lift; x = an unstressed syllable. For our discussion here, the number of x is immaterial.)

(20)



The above representation embodies Sievers' original analysis (Sievers 1885), whereby the hypermetric half-line is formed by adding an initial foot to the normal half-line. In Russom's expression, the hypermetric half-line is composed by embedding normal foot pairs (SxSx) under the second foot node of the normal half-line. Except for this operation, however, the hypermetric and the normal lines are of the same structure.



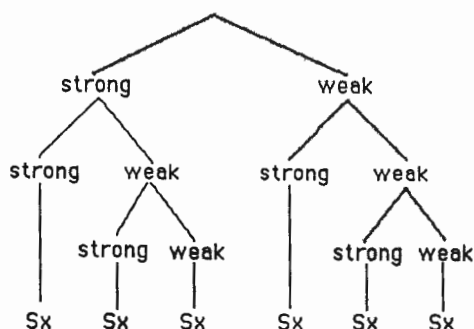
The embedding in question is conducted by a rule called the Hypermetrical Verse Rule, which states (Russom 1987: 60):

- (21) The second foot of a hypermetrical verse overlaps a normal verse pattern with an S position in the first foot.

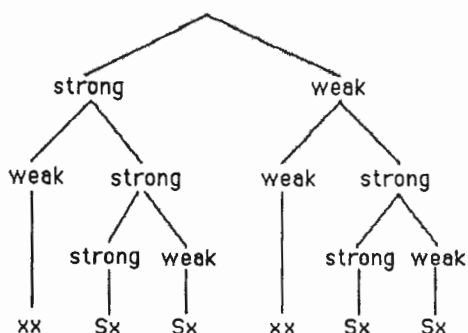
Given the representation (20), a set of rules for alliteration (Russom 1987: 73) and a preference rule for double alliteration (*ibid.*, 84), which are independently required for the normal line, correctly produce the canonical alliterative pattern, i.e. a a x | x a x.

An important question, however, remains unexplored in Russom's theory. Namely, why does a structural asymmetry exist between the *a*-verse and the *b*-verse as regards the labeling of the initial node? More specifically, why does the strong node initiate the *a*-verse, while the weak node initiates the *b*-verse? It should be noted in this connection that the above-stated Hypermetrical Verse Rule, the only formal device responsible for generating the hypermetrical verse, has no explanatory function on this point. As it is, therefore, this unrestrictedness of Russom's system, in addition to the representation (20), allows the following three structures to be generated, which should be of equal metrical status:

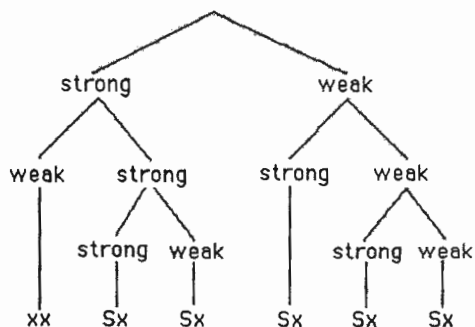
- (22) a.



b.



c.



The theoretically possible coexistence of the four distinct structures implies empirically the availability of the corresponding four different alliterating patterns as follows:

- (23) a. a a x | x a x  
 b. a a x | a x x  
 c. x a a | x a x  
 d. x a a | a x x

In this way, on account of the failure to discriminate among the competing patterns Russom's theory cannot explain in a systematic fashion the canonical alliterative pattern of the hypermetric line.

In conclusion, Hoover and Russom deserve credit for expressing fully the metrical generalization underlying the hypermetric and the normal half-lines by subsuming the former class under the latter. This has been done, however, at the expense of failing to do justice to certain metrically distinctive properties of the hypermetric line.

### 3.3. A Proposed Analysis

Let us return to the canonical structure of the hypermetric line, as represented in (18). Concentrating on the constituent brackets A and B', i.e. [a a]A | [a x]B', we find the emerging structure to be in full accordance with the normal line. Of particular significance is that the part of the hypermetric line in focus here obeys the same constraint on the alliterative pattern as the normal line does. The lift immediately following the caesura alliterates, while the final lift is excluded from alliteration. In other words, the hypermetric and normal lines have the identical cadence structure [a x]. Moreover, the two alliterating lifts in succession in the initial part of the line are equally observed in the normal line. Thus, on the basis of alliterative patterning, the hypermetric line may be derived by inserting a nonalliterating lift (x) on the right side of the *a*-verse on the one hand, and on the left side of the *b*-verse on the other. Put differently, the innermost lifts, i.e. the third and the fourth ones, forms an extra structure, which is embedded into the normal line.

Also to be noted is the consistency of the pattern a x | x a x even in instances of supplementary alliteration, where in addition to the alliteration represented by a, another is realized, namely a a b | b a x, or a a b | x a b (Hieatt 1974: 240–241). This state of affairs only underlines the fundamental, invariant nature of the pattern a x | x a x.

This way of characterization, however, leaves much to be explained. The added extra x on either side of the caesura, insofar as the operation is defined on a separate basis, would counterfactually produce such a line wherein only one half-line is hypermetric, as regularly as the canonical line with two hypermetric half-lines. As noted above, however, normally hypermetricity is a property of the entire line.

Furthermore, the status of the unit to be added, i.e. just one lift and two metrical positions per half-line, remains unexplained. The unit in question does not constitute a significant structure, and therefore is not readily available from the existing normal structure. Hence the following question arises: why is the added structure not the size of the normal half-line, which is immediately recognizable? An appeal to the level of foot (in the traditional conception) in this connection would be of no explanatory value. It remains unexplicable why the added structure is necessarily of bipartite composition, / x, or x /, when the tripartite counterpart may be equally available in Types D and E, namely, / x x.

The above-raised questions receive principled explanation once the hypermetric line is placed against the background of Indo-European meters as treated in the previous section. More specifically, the formal characterization of the hypermetric line as comparable to the Indo-European longer verse in opposition to the normal line corresponding to the Indo-European shorter counterpart leads to a revealing account.

This assumption, concerned as it is with formal considerations, has an initial plausibility on the functional dimension. Like the Indo-European longer verse, the Germanic hypermetric line is connected with emotionally elevated style (cf. Sievers 1893: §89; Lehmann 1956: 41).

As a preform for the hypermetric line, therefore, I postulate the tripartite structure whose middle colon is extraneous and thereby postulate [4 | 4 | 4], as reflected by Slavic laments (cf. (7)). Thus, in its original composition the hypermetric line was derived by embedding what is in terms of length equivalent to the normal half-line into the normal line of the structure [4 | 4].

As discussed in detail elsewhere (Suzuki 1988), the normal line is strictly regulated in terms of alliterative pattern. Put differently, the verse in question is alliteration-based (cf. Hoover 1985). What alliteration is to Germanic meter is what quantity is to Vedic and Classical Greek on the one hand, and what accent is to Celtic and Slavic on the other (Suzuki 1988). This alliterative pattern, inherent as it is to the normal line, upon insertion of an extra colon remains basically unchanged in the resulting longer line. The middle colon thus plays no significant role in determining the arrangement of alliteration within the entire line.

In this way, the restriction on the distribution of alliteration among lifts is in its fundamental form shared by the normal and hypermetric lines despite their superficial difference in length. Further, since the added structure consists of two lifts and four metrical positions, in principle the hypermetricity involves both half-lines.

The proposed assumption of the tripartite structure as a preform for the hypermetric line has some plausibility. In the extant poetry, we find several lines which may be analyzed into three constituent half-lines (Heusler 1956: §335). Consider the following examples:

(24) trymman ond tyhtan | þæt he teala cunne, | oppæt hine mon atemedne  
hæbbe, (Maxims I 46)

(25) Fela sceop meotud | þæs þe fym gewearð, | het siþþan swa forð wesan  
(Maxims I 164)

Although the above examples are not identifiable as a direct reflex of the postulated [4 | 4 | 4] (notice that the final half-line itself is hypermetric!), they may testify to the mode of composition per se whereby three half-lines are put

together to form a single line. It is of interest to note further that functionally the verse at issue is of gnomic type, which may be expected to retain certain archaisms (cf. Watkins 1963).

At this point, we are confronted with the following question: how was the original tripartite composition [4 | 4 | 4] transformed into the bipartite counterpart [6 | 6]? In the first place, it should be pointed out with emphasis that cooccurrence of the two modes of segmentation is not ruled out on a priori grounds. It will be recalled here that the Vedic longer verse is organized on two different principles of segmentation (cf. section 2.1). Of particular interest is the fact that one of the constituents in terms of tripartition, namely, the middle colon or the break, is interrupted by the caesura, which is a marker of bipartition. In an analogous manner, then, the division of the middle colon into halves by the caesura would not be implausible. What I am suggesting here is that the conception of tripartite structure may have been synchronically recoverable even at the historical time. In view of this consideration, the issue is how the bipartite composition emerged anew, rather than how the original tripartition died out.

The new conception of [6 | 6] would have been far from difficult to arrive at. Since the same principle underlies the alliterative pattern of both the hypermetric and normal lines, it must have been a short step to a reanalysis of the former (which constitutes a marked entity) on a par with the latter (the unmarked entity). More specifically, the distribution of alliteration (two for the *a*-verse and one for the *b*-verse) may have constituted an organizing principle on the basis of which the bipartition was introduced into the originally tripartite structure. Furthermore, this reanalysis toward bipartition was subject to another condition: the normal line is symmetrical in structure with two lifts and four metrical positions per half-line. Consequently, the middle colon came to be divided equally so that the resultant two half-lines retained symmetry.

Concomitant with the restructuring of the whole line, the emerging expanded half-line with six metrical positions may have received reanalysis on the basis of the normal half-line. Thus, instead of being treated as a further unanalyzable independent structure, the string comprising three lifts and six positions was segmented in the light of the already available metrical types of normal half-lines. As a result, the expanded half-line was analyzed as consisting of the two regular half-lines sharing the two metrical positions in the middle. Here we find a diachronic basis for the traditional analysis (cf. (15)).

Once identified as a variant of the normal line, the possibility arose that the hypermetric half-line was employed in combination with the normal counterpart. It should be recalled that in the normal line a metrical type of the half-line is determined independently without regard for that of its partner. Correspondingly, a newly recognized expanded type of half-line, AA (cf. (15)), for example, was combined with Type B to compose a line as follows:

(26) ealne ūtanweardne; nē ðær ænig mon (*Beowulf* 2297)

In this way, the hypermetricality ceased to be a privileged attribute of the line; it became equally applicable to the half-line.

It is plausible to expect, furthermore, that, other things being equal, with the passage of time this reanalysis established itself, and that accordingly expanded half-lines were freely combined with normal half-lines in later works. This implication turns out to be in accordance with the facts. The Old Saxon *Heliand*, for example, which exhibits an array of innovative features compared with *Beowulf* (cf. Sievers 1893: §§115–116), shows the marked increase of the newly-created pattern, as testified by the following figures (calculated on the basis of Hinderschiedt 1979):

(27) Increased use of [4 | 6] and [6 | 4] in *Heliand* in lines 2621–3925:<sup>9</sup>

$$([4 | 6] + [6 | 4]) / ([6 | 6] + [4 | 6] + [6 | 4]) \times 100$$

*Beowulf* ca 7%

*Heliand* ca 89%

Examples of [4 | 6] and [6 | 4] are given below (Behaghel 1965):

(28) [4 | 6]: sâlig gesîði, endi ine an sande bigrôþun, *Heliand* 2795

[6 | 4]: uuânamo fan themu uualdandes barne; uuarð is geuuâdi sô huît  
*Heliand* 3127

The above figure shows that in *Heliand*, in the majority of instances where hypermetric half-lines are employed, they appear in combination with normal half-lines. This state of affairs suggests that in *Heliand* hypermetric half-lines came closest to being normal half-lines in terms of metrical analysis by poets and their audience.

In this way, the assumption of the reanalysis of [4 | 4 | 4] into [6 | 6] provides an explanatory account for the increased use of [4 | 6] and [6 | 4], which is characteristic of *Heliand*.<sup>10</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that the formal relationship between the normal and the hypermetric lines in Germanic alliterative verse is comparable to that between the Indo-European shorter and longer verses: the hypermetric line is derived by embedding an extra colon into the normal line. The extraneous character of the middle structure is testified to primarily by its insignificant relation to the dominant metrical principle of the basic line (= the normal line), namely alliteration. The assumption that the Germanic hypermetric line depended on the Indo-European longer verse for metrical structuring, furthermore, leads to a systematic account of some structural properties of the line in question.

## Notes

\* This work was supported in part by a Grand-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, Grant #63710258.

1 Apparently, Smith (1980-81: 452) came to the same conclusion, but his line of reasoning was left unclarified.

2 This analysis is a restatement of Bliss' (1967: 89f.). According to his original characterization of hypermetric lines, in Types A and C the final sequence / × is replaced by Types A, D or E. In Types B and E, on the other hand, the final lift / is replaced by Types B or C without the initial drop ×. The conceptual simplification of my reanalysis as against Bliss' should be obvious. In the revised way of characterization it is no longer necessary to appeal to the disjunction of the final / × or / to be replaced and the imperfect structure of Types B and C without the first drop to be added.

3 The concatenation could also be analyzed as ED. Here, however, we follow Bliss' analysis.

4 Examples of Old English verse, excluding *Beowulf*, are taken from Krapp (1931, 1932), Krapp and Dobbie (1936), and Dobbie (1953). For expository purposes, the macron is additionally provided.

5 Since secondary stress (˘), characteristic of types D and E, does not constitute a lift, for purposes of presentation it will be represented as × throughout the following discussion.

6 According to Bliss (1967: 166), *Maxims I* 59a is an instance of BB, which in fact should better be read as EB:

/ × × / × /

lāð sē þe londes monað

7 The concatenation could also be analyzed as BD. Here, however, we follow Bliss' analysis.

8 Since in Obst (1987), another recent work on the metrics of *Beowulf*, most of the instances of the hypermetric line are regarded simply as exceptions to his theory (*ibid.*, 172ff.), I will not consider it below.

9 Following Hindschiedt (1979), for our purposes here as well I assume that these sample lines are well representative of the whole work.

10 The proposed account, which is meter-internally oriented, may be supplementary with other modes of explanation (e.g. Lehmann 1956).

## References

- Ananthanarayana, H. S. 1973. Basic metrical pattern in the poems of the Rigveda. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 14, 155–170.
- Arnold, E. Vernon. 1905. *Vedic metre in its historical development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Behaghel, Otto (ed.) 1965. *Heliand und Genesis*. 8th ed. (rev. Walther Mitzka) Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Bliss, Alan. 1967. *The metre of Beowulf*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Dobbie, Elliott van Kirk. (ed.) 1953. *Beowulf and Judith*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Heusler, Andreas. 1956. *Deutsche Versgeschichte mit Einschluss des altenglischen und altnordischen Strabreimverses*. 2nd ed. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Hieatt, Constance B. 1969–70. A new theory of triple rhythm in the hypermetric lines of Old English verse. *Modern Philology* 67, 1–8.
- . 1974. Alliterative patterns in the hypermetric lines of Old English verse. *Modern Philology* 71, 237–242.
- Hinderschiedt, Ingeborg. 1979. *Zur Heliandmetrik. Das Verhältnis von Rhythmus und Satzgewicht im Altsächsischen*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hoover, David L. 1985. *A new theory of Old English meter*. New York: Lang.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1952. Studies in comparative Slavic metrics. *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 3, 21–66; Also In: *Selected writings IV Slavic epic studies*, 416–463. The Hague: Mouton. [References are with the reprinted version.]
- Klaeber, Friedrich. (ed.) 1950. *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*. Boston: Heath.
- Krapp, George Philip. (ed.) 1931. *The Junius manuscript*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . (ed.) 1932. *The Vercelli book*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- , and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie. (eds.) 1936. *The Exeter book*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lehmann, Winfred P. 1956. *The development of Germanic verse form*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Meillet, Antoine. 1923. *Origines indoeuropéennes des mètres grecs*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Nagy, Gregory. 1974. *Comparative studies in Greek and Indic meter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Obst, Wolfgang. 1987. *Der Rhythmus des Beowulf. Eine Akzent- und Taktheorie*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Russom, Geoffrey. 1987. *Old English metre and linguistic theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sievers, Eduard. 1885. Zur Rhythmik des Germanischen Alliterationsverses. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 10, 209–314, 451–545.



- \_\_\_\_\_. 1893. *Altgermanische Metrik*. Halle: Niemeyer.
- Smith, R. Morton. 1980–81. On the development of the trištubh. *Indologica Taurinensia* 8–9, 449–465.
- Suzuki, Seiichi. 1988. The Indo-European basis of Germanic alliterative verse. *Lingua* 75, 1–24.
- Vigorita, John F. 1976. The Indo-European 12-syllable line. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 90, 37–46.
- Watkins, Calvert. 1963. Indo-European metrics and archaic Irish verse. *Celtica* 6, 194–249.
- West, Martin L. 1973. Indo-European metre. *Glotta* 51, 161–187.

# ANCIENT LORE: ORAL TRADITION IN MEDIEVAL SCANDINAVIA

Peter Buchholz  
*University of South Africa*

## 1. Definitions

This short article is primarily intended to give an outline of the results of ten years of my research in some of the vast and complex problems connected with oral tradition in medieval Scandinavia.<sup>1</sup> In this context, "medieval Scandinavia" is Scandinavia from the Dark Ages to the 15th century (the manuscripts dating mostly from the 13th to the 15th century). Tradition as one of the most important facets of an oral or predominately oral culture is in essence the remembering, telling and retelling of past events thought to be of importance for larger or smaller communities right down to the family.

## 2. "Genres" of Old Icelandic Literature

### 2.1 Prose

Old Icelandic Literature can perhaps be subdivided into seven components. Five of them are there are prose tales of sometimes considerable length (anything from 30 to 500 pages), the so-called sagas (: ON *segja* "to tell; to recite"). These are usually categorized as follows:

1. Family sagas of Icelanders, stories about Icelandic settlers from the ninth century onwards, with emphasis on the first generations;
2. Sagas of kings, stories about the (mostly Norwegian) kings from early times more or less up to the loss of Iceland's independence, ca. 1260;
3. Sagas about Icelandic bishops;
4. "Translated sagas or "romances," including Saints' lives, derived from extant or lost (written, but also oral) non-Scandinavian sources, e.g. French, Latin or Byzantine Greek, with which, however, the Old Norse "translators" took considerable liberty; and
5. the "mythical-heroic" sagas dealing with a distant past before the settlement of Iceland by Northmen. These latter sagas are the main topic of my paper. Shorter prose tales (called *bættir*) are less numerous. On this genre, further research is particularly needed.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Peter Buchholz, *Vorzeitkunde. Mündliches Erzählen und Überlieferung im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien nach dem Zeugnis von Fornaldersaga und eddischer Dichtung*. Neumünster: Wachholtz 1980 (Scandinavistische Studien 13).

## 2.2 Verse

### 2.2.1. Eddic Verse

The remaining two components are verse traditions. The bulk of the verses are, interestingly enough, preserved in a prose context that explains their (otherwise often not completely intelligible) contents as well as sometimes the circumstances of composition or recitation or even, in rare cases, audience reaction. One of these verse traditions is the so-called Eddic verse composed in the usual Germanic alliterative metres, but in strophic form. Such lines were not difficult to construct and could probably be composed extempore during the performance along the lines suggested for Yugoslavia by Albert Lord, although some important rituals and legal formulae were perhaps transmitted and learnt by heart as fixed entities.

### 2.2.2 Skaldic Poetry: Praise and Criticism

The second verse tradition is even more interesting from point of view of composition and transmission. Its origins are somewhat obscure, but some Irish influence is likely. I am speaking of the so-called Skaldic poetry which flourished from the ninth to the fifteenth century. It differs from Eddic poetry in its more specialised content and more complicated metre. Apart from the usual alliteration, it also required obligatory embellishment by two kinds of internal rhymes, and had a fixed number of syllables, six per line in the most frequent subcategory. Eight lines formed a verse. Straightforward expression of fact seems to have been frowned upon in this tradition and was probably regarded as not "artistic" enough. The "genre" prescribed the use of extended metaphors (ON *kenningar*) and allusions from pagan mythology, which the listener had to know in order to reassemble the parts, almost like a puzzle, in order to arrive at an understanding of what was ultimately meant. That was usually a praise of the ruler and his battle victories. Occasionally we also find criticism as an accepted form of bringing the grievances of the ruled to the attention of the ruler. An 11th century Norwegian poet, Sighvatr Þórðarson, e.g. criticised his king quite strongly for allowing his soldiers to wreak havoc in his own country. I quote (Bersöglisvísur 11f., transl. Lee M. Hollander, *The Skalds*, Ann Arbor 1968, p. 172 ):

Whoever eggs thee, atheling,  
to axe the farmers' cattle?  
Unheard of is't for hero  
to harry in his own country ...

Warning take thou, warlord –  
 t'is wise to stave off danger:  
 hoary men of whom I  
 heard are set against thee;  
 t'is parlous, prince, if franklins  
 put their heads together,  
 suddenly grow silent,  
 sinking noses cloakward.

The 13th century Icelandic historian Snorri Sturluson relates the following in connection with this poem (Hollander op. cit. p. 167):

"After this admonition the king experienced a change of heart... He took counsel with the wisest men, and they came to an agreement about the laws. Afterwards King Magnus had the law-book written which is still kept in Trondheim and is called Grágás (Grey Goose). King Magnus then became popular and was beloved by all the people; for which reason he was called Magnus the Good."

### 3. Source Criticism: Answers from Within the Tradition

The history of research in Old Icelandic literature has gone through various phases of belief and disbelief, of credulity and skepticism with regard to the reliability of Edda and sagas as historical source material. We can safely state that it is only rarely possible to arrive at a definite conclusion regarding historicity, due to the lack of supporting evidence. The cases where such evidence have been found are, however, not the topic of this paper. I shall instead give you some instances of the "functioning" of tradition and orality in medieval Scandinavian societies, and also comment on their views of how traditions were handed down to them. We are quite fortunate in that the vast ON source material does permit answers to these questions. Such questions have, however, only been asked comparatively recently, partly in realization of the fact that the discussion of the historic "truth" of ON literature had arrived at an impasse, and lastly as a consequence of the concentration of folk narrative research on the storytellers and on their stories as "performances" subject to certain variations.

### 4. Mythical-heroic Sagas

#### 4.1 *Entertainment and Ancient Knowledge*

Apart from the Eddic poetry, my research has centred around the

40-odd so-called mythical-heroic sagas (ON *fornaldarsögur*, lit. "sagas of the ancient times"). These sagas have been treated somewhat harshly by literary critics including W.P. Ker, but should certainly be reevaluated as written adaptations of popular oral material. As such, they contain both venerable ancient traditions and the stuff of popular entertainment like travels, battles, royal splendour or sexual feats. The prologue to *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* bluntly states: "It's a fact that as long as people are enjoying the entertainment, they'll not be thinking any sinful thoughts." This is, of course, a debatable view. In another region, which is also extremely interesting in respect of ancient traditions in prose stories, in Ireland, we find a 12th century collection, the so-called *Acallámh na Senórach* ("Conversations of Old Men"). In this text, St. Patrick is about to raise the ancient Irish heroes from the dead, in order to be able to listen to their stories. I quote:<sup>2</sup>

There they were until the morrow's morning came, when Patrick robed himself and emerged upon the green; together with his three score priests, three scope psalmodists, and holy bishops three score as well, that with him spread faith and piety throughout Ireland. Patrick's two guardian angels came to him now – Aibellan and Solusbretach, of whom he inquired whether in God's sight it were convenient for him to be listening to the stories of the *fian* (the ancient heroes, PB). With equal emphasis, and concordantly, the angels answered him, "Holy cleric, no more than a third part of their stories do those ancient warriors tell, by reason of forgetfulness and lack of memory; but by thee be it written on tables of poets, and in learned men's words; for to the companies and nobles of the later time to give to ear to these stories will be a pastime." Which said, the angels departed.

I think we can now safely continue with our subject of ancient heroic stories, having been encouraged to do so by one saint, two angels, 60 bishops, and 120 lesser clergy. In fact, Old Irish and Old Norse sagas do show a number of similarities which have to date not been published.<sup>3</sup> This state of research is due to the prominence of Old

---

<sup>2</sup> Ancient Irish Tales, ed. by Tom Peete Cross and Clark Harris Slover, Dublin and Chicago 1936, repr. 1968, p. 464.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. however p. 149-150. of: P. Buchholz, *Fornaldarsaga und mündliches Erzählen zur Wikingerzeit*. In: (Eds.) Régis Boyer. *Les vikings et leur civilisation*, the Hague 1976, 133-178.

Icelandic family sagas in Old Norse scholarship (where the differences from Old Irish are more marked). To the present day, there are only four 20th century books on the mythical-heroic sagas.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4.2 *Old Norse Storytelling*

Starting from the safe assumption that the *formaldarsögur* do contain earlier traditions, we can expect that they also reveal some of the techniques of and reasons for their preservation. From the extant sagas, we could easily reconstitute an ON storyteller's bag for his stock-in-trade. Apart from "technical" aids like repetitions, triads, oppositions, catalogues of warriors and kings, verses – these were even expected by the audience at points of heightened "narrative intensity" – episodic structure – making it easier to remember a whole plot – set character types, and others, there were numerous motifs: the unpromising hero (ON *kolbíttr* "coal-biter"), famous weapons, the approach to battle with the heroes boasting and abusing each other, the dragon in its lair and its treasure resplendent from afar, motifs suitable to initiate a plot, like a dangerous task, an evil stepmother, or a princess suddenly disappearing. Powerful images, once established, also constituted an element of stability, probably reinforced by pictorial representations from heroic legend.<sup>5</sup> Certainly, ON saga literature offers enough material to suggest oral storytelling at its roots as the most natural explanation.

#### 4.3 *Nuclei and "Proofs" of Tradition*

The nuclei of traditions around which oral stories could develop are such things as reminiscences about family ancestors, their exploits, graves and hereditary weapons, and particularly their dying words<sup>6</sup> or other memorable statements, either in verse or in that laconic form of which the Icelanders seem to have been very fond. Such nuclei are significantly also part of the quite frequent direct references to orality, as e.g. reciting of verses, both extempore and traditional, or the telling of stories for instruction or as a pastime.<sup>7</sup> It is very remarkable that in

---

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Schlauch, *Romance in Iceland*. New York 1934 (repr 1973); Helkga Reuschel, *Untersuchungen über Stoff und Stil der Fornaldarsaga*. Bülh 1933; Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards, *Legendary Fiction in Medieval Ireland*. Reykjavik 1971 5. cf., *Art. Bildnenkmäler* in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed. (1975 ff).

<sup>5</sup> *Art. Bildnenkmaeler* in *Reallexikon der Altgermanischen Altertumskunds*, 2nd Ed. (1975 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. P. Buchholz, *Death Traditions as an oral Nucleus of Scandinavian heroic Literature*. *Mankind Quarterly* 28 (1987-88), p 151-160Cf.

<sup>7</sup> Buchholz, *Vorzeitkunde* (see note 1) p. 32-50.Cf.

some instances the "author" does not dare to quote his material in full, especially in the case of "dangerous" subject matter. It is, for example, not allowed to recite a certain charm after sunset – so the text does not quote it at all, much to the scholar's regret. The texts also furnish proof that family and personal propaganda tended to exclude some negative aspects from "authorised versions." Lastly, it was greatly appreciated by the audience if the story teller could produce tangible proof of his stories, as e.g. a weapon, or even a tooth or a piece of hair supposedly extracted from one of the heroes. The stench of such a relic is so unbearable that, according to Saxo Grammaticus,<sup>8</sup> it kills several onlookers. Small wonder! It is a special hair from the subterranean demonic giant Utgarthilocus.

#### 4.4 Supernatural Features

What could, somewhat loosely, be termed "supernatural features," is, in effect, a fundamental element of the mythical-heroic saga hero's biography.<sup>9</sup> This element is so essential that it is definitely not just a late addition to suit the taste of an audience dissatisfied with the realities of daily life.

On the contrary, it reflects an archaic experience that *the supernatural is natural*, that it is part of existence. In turn, the stories told about such events served to reinforce beliefs, and were, as a rule, considered to be true in an oral milieu. "One supernatural feature of the hero is that he is often pictured as a giant. His heroic qualities are typically explained by the acquisition of special knowledge from an old woman or man in the possession of magic lore or magic objects, or from supernatural counselors (Odin, dwarfs, giantesses). He may inherit a special family gift or ability, partake of special food or drink, or be magically conceived. The young hero is characteristically portrayed as a male Cinderella with abnormal strength or knowledge obtained from supernatural helpers."<sup>10</sup>

A motif that initiated a chain of actions from a supernatural viewpoint was *álqg*, a curse with certain effect, which the victim could not remove unless the conditions stipulated in the curse came about – which they invariably did. The victim, moreover, had the power to

<sup>8</sup> Buchholz, *Vorzeitkunde* p. 48.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Buchholz, *Vorzeitkunde* p. 79-111.

<sup>10</sup> Theodore M. Anderson, review of Buchholz, *Vorzeitkunde*, in: *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 1981, 291-293, quoted from p.292

retaliate with a counter-curse. Sveinsson<sup>11</sup> assumes, as others did before him, that there was a strong influence of Irish *geis* on the Scandinavian conception of *álgg*. Be that as it may, curse and deliverance are obviously advantageous devices from the point of view of storytelling, and quite old in Scandinavia (cf. e.g. *Reginismál* 2 "An ill-wishing norn in the beginning decreed for us that I should wade in the water"). The hero often had to fight supernatural adversaries; even when a bold Viking innocently decided to fill up his purse by entering into ("breaking") a gravemound and seizing the property of the deceased, the dead often put up a stiff resistance and could only be overcome by superior powers. According to ch. 18 of *Ragnars saga*, William the Conqueror decided to "break" the mound of the Viking hero Ivarr Beinlauss ("the boneless") and burn the corpse, and *then* he was victorious, the saga states. Tradition, then, seems to have regarded Ivarr as one of the *landvættir* ("protective spirits of the land"). A hero, of course, cannot follow his career in peace even if he scrupulously avoids grave-mounds. He is almost bound to come across a king whose daughter is to be forcefully married off to an ugly berserk with rude manners and bald head. The berserk's feats (which include shape-shifting) are not really dangerous to the hero, and the audience knows this and is not disturbed – the ever-victorious hero has survived to our own days, after all. Assistance is provided sometimes by a god in various disguises, who always turns out to be *Óðinn* – one was never sure, however, whether the god did not pursue his own ends: to bring famous heroes to his abode, *Valhøll*, by means of their death, in order to augment the number of his heroes for the final battle against the giants. A *völva* (sorceress), too, was somebody one liked to have on one's own side, as were generally persons of doubtful parentage – where one person, for instance, was an *álfkona* (elfin woman) or a *sjógýgr* (sea monster). At decisive moments, such ladies or gentlemen could raise the dead or hover over the battlefield, emitting arrows from their finger tips. Giants, giantesses and dwarves had similar powers. These last were generally friendly-disposed toward the hero, and some sagas would not exist without their *Litr*, *Sindri*, or *Möndull*. Giants, however, were man-eaters and therefore viewed the hero as their food. Not infrequently, ingestion was prevented by a friendly giantess who preferred the hero to sleep with her, sometimes because this was the means of changing the giantess back into the princess she really was, sometimes for other reasons. We have a number of very plastic descriptions of such beings,

---

<sup>11</sup> E.O. Sveinsson, Celtic elements in Old Icelandic Tradition. In: *Béaloideas* 25 (1957) 3-24.



an interesting feature of which is the recurrent emphasis on long, crooked noses (cf. also the names *Hornnefja*, *Skinnefja*, *Arinnefja*, *Skellinefja*). Karl Hauck<sup>12</sup> found such noses prominent on Dark Age gold bracteates, 1000 years earlier. Lastly, the hero himself was indeed not an ordinary human. Only rarely do the *fornaldarsögur* explicitly mention *forneskja* ("pagan inclinations with special reference to magic"), probably because everybody knew their setting to be the pagan age. But the heroes evidently could not be successful without magical faculties and supernatural strength, which are stressed and described in all *fas*.<sup>13</sup> They understand bird language and change shape. It is their destiny to fight against the giants, as the god Thor ("That pair of father and son are better suited than other men to kill giants and mountain-dwellers", *Gríms s. loðinkinna* 147). Not infrequently, the sagas expressly state that their hero is of gigantic stature, and sometimes their bones, their teeth or their coffin are quoted as proof. *Qrvar-Oddr* provides for his coffin as a tourist attraction: (*Qrvar-Oddr* s. 46), and he is not the only saga hero conscious of the fact that a saga will be told of him.<sup>14</sup>

#### 4.5 Truth and Audience Attitudes

The question which arises now is whether all this was believed by the story-tellers and their audience. We have a number of theoretical statements about this problem in the sagas themselves. Most of them criticise disbelief and point out that many things could have happened in remote times and far-away countries. *Snorri* (*Ynglinga* s. 1) and *Saxo* (Prol.) are convinced of the existence of giants and dwarves, although they declare that magical feats of "gods" and heroes are nothing but illusions (*sjónhverfingar*) and caused by Satan himself, evidently a real figure for them. The old gods themselves are represented in some sagas as real demons. In *Vilmundar saga víðútan*, parents tell their child that the old heroes are all dead, but that man-eating giants still live in some remoter regions (152.f.). In former times, men grew older and larger according to *Mágus saga* (136 f.) there was a healthy respect of all kinds of magic in the Middle Ages, as indeed there was in 19th century Scandinavia still: magic was a dangerous reality. The author of *Bósa saga* (5) is very hesitant to commit the *Busluboon* ("prayer of *Busla*") to

<sup>12</sup> Karl Hauck, Goldbrakteaten aus Sievern. München: Fink 1970.

<sup>13</sup> On ON shamanism, see P. Buchholz, Shamanism - the Testimony of Old Icelandic Literary Tradition. In: *Medieval Scandinavia* 4 (1971) 7-20.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. also P. Buchholz, The True Runes of the First Word. Medieval Scandinavian Views on Reliability and Truth of Oral Traditions. *Mankind Quarterly* 27 (1986/87) 201-206.

parchment, and of the "worst" part of it he states, it is forbidden to recite it after nightfall." The final chapter of my book centers on M.I. Steblin-Kamenskij's idea of "syncretic truth,"<sup>15</sup> which was also the subject of my paper at the IVth International Saga Conference in Munich, 1979. This valuable concept is "a necessary consequence of oral tradition, which is composed of history, artistic innovation, and faith in miracles (whether in the form of superstition or the Christian belief that nothing is beyond God's power)".<sup>16</sup>

#### 4.6 Truth: the Past Reveals the Future

The pagan Scandinavians thus regarded the supernatural as very real, as did all religions. Even the question *how* old traditions (*forð fræði*) could have been revealed and passed on to the present day, was apparently asked. The reason for this was the very importance of tradition, oral tradition, for the maintenance of society. The answer to the question, and a further proof of this importance, is the existence of supernatural carriers of tradition. It was thought possible to listen to a mound-dweller (*haugbúi*, e.g. *Hálfs s.* 76) or a wooden man (*trémaðr*, Ragnars s.175) who would personally tell the stories of their past. *Sigurðr* asks the shieldmaid *Sigrðrifa* (*Sigrðrifumál*, prose before 5) "if she knew tidings from all the worlds", and then she begins to give him advice about runic lore. The sorceress in *Völuspá* too has seen nine worlds and is therefore able to reveal the past and the future. The god *Óðinn* himself, father of poetry and father of magic, is the prototype of the supernatural tradition-bearer.<sup>17</sup> He consults not only the dead, but even consults *Mím*'s head at the roots of the world ash.

This trait is certainly extremely old. We do not only find it prominently in Celtic belief,<sup>18</sup> but it may even go back to mesolithic cult practices connected, perhaps, with a belief that the head was the receptacle of the unseen and thus of possible revelations. It is highly significant that, in extreme situations, help had to be obtained through contact with the beyond and with the past at the same time. That the past and the beyond were consulted when all other remedies failed, is in effect a supreme proof of the belief in the truth and efficiency of the traditional answers thus obtained.

---

<sup>15</sup> In his book "The Saga Mind", Odense 1973.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. P. Buchholz, *Odin: Celtic and Siberian Affinities of a Germanic Deity*. in: *Mankind Quarterly* 1984, 427-437.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, footnote 10.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. e.g. Anne Ross, *pagan Celtic Britain*. London, New York 1967, p. 104 -113 p.104-113 ("Heads and Sacred Waters").

# INDEX

## Index to Festschrift Volumes I and II

Ambrosini, Riccardo	
<b>ON THE WANDERER AND THE SEAFARER ONCE</b>	
<b>AGAIN, BUT FROM A NUMEROLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW</b> . . . .	295
Bader, Françoise	
<b>BOIRE DE L'EAU</b> . . . . .	380
Boyer, Régis	
<b>SUR LA CONSTRUCTION D'ÁSGARDR</b> . . . . .	406
Briquel, Dominique	
<b>TWINS AND TWINS IN THE LEGEND</b>	
<b>OF THE FOUNDING OF ROME</b> . . . . .	315
Buchholz, Peter	
<b>ANCIENT LORE: ORAL TRADITION IN MEDIEVAL SCANDINAVIA</b> . . .	502
Carruba, Onofrio	
<b>SEARCHING FOR WOMAN IN ANATOLIAN AND INDO-EUROPEAN</b> . .	155
Dubuisson, Daniel	
<b>LES ENJEUX D'UNE EXEGESE</b> . . . . .	360
Hock, Hans Henrich	
<b>ON THE ORIGIN AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE SACRED</b>	
<b>SANSKRIT SYLLABLE OM*</b> . . . . .	89
Jarceva, Viktorija N.	
<b>THE PROBLEM OF EXISTENCE OF THE LITERARY</b>	
<b>LANGUAGE IN ANGLO-SAXON BRITAIN</b> . . . . .	280
Jazayery, Mohammad Ali	
<b>EDGAR C. POLOMÉ: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH</b> . . . . .	7
Jucquois, Guy	
<b>REGLES D'ECHANGE, VOEUX MONASTIQUES ET</b>	
<b>TRIPARTITION FONCTIONNELLE</b> . . . . .	221
Klimov, G.A.	
<b>THE KARTVELIAN ANALOGUE OF PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN</b>	
<b>*sʷomb(h)o- 'SPONGY, POROUS'</b> . . . . .	111
Lyle, Emily	
<b>MARKEDNESS AND ENCOMPASSMENT IN RELATION</b>	
<b>TO INDO-EUROPEAN COSMOGONY</b> . . . . .	38
Meid, Wolfgang	
<b>ETHNOS UND SPRACHE</b> . . . . .	244
Melchert, H. Craig	
<b>DEATH AND THE HITTITE KING</b> . . . . .	182
Nielsen, Hans F	
<b>'CONTINENTAL OLD ENGLISH' AND S-PLURALS</b>	
<b>IN OLD AND MIDDLE DUTCH</b> . . . . .	337
Norman, K.R.	
<b>"AS RARE AS FIG-FLOWERS"</b> . . . . .	216
Oettenger, Norbert	
<b>DER WOLF IM 'HELMBRECHT'</b> . . . . .	406
Salmons, Joe	
<b>NORTHWEST IE VOCABULARY AND SUBSTRATE PHONOLOGY</b> . . . .	265
Schmidt, Karl Horst	
<b>ZUR VORGESCHICHTE DES KELTSCHEN UND GERMANISCHEN</b> . . . .	457

# INDEX

Seebold, Elmar	
WAS HABEN DIE GERMANEN UNTER EINER <i>BRAUT</i> VERSTANDEN? .	444
Shevoroshkin, Vitaly	
ON CARIAN LANGUAGE AND WRITING . . . . .	117
Suzuki, Seiichi	
THE GERMANIC HYPERMETRIC LINE IN INDO-EUROPEAN	
PERSPECTIVE . . . . .	480
Swiggers, Pierre	
THE INDO-EUROPEAN ORIGIN OF THE GREEK METERS:	
ANTOINE MEILLET'S VIEWS AND THEIR RECEPTION	
BY EMILE BENVENISTE AND NIKOLAI TRUBETZKOY . . . . .	199
Thomas, Homer	
IE: FROM THE PALEOLITHIC TO THE NEOLITHIC . . . . .	12
Toporov, V. N.	
INDO-EUROPEAN *EG'H-OM (*HE-G'H-OM): *MEN-. 1 SG. PRON.	
PERS. IN THE LIGHT OF GLOSSOGENETICS . . . . .	64
Villar, F.	
THE NUMERAL 'TWO' AND ITS NUMBER MARKING . . . . .	136
Weitenberg, Jos	
THE MEANING OF THE EXPRESSION "TO BECOME A WOLF"	
IN HITTITE . . . . .	189
Zimmer, Stefan	
ON LANGUAGE GENESIS: THE CASE OF AFRIKAANS . . . . .	347
Zysk, Kenneth G.	
REFLECTIONS ON AN INDO-EUROPEAN HEALING TRADITION . . . . .	321